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A

GENERAL HISTORY AND COLLECTION OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

ARRANGED IN SYSTEMATIC ORDER:

FORMING A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION, DISCOVERY, AND COMMERCE, BY SEA AND LAND, FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

ROBERT KERR, F. R. S. & F. A. S. EDIN.

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A

GENERAL HISTORY

AND

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OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

PART II. BOOK III.

(CONTINUED.)

CHAPTER X.—*Continued.*

EARLY VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH TO INDIA, AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

SECTION XV.—*Continued.*

Eighth Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1611, *by Captain John Saris.*

§ 5. *Farther Observations respecting the Moluccas, and the Completion of the Voyage to Japan.*

THE 10th of April, 1613, the Spanish commandant sent me a message, requesting me to stop till the next morning, when he would visit me along with the sergeant-major of Ternate, who had arrived with a letter from Don Jeronimo de Sylva, allowing them to trade with me for different things of which they were in want, and to satisfy me in what

what I had requested; wherefore I resolved to stop a while longer, to see if we could do any good. Expecting Don Fernando next day, according to promise, and hearing nine guns from their fort, we supposed he was coming: But it proved to be for the arrival of the prince of Tidore from the wars, who was returned with the heads of 100 Ternatans. His force in the expedition in which he had been engaged, consisted of sixty men armed with matchlocks, two brass *bases* and three or four *fowlers*. He had overthrown *Key Chilly Sadang*, the son of the king of Ternate, whom the Dutch had brought over from Ternate to prevent the natives of Machian from supplying us with cloves. While on his return to Ternate after our departure, he was drawn into an ambush by the son of the king of Tidore, who lay in wait for the purpose, and slew him, together with 160 men who were along with him, not one of the whole being spared. The prince of Ternate brought home the head of Key Chilly Sadang to his wife, who was sister to the slain prince. Key Chilly Sadang in a great measure owed this discomfiture to a barrel of powder he had bought from us at Machian, as it exploded at the commencement of the rencounter, and threw his whole party into confusion. Along with the prince of Ternate, one of his younger brothers and the king of Gilolo were both slain. Towards evening, the sergeant-major of Ternate, who was also secretary of the government, came aboard, and made many compliments, requesting me to come to Ternate, where they would do for me every thing in their power. I consented to do this the more readily, as Ternate was in my way.

I received a message on the 12th from the prince of Tidore, apologising for not having yet visited me, and saying that he had a quantity of cloves which I might have, for which I thanked him, and requested they might be sent soon. They promised to send the cloves before next morning; wherefore, to guard against treachery, I kept double watch, with match in cock, and every thing in readiness: For this prince of Tidore was a most resolute and valiant soldier, and had performed many desperate exploits against the Dutch, having shortly before surprised one of their ships of war when at anchor not far from where we then lay. Before day, a galley, which the Spaniards told us they expected, came over from *Batta China*, and were very

near

near us in the dark before we were aware. On hailing, they answered us that they were Spaniards and our friends, and then made towards the shore in all haste. She was but small, having only fourteen oars of a side. We this day found our latitude to be 0° 50′ N.

We weighed on the 13th with the wind at N. and a current setting to the S. In passing the fort we saluted with five guns, which they returned. Several Spaniards came off with complimentary messages, and among these a messenger from the prince, saying we should have had plenty of cloves if we had waited twenty-four hours longer. But we rather suspected that some treachery was intended, by means of their gallies, frigates, and curracurras, which we thus avoided by our sudden departure. On rounding the western point of Tidore, we saw four Dutch ships at anchor before their fort of Maricca; one of which, on our appearance, fired a gun, which we supposed was to call their people aboard to follow us. We steered directly for the Spanish fort on Ternate, and shortened sail on coming near, and fired a gun without shot, which was immediately answered. They sent us off a soldier of good fashion, but to as little purpose as those of Tidore had done. Having little wind, our ship sagged in, but we found no anchorage. Having a gale of wind at south in the evening, we stood out to sea, but lost as much ground by the current as we had gained by the wind. The 14th, with the wind at S.S.W. we steered N.N.W. being at noon directly under the equinoctial. We had sight of a galley this day, on which we put about to speak with her; but finding she went away from us, we shaped our course for Japan.

Before leaving the Moluccas, it may be proper to acquaint the reader with some circumstances respecting the trade and state of these islands. Through the whole of the Moluccas, a *bahar* of cloves consists of 200 *cattees*, the *cattee* being three pounds five ounces *haberdepoiz*, so that the bahar is 662 pounds eight ounces English averdupois weight. For this bahar of cloves, the Dutch give fifty dollars, pursuant to what they term their perpetual contract; but, for the more readily obtaining some loading, I agreed to pay them sixty dollars. This increase of price made the natives very desirous of furnishing me, so that I certainly had procured a full lading in a month, had not

the

the Dutch overawed the natives, imprisoning them, and threatening to put them to death, keeping strict guard on all the coasts. Most of these islands produce abundance of cloves; and those that are inhabited of any note, yield the following quantities, one year with another. Ternate 1000 bahars, Machian 1090, Tidore 900, Bachian 300, Moteer 600, Meau 50, Batta China 35; in all 3975 bahars, or 2,633,437½ English pounds, being 1175 *tons*, twelve *cwts.* three *qrs.* and nine and a half *libs.* Every third year is far more fruitful than the two former, and is therefore termed the great monsoon.

It is lamentable to see the destruction which has been brought upon these islands by civil wars, which, as I learnt while there, began and continued in the following manner: At the discovery of these islands by the Portuguese, they found fierce war subsisting between the kings of Ternate and Tidore, to which two all the other islands were either subjected, or were confederated with one or other of them. The Portuguese, the better to establish themselves, took no part with either, but politically kept friends with both, and fortified themselves in the two principal islands of Ternate and Tidore, engrossing the whole trade of cloves into their own hands. In this way they domineered till the year 1605, when the Dutch dispossessed them by force, and took possession for themselves. Yet so weakly did they provide for defending the acquisition, that the Spaniards drove them out next year from both islands, by a force sent from the Philippine islands, took the king of Ternate prisoner, and sent him to the Philippines, and kept both Ternate and Tidore for some time in their hands. Since then the Dutch have recovered some footing in these islands, and, at the time of my being there, were in possession of the following forts.

On the island of Ternate they have a fort named *Malayou*, having three bulwarks or bastions, *Tolouco* having two bastions and a round tower, and *Tacome* with four bastions. On Tidore they have a fort called *Marieka*, with four bastions. On Machian, *Tafasoa*, the chief town of the island, having four large bastions with sixteen pieces of cannon, and inhabited by about 1000 natives: At *Nofakia*, another town on that island, they have two forts or redoubts, and a third on the top of a high hill with five or six guns, which commands the road on the other side.

Likewise

Likewise at *Tabalola*, another town in Machian, they have two forts with eight cannons, this place being very strongly situated by nature. The natives of all these places are under their command. Those of *Nofakia* are not esteemed good soldiers, and are said always to side with the strongest; but those of *Tabalola*, who formerly resided at *Cayoa*, are accounted the best soldiers in the Moluccas, being deadly enemies to the Portuguese and Spaniards, and as weary now of the Dutch dominion. In these fortified stations in Machian, when I was there, the Dutch had 120 European soldiers; of whom eighty were at *Tafasoa*, thirty at *Nofakia*, and ten at *Tabalola*. The isle of Machian is the richest in cloves of all the Molucca islands; and, according to report, yields 1800 bahars in the great monsoon. The Dutch have one large fort in the island of Bachian, and four redoubts in the isle of Moteer. The civil wars have so wasted the population of these islands, that vast quantities of cloves perish yearly for want of hands to gather them; neither is there any likelihood of peace till one party or the other be utterly extirpated.

Leaving them to their wars, I now return to our traffic, and shall shew how we traded with the natives, which was mostly by exchanging or bartering the cotton cloths of Cambaya and Coromandel for cloves. The sorts in request and the prices we obtained being as follows: *Candakeens* of Baroach six *cattees* of cloves; candakeens of *Papang*, which are flat, three cattees; *Selas*, or small *bastas*, seven and eight cattees; *Patta chere Malayo* sixteen cattees; five *cassas* twelve cattees; coarse of that kind eight cattees; red *Batellias*, or *Tancoulos*, forty-four and forty-eight cattees; *Sarassas chere Malayo* forty-eight and fifty cattees; *Sarampouri* thirty cattees; *Chelles*, *Tapsiels*, and *Matafons*, twenty and twenty-four cattees; white *Cassas*, or *Tancoulos*, forty and forty-four cattees; the finest *Donjerijus* twelve, and coarser eight and ten cattees; *Pouti Castella* ten cattees; the finest *Ballachios* thirty cattees; *Pata chere Malayo* of two fathoms eight and ten cattees; great *Potas*, or long four fathoms, sixteen cattees; white *Parcallas* twelve cattees; *Salalos Ytam* twelve and fourteen cattees; *Turias* and *Tape Turias* one and two cattees; *Patola* of two fathoms, fifty and sixty cattees; those of four fathoms and of one fathom at proportional prices; for twenty-eight pounds of rice, a dollar; *Sago*, which is a *root* of which the natives make

make their bread, is sold in bunches, and was worth a quarter of a dollar the bunch; velvets, sattins, taffetics, and other silk goods of China were much in request. This may suffice for the trade of the Moluccas.

Proceeding on our voyage, it was calm all day on the 16th of April, but we had a good breeze at night from the west, when we steered N.N.W. In the morning of the 17th, we steered north, with the wind at E. by S. but it afterwards became very variable, shifting to all points of the compass, and towards night we had sight of land to the northwards. On the 18th we had calms, with much rain, and contrary winds at intervals, for which reason I resolved to go for the island of *Saiom*, which was to the westward, and to remain there and refresh the crew, till the change of the monsoon might permit me to proceed on my intended voyage. But almost immediately the wind came round to the west, and we stood N. and N. by E. On the 19th, with little wind at W. we continued our course N. by E. the weather being extremely hot, with much rain. It was quite calm in the morning of the 20th, but we had a constant current setting us to the eastwards, which indeed had been the case ever since we left Ternate. In the afternoon, the wind came round to the northward, a brisk gale, and we stood west to stem the current, bearing for a large island called *Doy*, where we proposed to rest and refresh.

In the morning of the 21st, we were fairly before that island, near its northern extremity, which was a low point stretching southwards. We stood in E. by S. with the wind at N. by E. and at noon sent our skiff in search of a convenient place for anchoring; but the current set so strong to the eastwards, that we were unable to stem it, and could merely see at a distance a very large bay, having a great shoal off its northern point half a league out to sea, while we had sixty fathoms water off the shore upon a bottom of sand. As night approached, we stood off till morning; and next day, about sun-set, we came to anchor in the large bay, having on standing in fifty-six, thirty-five, twenty-six, and twenty-four fathoms water.

I sent some people ashore in the skiff on the 23d, to look out for a convenient watering-place, and for a proper situation in which to set up a tent to defend our men from the rain when on shore. They accordingly found a fit place right

right over against the ship, and saw many tracks of deer and wild swine, but no appearance of any inhabitants. The country was full of trees, and, in particular, there were abundance of *cokers*,[1] *penang*, *serie*, and *palmitos*, among which were plenty of poultry, pheasants, and wood-cocks. I went ashore along with our merchants, and had a tent set up. Our carpenter made several very ingenious pitfalls for catching the wild-hogs. We took some fish among the rocks with much labour, and got one pheasant and two wood-pigeons, which last were as large in the body as ordinary hens. Some of our company staid all night ashore to look for the wild-hogs coming into the traps, and some very large ones were seen on the 24th, but none were caught. This morning, about half past seven, the moon, being at the full, was eclipsed in a more extraordinary manner than any of us had ever seen, being three hours and a half obscured before she recovered her entire light, *which was very fearful.*

The 25th, our people searching about the woods, brought great store of *cokers* to the ship, together with some fowls, and the heads of the palmito trees, which we boiled with our beef, and found them to eat like cabbages. The 28th, the company were busily employed in taking in wood and water. The skiff was sent out to sound the shoal, and found ten and twelve fathoms at the northern point of the bar, near the shoal. All this time we had prodigious rain both day and night. The 29th and 30th were employed in bringing wood aboard, which we found as good as our English billets. The skiff was sent on the 1st of May to sound the western point of the bay, where the water was found very deep. On landing at that part of the coast our people found the ruins of several huts, among which were some brass pans, which shewed the place had been lately inhabited, but, as we supposed, the inhabitants had been hunted from their houses by the wars.

We set sail on the 12th May, 1613, from this island of *Doy*, being the north-eastmost island of *Batta-China*, or Gilolo, in the Moluccas, in latitude 2° 35′ N.[2] The variation

[1] Cocoa-nut trees.—E.

[2] The latitude in the text, which we have reason to believe accurate, as Captain Saris was so long at this place, indicates the northern end of the island of *Morty*, east and a little northerly of the northern peninsula or leg of Gilolo.—E.

ation here was 5° 20′ easterly. By noon of this day we were fourteen leagues N. by E. from the place where we had been at anchor for twenty days.[3] The 1st June, passed the tropic of Cancer. The 2d, being in lat. 25° 44′ N. we laid our account with seeing the islands of *Dos Reys Magos*.[4] Accordingly, about four p. m. we had sight of a very low island, and soon afterwards of the high land over the low, there being many little islands, to the number of ten or eleven, connected by broken grounds and ledges, so that we could not discern any passage to the westward. At night we stood off and took in our top-sails, and lay close by in our courses till morning. The islands stretch from S.W. to N.E. The 3d, we stood in for the land, which appeared to us a most pleasant and fertile soil, as much so as any we had seen from leaving England, well peopled, and having great store of cattle. We proposed to have come to anchor about its north-east point, and on sounding, had sixty fathoms. We saw two boats coming off to us, and used every means to get speech of them, wishing for a pilot, and desiring to know the name of the island, but the wind was so strong that we could not get in, wherefore we stood away N.W. and had sight of another island bearing N.N.W. for which we steered, and thence descried another, N.E. half E. about seven or eight leagues off. Coming under the western island, we observed certain rocks about two miles off shore, one of which was above water, and the other, to the north, under water, a great way without the other, and the sea breaking on it.

On the 7th, we supposed ourselves about twenty-eight or thirty leagues from *Tonan*.[5] In the morning of the 8th, we had sight of a high round island, bearing E. six leagues off, with various other islands, in six or seven directions westwards,

[3] We have omitted in the text the naked journal of daily winds, courses, and distances, as tending to no useful information whatever.—E.

[4] The indicated latitude, considering the direction of the voyage between Morty and Japan, nearly coincides with the small islands of Kumi and Matchi, west from the south end of the great Liqueo.—E.

[5] The island of Tanao-sima is probably here meant, being the most southerly of the Japanese islands. It may be proper to remark, that the termination *sima*, in the names of islands belonging to Japan, obviously means *island*, like the prefix *pula* in the names of islands in the Malay Archipelago.—E.

wards, five or six leagues off.[6] In the morning of the 8th we had sight of land bearing N.N.E. and of six great islands in a row N. E. from the island we descried the preceding evening; and at the northern end of all were many small rocks and hummocks. In a bay to the eastwards of these, we saw a high land bearing E. and E. by S. and E.S.E. which is the island called *Xima* in the charts, but named *Mashma* by the natives, while the former island is called *Segue*, or *Amaxay*.[7] The 10th, four great fishing-boats came aboard, about five tons burden each, having one large sail, like that of a skiff. They had each four oars of a side, resting on pins fastened to the gunwales, the heads of the pins being let into the middle of the oars, so that they hung in just equipoise, saving much labour to the rowers. These people make much more speed in rowing than our men, and perform their work standing, by which they take up less room. They told us we were just before the entrance to *Nangasaki*, which bore N. N. E.; the straits of *Arima* being N.E. by N. and that the high hill we saw yesterday was upon the island called *Uszideke*,[8] making the straits of *Arima*, at the north end of which is good anchorage, and at the south end is the entrance to *Cahinoch*.[9] We agreed with two of the masters of these fishing-boats for thirty dollars each, and rice for their food, to pilot us to *Firando*, on which agreement their people came aboard our ship, and voluntarily performed its duty as readily as any of our own mariners. We steered N. by W. the pilots reckoning that we were thirty leagues from Firando. One of the boats which came to us at this time belonged to the Portuguese who dwelt at Nangasaki, being Christian converts, and thought our ship had been the Portuguese ship from Makao; but, on finding we were not, made all haste back again to advise them, refusing every entreaty to remain with us.

§ 6.

[6] There is a considerable cluster of small islands south from Tanaosima, between the latitudes of 29° 30′ and 30° N.—E.

[7] Xima, or sima, only means island. Perhaps Mashma may be that named Kaba-sima in modern maps, and Amaxay may possibly be Amacusa, these islands being in the way towards Nangasaki.—E.

[8] This seems the same island called before Amaxay, or Amacusa.—E.

[9] Cochinotzu is the name of a town on the south-west peninsula of the island of Kiusiu; but Cochinoch in the text seems the sound leading to Nangasaki, and the straits of Arima appear to be the passage between the north side of Amacusa and Kiusiu.—E.

§ 6. *Arrival at Firando, and some Account of the Habits, Manners, and Customs of the Japanese.*

We came to anchor about half a league short of Firando, about three p. m. of the 11th June, 1613, the tide being then so much spent that we could not get nearer. I was soon afterwards visited by *Foyne Sama*, the old king of Firando, accompanied by his nephew, *Tone Sama*, who governed the island under the old king.[1] They were attended by forty boats or gallies, some having ten, and others fifteen oars of a side. On coming near our ship, the king ordered all the boats to fall astern, except the two which carried him and his nephew, who only came on deck, both dressed in silk gowns, under which were linen shirts and breeches. Each of them wore two *cattans*, or Japanese swords, one of which was half a yard long in the blade, and the other only a quarter of a yard. They wore neither turbans nor hats, the fore part of their heads being shaven to the crowns, and the rest of their hair very long, and gathered into a knot behind. The king seemed about seventy-two years of age, and his nephew, or grandchild, twenty-two, who governed under him, and each was attended by an officer, who commanded over their slaves as they directed.

Their manner of salutation was thus: On coming into the presence of him they mean to salute, they put off their shoes, so that they are barefooted, for they wear no stockings. Then putting their right hand within the left, they hold them down to their knees, bending their bodies, then wag or swing their joined hands a little to and fro, making some small steps to one side from the person they salute, and say *augh! augh!* I immediately led them into my cabin, where I had prepared a banquet for them, and entertained them with a good concert of music, to their great delight. I then delivered the letters from our king to the king of Firando, which he received very joyfully, saying he would not open it till *Ange* came, who would interpret it. *Ange*, in their language, signifies a pilot, and by this name was meant

[1] As the Portuguese, who first visited Japan, chose to designate the sovereign of that country by the title of emperor, they denominated all its provinces kingdoms, and their governors kings.—E.

meant one *William Adams*, an Englishman. He had come this way in a Dutch ship from the South Seas, about twelve years ago; and, in consequence of a mutiny among the people, the ship was seized by the emperor, and Adams had remained in the country ever since. After staying about an hour and a half, the king took his leave, bidding us welcome to the country, and promising me kind entertainment.

He was no sooner ashore than all his nobility came to see the ship, attended by a vast number of soldiers, every person of any note bringing a present; some of venison, some of wild-fowl, and some of wild-boar, the largest and fattest we had ever seen, while others brought us fish, fruits, and various things. They greatly admired the ship, and seemed never to be satisfied with looking at her; and as we were much pestered by the number of these visitors, I sent to the king, requesting he would order them to remove, to prevent any inconveniences that might arise. The king immediately sent a principal officer of his guard, with orders to remain aboard, to see that no injury was done to us, and ordered a proclamation to that effect to be made in the town. The same night, Hendrik Brewer, who was chief of the Dutch factory at Firando, came to visit me, or rather to see what had passed between the king and us. I wrote this day to Mr Adams, who was then at *Jedo*,[2] nearly 300 leagues from Firando, to inform him of our arrival. King *Foyne* sent my letter next day by his admiral, to *Osackay* (*Osaka*,) the nearest port of importance on the principal island, whence it would go by post to Jedo, and he sent notice to the emperor by the same conveyance, of our arrival and purposes.

In the morning of the 12th, we had fish brought to us in abundance, and as cheap as we could desire. We this day weighed to make sail for the road; and, on this occasion, the king sent at the least threescore large boats, or gallies, well manned, to tow us into the harbour. On seeing this multitude of boats, I was in some doubts of their intentions, and sent my skiff to warn them not to come near the ship. But the king was in the headmost boat, and observing my suspicions, waved his handkerchief for all the boats to wait, and came aboard himself, telling me that he had ordered all

[2] Called *Edoo*, in Purchas.

all these boats to assist in bringing me round a point which was somewhat dangerous, on account of the strength of the tide, and could not be stemmed by even a good breeze of wind, and if the ship fell into the eddy, we should be driven upon the rocks. Having got this explanation, we sent our hawsers to the Japanese boats, on which they fell stiffly to work, and towed us into the harbour. In the mean time, the king breakfasted with me, and when I proposed rewarding his people for towing me in, after we were at anchor, he would not allow them to accept of any thing.

We now anchored in five fathoms, on soft ooze, so near the shore that we could have talked with the people in their houses. We saluted the town with nine guns, but had no return, as there are no cannon at this place, neither any fortifications, except barricades for small arms. Several nobles came off to bid me welcome, two of whom were men of high rank, named *Nobusane* and *Simmadone*. I entertained them well, and, at their departing, they used extraordinary state, one remaining on board till the other was landed, their children and chief followers using the like ceremony. There came continually such numbers of people on board, both men and women, that we were not able to go about the decks. The ship likewise was quite surrounded by boats full of people, greatly admiring her head and stern. I permitted several women of the better sort to come into my cabin, where the picture of Venus and Cupid was hung, rather wantonly executed. Some of these ladies, thinking it to be Our Lady and her blessed Son, fell down to worship with appearance of much devotion, whispering our men, so that their companions might not hear, that they were Christians, having been converted by the Portuguese jesuits.

The king came aboard again, bringing four principal women along with him, who were attired in silken gowns, overlapped in front, and girt round them. Their legs were bare, except that they had half buskins bound about their insteps with silk ribbon. Their hair was very black and long, tied up in a knot on the crown, in a very comely manner, no part of their heads being shaven, like the men. They had comely faces, hands, and feet, with clear white complexions, but wanting colour, which they supplied by art. Their stature was low, but they were very fat, and their behaviour was very courteous, and not ignorant of the respect

respect due according to their fashions. The king requested that no person might remain in the cabin except myself and my linguist, who was a native of Japan, brought along with me from Bantam. He was well skilled in the Malay language, in which he explained to me what was said by the king, in Japanese. The women were at first somewhat bashful, but the king desired them to be frolicsome. They sung several songs, and played on certain instruments, one of which resembled our lute, being bellied like it, but longer in the neck, and fretted like ours, but had only four gut strings. They fingered with their left hands, as is done with us, and very nimbly; but they struck the strings with a piece of ivory held in the right hand, as we are in use to play with a quill on the citern. They seemed to delight much in their music, beating time with their hands, and both playing and singing by book, prickt on lines and spaces much like our own. I feasted them, and gave them several English commodities, and after two hours stay, they returned on shore. At this interview I requested the king to let us have a house in the town, which he readily granted, taking two of my merchants ashore with him, to whom he pointed out three or four houses, desiring them to make their choice, paying the owners as we could agree.

On the 13th I went ashore, attended by the merchants and principal officers, and delivered our presents to the king, to the value of about £140, which he received with great satisfaction, feasting me and my whole company with several kinds of *powdered* wild-fowl and fruits. He called for a standing cup, which was one of the presents, and ordering it to be filled with their country wine, which is distilled from rice, and as strong as brandy, he told me he would drink it all off to the health of the king of England, which he did, though it held about a pint and a half, in which he was followed by myself and all his nobles. As only myself and the Cape merchant sat in the same room with the king, all the rest of my company being in another room, he commanded his secretary to go and see that they all pledged the health. The king and his nobles sat at meat cross-legged, on mats, after the fashion of the Turks, the mats being richly edged with cloths of gold, velvet, sattin, or damask. The 14th and 15th were spent in giving presents; and on the 16th I agreed with *Audassee*, captain of the Chinese quarter, for his house, paying ninety-five dollars

dollars for the monsoon of six months; he to put it into repair, and to furnish all the rooms conveniently with mats, according to the fashion of the country, and we to keep it in repair, with leave to alter as we thought fit.

This day our ship was so pestered with numbers of people coming on board, that I had to send to the king for a guardian to clear them out, many things being stolen, though I more suspected my own people than the natives. There came this day a Dutchman in one of the country boats, who had been at the island of *Mashma*, where he sold good store of pepper, broad-cloth, and elephants teeth, though he would not acknowledge to us that he had sold any thing, or brought any thing back with him in the boat; but the Japanese boatmen told us he had sold a great quantity of goods at a mart in that place, and had brought his returns in bars of silver, which he kept very secret.

The 21st the old king came aboard again, bringing with him several women to make a frolic. These women were actors of comedies, who go about from island to island, and from town to town, to act plays, which are mostly about love and war, and have several shifts of apparel for the better grace of their interludes. These women were the slaves of a man who fixes a price that every man must pay who has to do with them. He must not take a higher price than that affixed, on pain of death, if complained against. At the first, he is allowed to fix upon each woman what price he pleases, which price he can never afterwards raise, but may lower it as he likes; neither doth the party bargain with the women for their favours, but with the master. Even the highest of the Japanese nobility, when travelling, hold it no disgrace to send for these panders to their inn, and bargain with them for their girls, either to fill out their drink for them at table, as is the custom with all men of rank, or for other uses. When any of these panders die, although in their life they were received into the best company, they are now held unworthy to rest among the worst. A straw rope is put round their neck, and they are dragged through the streets into the fields, and cast on a dung-hill to be devoured by dogs and fowls.

The 23d, there arrived two Chinese junks at Nangasaki, laden with sugar. By them it was understood that the emperor of China had lately put to death about 5000 persons for trading out of the country contrary to his edict. Yet the

the hope of profit had induced these men to hazard their lives and properties, having bribed the *Pungavas*, or officers of the sea-ports, who had succeeded those recently put to death for the same offence.

The 29th, a *soma*, or junk, belonging to the Dutch, arrived at Nangasaki from Siam, laden with Brazil wood and skins of all kinds. On their arrival, they were said to be Englishmen, as, before our coming, the Dutch used generally to pass by the name of English, our nation being long known by report in Japan, but much scandalised by the Portuguese jesuits, who represent us as pirates and rovers on the sea. In consequence of this report, the Japanese have a song, which they call *English Crofonio*, shewing how the English take the Spanish and Portuguese ships, which, while singing, they act likewise with catans, and so scare their children, as the French used to do theirs with the name of Lord Talbot.

The 1st July two of our company happened to quarrel, and had nearly gone out to the field to fight, which had greatly endangered us all, as it is the law here, that whoever draws a weapon in anger, although no harm be done, is presently cut in pieces; and if they do even but small hurt, not only they are so executed themselves, but all their relations are put to death. The 2d, I went ashore to keep house at Firando, my household consisting of twenty-six persons. At our first coming, we found that the Dutch sold broad-cloths of £15 or 16 a-cloth, for forty dollars, or £8 sterling the *mat*, which is a measure of two yards and a quarter. Being desirous to keep up the price of our cloth, and hearing that the Dutch had a great quantity, I had a conference with Brower, the chief of their factory, proposing that we should mutually fix prices upon such cloths as we both had, and neither of us, in any respect, sell below the prices agreed upon; for performance of which, I offered to enter into mutual bonds. In the morning, he seemed to approve of this proposal, but ere night he sent me word that he disliked it, alleging that he had no authority from his masters to make any such agreement. Next morning he shipped away a great store of cloth to different islands, rating them at low prices, as at twenty, eighteen, and sixteen dollars the *mat*, that he might the more speedily sell off his own, and glut the market before ours came forwards.

Pepper,

Pepper, ungarbled, which cost 1¾ dollars at Bantam the sack, was worth at our coming ten *tayes* the *pecul*, which is 100 *cattees* of Japan, or 130 pounds English. A *taye* is worth five shillings sterling. A rial of eight, or Spanish dollar, is worth there in ordinary payment only seven *mas*, or three shillings and sixpence sterling, one mas being equal to a single rial. The *pecul* of tin was worth thirty *tayes*; the *pecul* of elephants teeth eighty *tayes*: Cast iron six tayes the pecul: Gunpowder twenty-three tayes the pecul: Socotrine aloes the cattee, six *tayes*: Fowling-pieces twenty tayes each: Calicos and such little commodities, of Guzerat or Coromandel, were at various prices, according to their qualities.

On the 7th of July the king of the *Gotto* islands, which are not far from Firando to the S.W. came upon a visit to king *Foyne*, saying he had heard of an excellent English ship being arrived in his dominions, which he greatly desired to go aboard of. King Foyne requested of me that this might be allowed, the king of Gotto being an especial friend of his; wherefore he was banqueted on board, and several cannon were fired at his departure, which he was much pleased with, and told me he would be glad to see some of our nation at his islands, where they should meet a hearty welcome. Three Japanese, two men and a woman, were put to death for the following cause: The woman, in the absence of her husband, had made separate assignations with both the men. He who was appointed latest, not knowing of the other, and weary of waiting, came too soon, and enraged at finding her engaged with another man, drew his *cattan* and wounded both very severely, almost cutting the man's back in two. Yet the wounded man, getting hold of his *cattan*, wounded the aggressor. This fray alarming the street, word was sent to king Foyne and to know his pleasure, who accordingly gave orders to cut off all their heads. After their execution, all who thought proper, as many did, came to try the temper of their weapons upon the dead bodies, which they soon hewed in small pieces, which were left to be devoured by the ravens.

The 10th three others were executed in the same way with the former, being beheaded and afterwards cut in pieces, for stealing a woman long since from Firando and selling her at Nangasaki. When any are to be executed, they are led out of town in the following manner: First

there go two men, one having a mattock and the other a shovel, to dig the grave, if that be allowed to the criminal. Then a third person carrying a small table or board, on which is written the crime of the party, which is afterwards affixed to a post on the grave in which he is buried. Next comes the party to be executed, having his hands bound behind him by a silken cord, and having a small paper banner, much like one of our wind-vanes, on which the offence is written. The criminal is followed by the executioner, having his *cattan* or Japanese sword by his side, and holding in his hand the cord with which the hands of the criminal are bound. On each hand of the executioner walks a soldier armed with a pike, the head of which rests on the criminal's shoulder, to intimidate him from attempting to escape. In this manner I saw one man led out to execution, who went forwards with a most wonderful resolution, and apparently without fear of death, such as I had never seen the like in Europe. He was condemned for stealing a sack of rice from a neighbour, whose house was burning.

The 11th there arrived three Chinese junks at Nangasaki, laden with silks. The 19th the old king begged a piece of *poldavy* from me; and though a king, and famed as the bravest soldier in Japan for his conduct in the wars of Corea, he had it made into coats, which he wore next his skin, some part of it being made into handkerchiefs. The 20th, a *soma* or junk arrived at Nangasaki from Cochinchina, laden with silk and benzoin, which last was exceedingly clear and good. The 29th Mr Adams arrived at Firando, having been seventeen days in coming from Sorongo, while we had waited no less than forty-eight days for his coming.[3] After receiving him in a friendly manner, I conferred with him in the presence of our merchants, as to our hopes of trade in this country. He said the trade was variable, but doubted not we might do as well as the Dutch, and gave great commendations of the country, to which he seemed to be much attached.

On the morning of the 30th, an officer of the young king was cut to pieces in the street, as it was thought for being too intimate with the young king's mother; and one of the officer's

[3] The first messenger, for not making haste with the letters to Adams, was banished by the angry king.—*Purch.*

officer's slaves was slain along with him, for endeavouring to defend his master. This day there came two Spaniards to Firando, who were acquainted with Mr Adams, to request a passage in our ship for Bantam. They had belonged to the crew of a Spanish ship, sent from New Spain about a year before to make discoveries to the north of Japan, and coming to Jedo to wait the monsoon which serves for going to the northward, which begins in the end of May, the crew mutinied against their captain, and every one went away whither he listed, leaving the ship entirely unmanned. On receiving this account of the Spaniards, I thought it best not to let them enter my ship.

On the 3d of August, king *Foyne* sent to know what was the size of the present from our king to the emperor, as also the number of people I meant to take along with me to the court, that he might provide accordingly for my going up in good order, in regard to barks, horses, and palanquins. This day likewise I caused the presents to be assorted, for the emperor and those of chief consideration about him, of which presents respectively the values were as follow :—

For *Ogoshosama,* the emperor, - -	£87	7	6
Shongosama, the emperor's son, -	43	15	0
Codskedona, the emperor's secretary, -	15	17	6
Saddadona, secretary to the emperor's son,	14	3	4
Iccocora Juga, judge of *Meaco,* - -	4	10	6
Fongodona, admiral of *Orungo,* - -	3	10	0
Goto Shozavero, the mint-master, -	11	0	0
Total,	£180	3	10

§ 7. *Journey of Captain Saris to the Court of the Emperor, with his Observations there and by the Way.*

The 7th August, 1613, being furnished by king *Foyne* with a proper galley, and having taken leave of him, I went aboard ship to put all things in order for my departure.[1] This galley rowed twenty-five oars of a side, and was manned by sixty Japanese; and I fitted her out handsomely in our

[1] The old king sent 100 tayes, worth five shillings each, to Captain Saris, for his expences in the journey.—*Purch.*

our fashion, with waste cloths, ensigns, and all other necessaries. Leaving instructions with the master of the Clove and the cape merchant, for the proper regulation of the ship and the house on shore during my absence, and taking with me ten Englishmen and nine other attendants, as the before-mentioned sixty were only to take charge of the galley, I departed from Firando on my voyage and journey for the court of the Japanese emperor. We rowed through among various islands, all or most of which were well inhabited, and had several handsome towns upon them, one of which, called *Facata*, has a very strong castle built of freestone, but without any cannon or garrison. The ditch of this castle is five fathoms deep and ten broad, all round about the walls, and is passed by means of a drawbridge, and the whole is kept in good repair. The tide and wind were here so strong against us that we could not proceed, for which reason I landed and dined at this town, which was very well built, and seemed to be as large as London is within the walls. All its streets are so even, that one may see from one end to the other. This place is exceedingly populous, and the people very civil and courteous; only that at our first landing, and indeed at all places to which we came in the whole country, the children and low idle people used to gather about and follow us a long way, calling *coré, coré, cocoré, Waré;* that is to say, *You Coreans with false hearts;* all the while whooping and hallooing, and making such a noise that we could not hear ourselves speak; and sometimes throwing stones at us, though seldom in any of the towns, yet the clamour and shouting was every where the same, as nobody reproved them for it. The best advice I can give to those who may come after me, is to pass on without attending to these idle rabblements, by which their ears only will be disturbed by the noise. All along this coast, and indeed the whole way to Osaka, we found various women who lived continually with their families in boats upon the water, as is done in Holland. These women catch fish by diving even in the depth of eight fathoms, that are missed by the nets and lines; and by the habit of frequent diving their eyes become excessively red and bloodshot, by which mark these divers may be readily distinguished from all other women.

In two days we rowed from Firando to Facata. When eight

eight or ten leagues short of the straits of *Xemina-seque*,[2] we came to a great town, where there lay in a dock a junk of 800 or 1000 tons burden, *all sheathed with iron*,[3] and having a guard appointed to keep her from being set on fire or otherwise destroyed. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like the descriptions we have of Noah's ark; and the natives told us she served to transport troops to any of the islands in case of rebellion or war.

We met with nothing extraordinary after passing through the straits of Xemina-seque till we came to Osaka, where we arrived on the 27th of August. Our galley could not get nearer the town than six miles; wherefore we were met by a smaller vessel, in which came the *goodman or host* of the house where we were to lodge in Osaka, and who brought with him a banquet of wine and *salt fruits* to entertain me. A rope being made fast to the mast-head of our boat, she was drawn forwards by men, as our west country barges are at London. We found Osaka a very large town, as large as London within the walls, having many very high and handsome timber bridges which serve to cross the river *Jodo*, which is as wide as the Thames at London. Some of the houses here were handsome, but not many. It is one of the chiefest sea-ports in all Japan, and has a castle of great size and strength, with very deep ditches all round, crossed by drawbridges, and its gates plated with iron. This castle is all of freestone, strengthened by bulwarks and battlements, having loop-holes for small arms and arrows, and various passages for throwing down stones upon the assailants. The walls are at least six or seven yards thick, all built of freestone throughout, having no packing with trumpery within, as I was told, but all solid. The stones are large and of excellent quality, and are so exactly cut to fit the places where they are laid, that no mortar is used, only

[2] The editor of Astley's Collection has altered the orthography of this name to *Shemina seki*. In modern maps, we find a town named *Sunono sequi*, on one side of these straits, which divide the island of Kiusiu from the south-west end of the great island of Niphon.—E.

[3] It is not a little singular, that metallic sheathing should have been observed by English mariners in Japan so long ago as 1613, and yet never attempted in the British or any other European navy till more than 150 years afterwards, and then brought forwards as a new invention.—E.

only a little earth being occasionally thrown in to fill up any void spaces.

In the castle of Osaka, when I was there, dwelt the son of *Tiquasama*, who was the true heir of Japan; but being an infant at the death of his father, he was left under the guardianship of four chiefs or great men, of whom Ogoshosama, the present emperor, was the principal. The other three guardians were each desirous of acquiring the sovereignty, and being opposed by Ogoshosama, levied armies against him; but Ogoshosama defeated them in battle, in which two of them were slain, and the other saved himself by flight. After this great victory, Ogoshosama attempted what he is said not to have thought of before. Seizing the true heir of the throne, he married the young prince to his own daughter, and confined them in the castle of Osaka, under the charge of such persons only as had been brought up from their childhood under the roof of the usurper, so that by their means he has regular intelligence of every thing they do.

Right opposite to Osaka, on the other side of the river Jodo, there is another town called *Sakay*, not so large as Osaka, but of considerable extent, and having great trade to all the neighbouring country. Having left samples and lists of prices of all our commodities with our host at Osaka, we departed from that place on the night of the 29th of August in a bark, and arrived at *Fusima* next night, where we found a garrison of 3000 men, maintained there by the emperor, to keep Miaco and Osaka under subjection. This garrison is shifted every third year, and the relief took place while we were there, so that we saw the old bands march away and the new enter, which they did in a most soldier-like manner. They marched five abreast, and to every ten files or fifty men there was a captain, who kept his men in excellent order. Their shot marched first, being *calivers*, for they have no muskets and will not use any, then followed pikes, next swords or *cattans* and targets, these were followed by bows and arrows, and then a band armed with weapons called *waggadashes*, resembling Welsh hooks: These were succeeded by calivers, and so on as before; but without any ensigns or colours; neither had they any drums or other warlike instruments of music. The first file of the band armed with cattans had silver scabbards, and the last file which marched next the captain had

their

their scabbards of gold. The companies or bands were of various numbers, some 500, some 300, and some only of 150 men. In the middle of every band there were three horses very richly caparisoned, their saddles being covered by costly furs, or velvet, or stammel broad-cloths. Every horse was attended by three slaves, who led them in silken halters, and their eyes were hoodwinked by means of leathern covers.

After each troop or band, the captain followed on horseback, his bed and all his necessaries being laid upon his own horse equally poised on both sides, and over all was spread a covering of red felt of China, on the top of which sat the captain crosslegged, like a huckster between two paniers. Such as were old or weak in the back had a staff artificially fixed on the pannel, on which he could lean back and rest himself as if sitting in a chair. We met the captain-general of this new garrison two days after meeting his first band, having in the mean time met several of these bands in the course of our journey, some a league, and others two leagues from each other. The general travelled in great state, much beyond the other bands, yet the second band had their arms much more richly decorated than the first, and the third than the second, and so every successive band more sumptuous than another. The captain-general hunted and hawked all the way, having his own hounds and hawks along with him, the hawks being hooded and lured as ours in England. The horses that accompanied him for his own riding were six in number, and were all richly caparisoned. These horses were not tall, but of the size of our middling nags, short and well knit, small-headed, and very mettlesome, and in my opinion far excelling the Spanish jennet in spirit and action. His palanquin was carried before him, being lined with crimson velvet, and having six bearers, two and two to carry at a time.

Such excellent order was taken for the passing and providing of these soldiers, that no person either inhabiting or travelling in the road by which they passed and lodged, was in any way injured by them, but all of them were as cheerfully entertained as any other guests, because they paid for what they had as regularly as any other travellers. Every town and village on the way being well provided with cooks-shops and victualling houses, where they could get every thing they had a mind for, and diet themselves at

any sum they pleased, between the value of an English penny and two shillings. The most generally used article of food in Japan is rice of different qualities, as with our wheats and other kinds of grain, the whitest being reckoned the best, and is used instead of bread, to which they add fresh or salted fish, some pickled herbs, beans, radishes, and other roots, salted or pickled; wild-fowl, such as duck, mallard, teal, geese, pheasants, partridges, quails, and various others, powdered or put up in pickle. They have great abundance of poultry, as likewise of red and fallow deer, with wild boars, hares, goats, and kine. They have plenty of cheese, but have no butter, and use no milk, because they consider it to be of the nature of blood.

They have great abundance of swine. Their wheat is all of the red kind, and is as good as ours in England, and they plough both with oxen and horses, as we do. During our residence in Japan, we bought the best hens and pheasants at three-pence each, large fat pigs for twelve-pence, a fat hog for five shillings, a good ox, like our Welsh runts, at sixteen shillings, a goat for three shillings, and rice for a halfpenny the pound. The ordinary drink of the common people is water, which they drink warm with their meat, holding it to be a sovereign remedy against *worms in the maw.* They have no other drink but what is distilled from rice, as strong as our brandy, like Canary wine in colour, and not dear: Yet, after drawing off the best and strongest, they still wring out a smaller drink, which serves the poorer people who cannot reach the stronger.

The 30th of August we were furnished with nineteen horses at the charge of the emperor, to carry up my attendants and the presents going in our king's name to *Surunga.* I had a palanquin appointed for my use, and a led horse, well caparisoned, to ride when I pleased, six men being appointed to carry my palanquin on plain ground, but where the road grew hilly, ten were allowed. The officer appointed by king *Foyne* to accompany me, took up these men and horses by warrants, from time to time, and from place to place, just as post-horses are taken up in England, and also procured us lodgings at night; and, according to the custom of the country, I had a slave to run before me, carrying a pike. We thus travelled every day fifteen or sixteen leagues, which we estimated at three miles the league, and arrived on the 6th of September at *Surun-*

ga,

ga,[4] where the emperor resided. The road for the most part is wonderfully even, and where it meets with mountains, a passage is cut through. This is the main road of the whole country, and is mostly covered with sand and gravel. It is regularly measured off into leagues, and at every league there is a small hillock of earth on each side of the road, upon each of which is set a fair pine-tree, trimmed round like an arbour. These are placed at the end of every league, that the hackney-men and horse-hirers may not exact more than their due, which is about threepence for each league.

The road is much frequented, and very full of people. Every where, at short distances, we came to farms and country-houses, with numerous villages, and frequent large towns. We had often likewise to ferry over rivers, and we saw many *Futtakeasse* or *Fotoquis*, being the temples of the Japanese, which are situated in groves, and in the pleasantest places of the country, having the priests that attend upon the idols dwelling around the temples, as our friars in old time used to do here in England. On approaching any of the towns, we saw sundry crosses, having the dead bodies of persons who had been crucified affixed to them, such being the ordinary mode of punishment for most malefactors. On coming near Surunga, where the emperor keeps his court, we saw a scaffold, on which lay the heads of several malefactors that had been recently executed, with the dead bodies of some stretched on crosses, while those of others had been all hewn in pieces by the natives, trying the tempers of their *cattans*, as formerly mentioned when at Firando. This was a most unpleasant sight for us, who had necessarily to pass them on our way to Surunga.

The city of Surunga is fully as large as London, with all its suburbs.[5] We found all the handicraft tradesmen dwelling in the outward parts and skirts of the town, while those of the better sort resided in the heart of the city, not choosing

[4] Suruga, Surunga, or Sununaga, is a town in the province of that name, at the head of the gulf of Totomina, about 50 miles S.W. from Jedo.—E.

[5] It is hardly necessary to remark, that this applies to London in the year 1613, then vastly smaller than now, when Westminster was a separate city, at some miles distance from London; the Strand, Piccadilly, and Oxford Street, country roads; Whitehall a country palace; and the whole *west end* of the town, fields, farms, or country villas.—E.

sing to be annoyed by the continual knocking, hammering, and other noise made by the artisans in their several callings. As soon as we were settled in the lodgings appointed for us in the city of Surunga, I sent Mr Adams to the imperial residence, to inform the secretary of our arrival, and to request as speedy dispatch as possible. He sent me back for answer, that I was welcome, and that after resting myself for a day for two, I should be admitted to an audience of the emperor. The 7th of September we were occupied in arranging the presents, and providing little tables of sweet-smelling wood on which to carry them, according to the custom of the country.

On the 8th of September I was carried in my palanquin to the castle of Surunga, in which the emperor resides, and was attended by my merchants and others, the presents being carried before me. In entering the castle, we had to pass three draw-bridges, at each of which there was a guard of soldiers. The approach to the presence was by means of a fair and wide flight of stone stairs, where I was met and received by two grave and comely personages; one of whom was *Codske dona*, the emperor's secretary, and the other named *Fongo dona*, the admiral. By these officers I was led into a handsome room, the floor of which was covered by mats, on which we sat down cross-legged. Shortly after, they led me into the presence-chamber, in which stood the chair of state, to which they wished me to do reverence. This chair was about five feet high, covered with cloth of gold, and very richly adorned on its back and sides, but had no canopy. We then returned to the former room, and in about a quarter of an hour word was brought that the emperor was in the presence-chamber. They then led me to the door of the room where the emperor was, making signs for me to go in, but dared not even to look in themselves. The presents sent from our king to the emperor, and those which I offered as from myself, according to the custom of the country, had all been placed in a very orderly manner upon mats in the presence-chamber, before the emperor came there.

Going into the chamber of presence, I made my compliments to the emperor according to our English fashion, and delivered our king's letter to the emperor, who took it in his hand and raised it towards his forehead, and commanded his interpreter, who sat at a good distance behind, to desire

desire Mr Adams to tell me that I was welcome from a long and wearisome journey, that I might therefore rest me for a day or two, and then his answer should be ready for our king. He then asked me if I did not intend to visit his son at *Jedo*.[6] Answering, that I proposed to do so, the emperor said, that orders should be given to provide me with men and horses for the journey, and that the letters for our king should be ready against my return. Then, taking leave respectfully of the emperor, and coming to the door of the presence-chamber, I found the secretary and admiral waiting to conduct me down the stairs where they formerly met me, when I went into my palanquin and returned with my attendants to our lodgings.

On the 9th I sent the present intended for the secretary to be delivered to him, for which he heartily thanked me, but would in no wise receive it, saying, the emperor had so commanded, and that it was as much as his life was worth to accept of any gift. He took, however, five pounds of Socotorine aloes, to use for his health's sake. I this day delivered to him the articles of privilege for trade, being *fourteen* in number, which we wished to have granted. These he desired to have abbreviated into as few words as possible, as in all things the Japanese are fond of brevity. Next day, being the 10th September, the articles so abridged were sent to the secretary by Mr Adams; and on being shewn by the secretary to the emperor, they were all approved except one, by which, as the Chinese had refused to trade with the English, we required permission, in case of taking any Chinese vessels by force, that we might freely bring them into the ports of Japan, and there make sale of the goods. At the first, the emperor said we might take them, since they refused to trade with us; but, after conference with the Chinese resident, he altered his mind, and would not allow of that article. All the rest were granted and confirmed under his great seal, which is not impressed in wax as with us in England, but is stamped in print with red ink. These articles of privilege were as follow:—

Privileges

[6] Always called *Edoo* in Purchas, but we have thought it better to use the form of the name now universally adopted in geography; but which name, from the orthography used by Captain Saris, is probably pronounced in Japan, *Idu*, or *Eedoo*.—E.

Privileges granted by OGOSHOSAMA, Emperor of Japan, to the Governor and Company of the London East India Company[7]

1. We give free licence to the subjects of the king of Great Britain, viz. To Sir Thomas Smith, governor, and the Company of the East Indian Merchants Adventurers, for ever, safely to come into any of the ports of our empire of Japan, with their ships and merchandize, without any hinderance to them or their goods; and to abide, buy, sell, and barter, according to their own manner, with all nations; to remain here as long as they think good, and to depart at their pleasure.

2. We grant to them freedom from custom for all such goods as they have brought now, or may hereafter bring into our empire, or may export from thence to any foreign part. And we authorise all ships that may hereafter arrive from England, to proceed immediately to sell their commodities, without any farther coming or sending to our court.

3. If any of their ships shall happen to be in danger of shipwreck, we command our subjects not only to assist them, but that such parts of the ship or goods as may be saved, shall be returned to the captain, or the cape merchant, or their assigns. That they may build one house, or more, for themselves, in any part of our empire that they think fittest for their purpose; and, at their departure, may sell the same at their pleasure.

4. If any English merchant, or others, shall die in our dominions, the goods of the deceased shall remain at the disposal of the cape merchant; and all offences committed by them shall be punished by the said cape merchant at his discretion, our laws to take no hold of their persons or goods.

5. We command all our subjects trading with them for any of their commodities, to pay them for the same without delay, or to return their wares.

6. For such commodities as they have now brought, or may bring hereafter, that are fitting for our proper use and service, we command that no arrest be made thereof, but that a fair price be agreed with the cape merchant, according

[7] This copy Captain Saris brought home and gave me.—*Purch.*

ing as they may sell to others, and that prompt payment be made on the delivery of the goods.

7. If, in the discovery of other countries for trade, and the return of their ships, they shall need men or victuals, we command that our subjects shall furnish them, for their money, according as their needs may require.

8. Without other passport, they shall and may set out upon the discovery of *Yeadso*, or *Jesso*, or any other part in or about our empire.

From our castle in Surunga, this first day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth year of our *dary*, or reign. Sealed with our broad seal, &c.

(*Underwritten*)

MINNA MOTTONO.

Yei. Ye. Yeas.[8]

On the 11th of September, the present intended for the mint-master was delivered to him, which he received very thankfully, and sent me in return two Japanese gowns of taffeta, quilted with silk cotton. The 12th Mr Adams was sent to the mint-master, who is the emperor's merchant, having charge of the mint and all the ready money, being in great estimation with the emperor, as he had made a vow, whenever the emperor dies, to cut out his own bowels and die with him. The purpose of Mr Adams waiting upon him at this time, was to carry a list of the prices of our English commodities. About noon of this same day, being furnished with horses and men by the emperor, as formerly specified, we set out for Jedo. The country between Surunga and Jedo we found well peopled, with many *Fotoquis*, or idol temples. Among others which we passed, was one having an image of great reputation, called *Dabis*, made of copper, hollow within, but of substantial thickness. We estimated its height to be twenty-one or twenty-two feet, being in the form of a man kneeling on the ground, and sitting on his heels; the whole of wonderful size, and well proportioned, and being dressed in a gown cast along with the figure. Some of our men went into the inside of this

[8] Kempper writes this other name of *Ongosio Sama*, as he calls him, *Ijejas;* which, according to the Englith orthography, is *Iyeyas.*—Astl. I. 489. b.

this idol, and hooped and hallooed, which made an exceeding great noise. It is highly reverenced by all native travellers who pass that way. We found many characters and marks made upon it by its visitors, which some of my followers imitated, making their marks in like manner. This temple and idol stand in the main road of pilgrimage to *Tencheday*, which is much frequented for devotion, as both night and day people of all ranks and conditions are continually going or returning from that place.

Mr Adams told me that he had been at the *Fotoqui*, or temple dedicated to Tencheday, to which image they make this devout pilgrimage. According to his report, one of the fairest virgins of the country is brought monthly into that *Fotoqui*, and there sits alone in a room neatly fitted up, in a sober manner; and, at certain times, this *Tencheday*, who is thought to be the devil, appears unto her, and having carnally known her, leaves with her at his departure certain scales, like unto the scales of fishes. Whatever questions she is desired by the *bonzes*, or priests of the *Fotoqui*, to ask, *Tencheday* resolves. Every month a fresh virgin is provided for the temple, but Mr Adams did not know what became of the former.[9]

We arrived at *Jedo* on the 14th September. This city is much larger than *Surunga*, and much better and more sumptuously built, and made a very glorious appearance to us on our approach; all the ridge-tiles and corner-tiles of the roofs being richly gilded and varnished, as also the door-posts of the houses. They have no glass in their windows, but have large windows of board, opening in leaves, and well adorned with paintings, as in Holland. In the chief street of the town there is a great *cawsay* all through from end to end, underneath which flows a river, or large stream of water; and at every fifty paces there is a well-head, or pit, substantially built of free-stone, having buckets with which the inhabitants draw water, both for their ordinary uses and in case of fire. This street is as broad as any of our best streets in England.

On the 15th I gave notice of my arrival to *Sadda-dona*, the secretary of the young king, or son of the emperor, requesting him to inform the king. I had access to the king on

[9] The editor of Astley's Collection, vol. I. p. 487, note b. very gravely informs his readers what they certainly are aware of, that the gallant must have been one of the *bonzes*, or priests.—E.

on the 17th, and delivered to him the presents sent by our king, as also some from myself, as is the custom of the country. The king holds his court in the castle of Jedo, which is much stronger and more sumptuous than that of Surunga; and the king was besides better guarded and attended than his father the emperor. *Saddadona,* his secretary, is father to *Codskedona* the emperor's secretary, his years and experience fitting him to have the government and direction of the king or prince successor, who appeared to us to be about forty-two years of age.

My entertainment and access to the king here at Jedo was much like that formerly mentioned with the emperor his father at Surunga. He accepted very kindly the letters and presents from our king, bidding me welcome, and desiring me to rest and refresh myself, and that his letters and presents in return should be made ready with all speed. On the 19th I delivered the presents to *Saddadona.* This day, thirty-two men being committed prisoners to a certain house, for not paying their debts, and being in the stocks within the same, it took fire in the night by some casualty, and they were all burnt to death. Towards evening, the king of Jedo sent me two suits of varnished armour, as a present to our king; and sent likewise for myself a *tatch* and a *waggadash,* the former being a long sword which is only worn in Japan by soldiers of the highest rank, and the latter being a singular weapon resembling a Welsh hook. I was informed that the distance from Jedo to the northermost part of Japan, was estimated at twenty-two days journey on horseback.

I left Jedo on the 21st September by boat, and came to *Oringgaw,*[10] a town upon the sea-side, where is an excellent harbour, in which ships may ride with as much safety as in the river Thames, and the passage from which by sea to Jedo is very safe and good; so that it would be much better for our ships to sail to this port than to Firando, as Oringgaw is on the main island of Japan or *Niphon,* and is only fourteen or fifteen leagues from Jedo, the capital and greatest

[10] No such place as Oringgaw is to be found in modern maps of Japan. Jedo is situated at the head of a deep gulf of the same name, in the south-east corner of Japan. About the distance indicated in the text, there is a town and bay named *Odavara,* on the western side of the gulf, and in the direct way back to Surunga, which may possibly be the *Oringgaw* of the text.—E.

greatest city of the empire. Its only inconvenience is, that it is not so well supplied with flesh and other victuals as Firando, but is in all other respects much preferable. From thence we proceeded on the 29th to Surunga, where we remained in waiting for the letters and presents from the emperor. On the 8th of October I received the emperor's letter, of which a translation is subjoined, and I then also received the privileges of trade, formerly quoted, the original of which I left with Mr Cocks.[11]

Letter from the Emperor of Japan to the King of Great Britain.

Your majesty's kind letter, sent me by your servant Captain Saris, who is the first of your subjects that I have known to arrive in any part of my dominions, I heartily embrace, being not a little glad to understand of your great wisdom and power, as having three plentiful and mighty kingdoms under your powerful command. I acknowledge your majesty's great bounty, in sending me so undeserved a present of many rare things, such as my land affordeth not, neither have I ever before seen: Which I receive, not as from a stranger, but as from your majesty, whom I esteem as myself, desiring the continuance of friendship with your highness: And that it may consist with your good pleasure to send your subjects to any part or port of my dominions, where they shall be most heartily welcome, applauding much their worthiness in the admirable knowledge of navigation, as having with much facility discovered a country so remote, not being amazed by the distance of

[11] The characters have by some been thought to be those of China, but I compared them with Chinese books, and they seemed to me quite different, yet not *letters* to compound words by spelling, as ours, but *words* expressed in their several characters, such as are used by the *Chinais*, and as the brevity manifesteth. I take them to be characters peculiar to Japan.—*Purch.*

In a marginal reference in the plate given by Purchas, the lines are said to read downwards, beginning at the right hand. It may possibly be so: But they appear *letters*, or literal characters, *to compound words by spelling*, and to be read like those used in Europe, from left to right horizontally. In a future portion of our work, the subject of the Japanese language and writing will be farther elucidated; when, we believe, it will appear that they have two modes of writing, one by *verbal* or *ideal* characters like the Chinese, and the other by *literal* signs like all the rest of the world.—E.

of so mighty a gulf, nor the greatness of such infinite clouds and storms, from prosecuting the honourable enterprises of discovery and merchandising, in which they shall find me to encourage them as they desire. By your said subject, I return to your majesty a small token of my love, desiring you to accept the same as from one who much rejoices in your friendship. And, whereas your majesty's subjects have desired certain privileges for trade and the settlement of a factory in my dominions, I have not only granted what they desired, but have confirmed the same to them under my broad seal, for the better establishment thereof. Given from my castle of *Surunga*, this fourth day of the ninth month, in the eighteenth year of our reign, according to our computation; resting your majesty's friend, the highest commander in the kingdom of Japan.

Subscribed

Minna Muttono.[12] *Yei. Ye. Yeas.*

At my return to Surunga, I found a Spanish ambassador from the Philippine islands, who had only been once introduced to the emperor, and delivered his presents, being certain Chinese damasks, and five jars of European sweet wine, and could not obtain any farther access to the emperor. The purpose of his embassy was, to require that such Portuguese and Spaniards as were then in Japan, not authorised by the king of Spain, might be delivered up to him, that he might carry them to the Philippines. This the emperor refused, saying his country was free, and none should be forced out of it: But, if the ambassador could persuade any to go with him, they should not be detained. The cause of the ambassador making this request was on account of the great want of men to defend the Molucca islands against the Dutch, who were then making great preparations for the entire conquest of these islands. After the ambassador had waited for an answer till the time limited by his commission was expired, and receiving none, he went away much dissatisfied: And when at the sea side, an answer was returned, as mentioned above, together with a slender

[12] In the copy of the privileges, Purchas gives this name *Mottono*, while the editor of Astley's Collection has altered it to *Monttono.* In the privileges formerly inserted, the date is made in the *nineteenth* month, perhaps an error of the press in the Pilgrims, which we have therefore corrected to *ninth.*—E.

a slender present of five Japanese gowns, and two *cattans* or swords.

About a month before I came to Surunga, being displeased with the Christians, the emperor issued a proclamation commanding that they should all remove immediately, and carry their churches to Nangasaki, a maritime town about eight leagues from Firando, and that no Christian church should be permitted, neither any mass be sung, within ten leagues of his court, on pain of death. Some time after, twenty-seven natives, men of good fashion, being assembled in an hospital or Christian Leper-house, where they had mass performed, and this coming to the knowledge of the emperor, they were all commanded to be shut up in a house for a night, and to be led to execution next day. That same evening, another man was committed to the same house for debt, who at his coming was a heathen and quite ignorant of Christ or his holy religion; but, next morning, when the officer called at the door for the Christians to come forth for execution, and those who renounced it to remain behind, this man had been so instructed during the night by the others, that he came resolutely forth along with the rest, and was crucified with them.

We departed from Surunga on the 9th of October, and during our journey towards *Miaco* we had for the most part much rain, by which the rivers were greatly swelled, and we were forced to stop by the way, so that it was the 16th of October before we got there. *Miaco* is the largest city in Japan, depending mostly upon trade, and having the chief *Fotoqui* or temple of the whole empire, which is all built of freestone, and is as long as the western end of St Paul's in London from the choir; being also as high, arched in the roof and borne upon pillars as that is. Many *bonzes* are here in attendance for their maintenance, as priests are among the papists. They have here an altar, on which the votaries offer rice and small money, called *cundrijus*, twenty of which are equal to an English shilling, which offerings are applied to the use of the bonzes. Near this altar is an idol, called *Mannada*, much resembling that of *Dabis* formerly mentioned, and like it made of copper, but much higher, as it reaches up to the arched roof. This *Fotoqui* was begun to be built by *Taicosama*, and has since been finished by his son, having been ended only while we were there. According to report, there were buried within its enclosure the ears and noses of

3000 Coreans, who were massacred at one time; and upon their grave a mount is raised, having a pyramid on its summit, the mount being grown over with grass, and very neatly kept. The horse that Taicosama last rode upon is kept near this *Fotoqui*, having never been ridden since, and his hoofs have grown extraordinarily long by age.

This *Fotoqui* stands on the top of a high hill, and on either side, as you ascend the hill, there are fifty pillars of freestone, at ten paces each from the other, having a lantern on the top of each, which are all lighted up with oil every night. There are many other Fotoquis in this city. In Miaco the Portuguese jesuits have a very stately college, in which there are several native Japanese jesuits, who preach, and have the New Testament printed in the Japanese language. Many of the native children are bred up in this college, where they are instructed in the Christian religion, according to the doctrines of the Romish church; and there are not less than five or six thousand natives professing Christianity in this city. The tradesmen and artificers of all kinds in this city are all distributed by themselves, every trade and occupation having its own particular streets, and not mingled together as with us. We remained some time in Miaco, waiting for the emperor's present, which was at length delivered, being ten *beobs*, or large pictures, for being hung up in a chamber.

The 20th of October we departed from Miaco, and came that night to *Fushimi*.[13] We arrived about noon of the next day at Osaka, where the common people behaved very rudely to us, some calling after us *Tosin! Tosin!* that is, Chinese, while others called us *Coré! Coré!* or Coreans, and flung stones at us; even the greatest people of the city animating and setting on the rabble to abuse us. We here found the galley waiting for us which had brought us from Firando, having waited for us all the time of our absence at the expence of king *Foyne*. We embarked in this galley on the 24th of October, and arrived at Firando on the 6th November, where we were kindly welcomed by old *Foyne*. During the time of my absence, our people had sold very little goods, as according to the customs of Japan no stranger can offer goods for sale without the express permission of the emperor. Besides, as our chiefest commodity intended for this country

[13] Fusimo, a town about ten miles from Miaco, on a river that runs into the head of the bay of Osaka.—E.

country was broad cloth, which had latterly been sold there at the rate of forty Spanish dollars the *matte*, which is two yards and a quarter as formerly mentioned, and as the natives saw that we were not much in the habit of wearing it ourselves, they were more backward in buying it than they used to be. They said to us, "You commend your cloth to us, while you yourselves wear little of it; your better sort of people wearing silken garments, while the meanest are clothed in fustians, &c." Wherefore, that good counsel, though late, may come to some good purpose, I wish that our nation would be more inclined to use this our native manufacture of our own country, by which we may better encourage and allure others to its use and expenditure.

§ 8. *Occurrences at Firando, during the Absence of Captain Saris.*[1]

The 7th August, 1613, all things being in readiness, our general Captain Saris departed from Firando in company with Mr Adams, for the court of the emperor of Japan, taking along with him Mr Tempest Peacock, Mr Richard Wickham, Edward Saris, Walter Carwarden, Diego Fernandos, John Williams a tailor, John Head a cook, Edward Bartan the surgeon's mate, John Japan *Jurebasso*,[2] Richard Dale coxswain, and Anthony Ferry a sailor; having a cavalier or gentleman belonging to king Foyne as their protector, with two of his servants, and two native servants belonging to Mr Adams. They embarked in a barge or galley belonging to the king, which rowed twenty oars of a side, and we fired thirteen pieces of ordnance at their departure. The old king sent 100 *tayes* of Japanese money to our general before his departure, for his expenditure on the way, which I placed to account, by our general's order, as money lent.

Next

[1] This subdivision is taken from observations written by Richard Cockes, Cape merchant, or chief factor at Firando. These observations are a separate article in the Pilgrims of Purchas, vol. I. pp. 395—405, and in Astley's Collection, vol. I. pp. 509—517; but are inserted in this place as calculated to render this first account of the English trade in Japan a complete and unbroken narrative.—E.

[2] John Japan seems a fabricated name; perhaps a Japanese Christian named John, and the addition of *Jurebasso* may signify that he acted as interpreter.—E.

Next day, I went to wait upon the two kings, as from our general, to thank them for having so well provided for his journey, which they took in good part. I suspect the old king had notice that some of our men had behaved ill last night; as he desired me to remind the master to look well to the people on board, and that I should look carefully to the behaviour of those on shore, that all things might go on as well in the absence of the general as when he was present, otherwise the shame would be ours, but the dishonour his. On the 9th, a Japanese boy named Juan, who spoke good Spanish, came and offered to serve me for nine or ten years, and even to go with me to England if I pleased, asking no wages but what I was pleased to give. I took him into my service, and that the rather, because I found Miguel, the *jurebasso* left with me by Mr Adams, was somewhat stubborn, and loved to run about at his pleasure, leaving me often without any person who could speak a word of the Japanese language. This Juan is a Christian, most of his kindred dwelling at Nangasaki, only one living here at Firando, who came along with him and passed his word for his honesty and fidelity. Juan had served a Spaniard at Manilla for three years, where he had acquired the Spanish language. I engaged him, and bought for him two Japanese garments, which cost me fourteen *mas*.

The 13th I shewed our commodities to some merchants of *Maioco*, [Miaco] but they bought nothing, and seemed chiefly to desire to have gunpowder. This day *Semidono* went to visit our ship, accompanied by several stranger gentlemen, and came afterwards to see our English house, where I gave them the best entertainment in my power. The 19th at night began the great feast of the pagans, when they banquet and make merry all night by candle-light at the graves of their deceased kindred, whom they invite to partake.[3] It lasts three nights and the intermediate days; when, by command of the king, every house must new gravel the street before its door, and hang out candles all night. I was not slack in obeying this order, and I was informed that a poor man was put to death and his house shut up, for neglecting to comply with the order. On this occasion, the China captain furnished me with two very decent paper lanthorns. Being informed that the kings intended to ride about the streets,

[3] This pagan feast is a kind of Candlemas or Allsouls.—*Purchas.*

streets, and to make me a visit, I provided a banquet for them, and waited till after midnight, but they came not. The 20th, 21st, and 22d, I sent presents to both the kings, being informed that such was the custom of the country, sending them wine and confections; as likewise to *Nobesane*, the young king's brother; to *Semidono*, the old king's governor, and to *Unagense*, which were all very thankfully accepted. Some *cavalliers*, or Japanese gentlemen, came to visit me during the festival, to whom I gave the best entertainment I could procure.

The 23d we made an end of landing our gunpowder, being in all ninety-nine barrels, of which I advised our general by letter, requesting him to reserve a sufficiency for the ship, in case he sold it to the emperor. We landed several other things, which the master thought had best be sent ashore, as our men began to filch and steal, that they might go to taverns and brothels. This day Mr Melsham the purser and I dined with Semidono, who used us kindly. The master and Mr Eaton were likewise invited, but did not go. The great festival ended this day, when three troops of dancers went about the town, with flags or banners, their music being drums and *pans*,[4] to the sound of which they danced at the doors of all the great men, as also at their pagodas and at the sepulchres.

The 24th at night, all the streets were hung with candles, as the young king and his brother, with *Semidono, Nabesone*, and many others, went in masquerade to dance at the house of the old king. The young king and his brother were on horseback, having canopies carried over them, all the rest being a-foot, and they were accompanied by drums and *kettles*, as the before-mentioned dancers, *Nabesone* playing on a fife. I was informed they meant to visit our house on their return, wherefore I provided a banquet and sat up for them till after midnight; but they returned in disorder, I think owing to some discontent, and none of them entered our house. Captain *Brower* likewise passed our door, but would not look at us, and we made as little account of him. The 27th we landed three pieces of ordnance, having three landed formerly, all whole *culverins* of iron. The old king came down to the shore while our men were about this job, and seeing only twenty men, offered seventy or a 100 Japanese to

4 Probably *gongs*, which very much resemble a brass frying-pan.—E.

to help them; but our people landed them all very quickly in his sight, at which he expressed much astonishment, saying that an hundred of his men could not have done it so soon. He was so much pleased with the activity of our men on this occasion, that he sent for a barrel of wine and some fish, which he gave among them as a reward for their labouring so lustily.

The 28th, I received two letters from our general, dated the 19th and 20th of the month, as also two others from Mr Peacock and Mr Wickham, which were brought me by the governor of *Shimonoseke*.[5] This governor did not land at Firando, but delivered these letters on board our ship to the master, proceeding directly for Nangasaki, and promising to return hither shortly. I also carried a letter for the old king *Foyne*, which was brought by the same governor, being accompanied on the occasion by Mr Melsham and *Hernando*. Foyne at this visit made a present of a *cattan* or Japanese sword to Mr Melsham, and another with a Spanish dagger to Hernando, giving likewise both to them and me several bunches of garlic. He also gave us leave to dry our gunpowder on the top of the fortress, offering some of his own people to help ours, if we had need of them. This day I brought on shore to our house twenty-two bars of lead, together with 125 culverin shot, round and langridge. When we were about to sit down to supper, the old king came to visit us, and being very merry he sat down to supper with us, and took such fare as we had in good part.

The 1st September, the old king and all his nobles made a masquerade, and went next night to visit the young king his grandson, accompanied by music, as formerly mentioned, all the streets being hung with lanterns. As I was told he meant to visit our house on his return, I made ready for him and waited till after midnight; but he passed by with all his company without coming in. I reckoned he had more than 3000 persons in his train, for which, as I think, he passed by, not wishing to trouble us with so great a multitude. On the 2d *Semidono* and others who were appointed by the king, measured all the houses in the street, ours among the rest; which I understood was for the purpose of a general taxation, to be levied by appointment of the emperor, for the construction

5 Sunonosequi is a town on the north side of the straits between the island of Kiusiu and the north-western end of Niphon.—E.

construction of fortresses. I entertained them to their satisfaction. The 4th we had news that the queen of Spain was dead, and that the king was a suitor for the princess Elizabeth of England. The 6th, a nobleman came to visit our English house, and brought me a present of two great bottles of wine and a basket of pears. I entertained him as well as I could, and he went away contented.

We had much rain in the morning of the 7th September, accompanied by wind, which increased in force all day, varying between the east and south. In the night between the 7th and 8th, the wind rose to a *tuffoon* or storm of such extreme violence as I had never witnessed, neither had the like been experienced in this country during the memory of man. It overturned above an hundred houses in Firando, and unroofed many others, among which was the house of old king Foyne. An extensive wall surrounding the house of the young king was blown down, and the boughs and branches of trees were broken off and tossed about with wonderful violence. The sea raged with such fury, that it undermined a great wharf or quay at the Dutch factory, broke down the stone wall, carried away the landing stairs, sunk and broke to pieces two barks belonging to the Dutch, and forty or fifty other barks, then in the roads, were broken and sunk. At our house, the newly built wall of our kitchen was broken down by the sea, which likewise flowed into and threw down our oven. The tiles likewise were blown off from the roofs of our house and kitchen, both of which were partly unroofed. Our house rocked as if shaken by an earthquake, and we spent the night in extreme fear, either of being buried under the ruins of our factory, or of perishing along with it by fire; for all night long, the barbarous unruly common people ran up and down the streets with lighted firebrands, while the wind carried large pieces of burning wood quite over the tops of the houses, as it whirled up the burning timbers of the several houses previously thrown down, hurling fire through the air in great flakes, very fearful to behold, and threatening an entire conflagration of the town; and I verily believe, if it had not been for the extreme quantity of rain, contrary to the usual nature of tuffoons, that the whole town had been consumed. This terrible wind and prodigious rain were accompanied the whole night by incessant flashes of lightning and tremendous peals of thunder. Our ship rode out the gale in the roads, having out five cables

cables and anchors, of which one old cable gave way, but, thanks be to God, no other injury was sustained, except that our long boat and skiff both broke adrift, but were both afterwards recovered. We afterwards learnt that this tuffoon did more damage at Nangasaki than here at Firando; for it destroyed above twenty Chinese junks, together with the Spanish ship which brought the ambassador from Manilla.

On the 12th, two merchants from Miaco came to our English house, to whom I shewed all our commodities. They laid aside two pieces of broad cloth, one black and the other *stammel*, the best they could find, for which they offered seven *tayes* the yard. They also offered for our *Priaman* gold eleven tayes of silver for one of gold. But they went away without concluding any bargain. This day, one of our men named Francis Williams, being drunk ashore, struck one of the servants of king Foyne with a cudgel, although the man had given him no offence, and had not even spoken to him. The Japanese came to our house making great complaints, and was very angry, not without cause, and told me he would complain to his king of the bad usage he had received. He had three or four others along with him, who had seen him abused, and who said the aggressor was just gone off to the ship. I gave them fair words, desiring them to go on board and find out the man who had committed the offence, and they should be sure of having him punished, and for that purpose I sent Miguel, our *jurebasso*, on board along with them. He did so, and pointed out Williams as the culprit, who stoutly denied the accusation with many oaths, but the affair was too notorious, and the master ordered him to be seized to the capstan in presence of the complainants, upon which even they entreated for his pardon, knowing that he was drunk. But the fellow was so unruly, that he took up an iron crow to strike the Japanese in the master's presence, and even abused the master in the grossest terms.[6]

Learning, on the 13th, that old king Foyne was sick, I sent our jurebasso Miguel to visit him, carrying as a present a great bottle of our general's sweet wine, and two boxes of conserves,

[6] Of many misdemeanours, I permit some to pass the press, that the cause of so many deaths in the Indies might be seen, rather to be imputed to their own misconduct, than the intemperature of the climate, and for a caveat to others, who may send or be sent into *ethnicke* regions.: Yet do I conceal the most and worst.—*Purch.*

conserves, comfits, and sugar-bread. Miguel was likewise directed to offer my best service, and to say that I was sorry for his sickness, and would have waited on him myself, but that I supposed company was not agreeable to a sick man. Foyne accepted my present in very good part, returning many thanks, and desiring me to ask for any thing we were in need of, either for the use of the ship or our factory, which he would take care we should be provided with.

The master came to the factory on the 14th early in the morning, telling me that most of the ship's company had lain ashore all night without leave, although the ship was aground, and there had been a heavy wind all night. He wished therefore, that I would allow our jurebasso, Miguel, to accompany him in seeking them out. He went accordingly accompanied by Miguel and Mr Melsham our purser, and found several of the men drinking and domineering, among whom he bestowed a few blows, ordering them aboard. Two of the men, named Lambert and Colphax, though ordered aboard, remained ashore all day, notwithstanding the great need of hands in the ship, where it had been necessary to hire several Japanese to assist. Lambert and Colphax being drunk, went out into the fields and fought, on which occasion Lambert was hurt in the arm, and remained drunk ashore all night; as did Boles and Christopher Evans, who had done so for two or three nights before, and had a violent quarrel about a girl.

On the 17th, being informed that *Bastian*, the keeper of the brothel frequented by our men, had threatened to kill me and such as came along with me, if I came any more to his house to seek for our men, I went and complained to the young king, the old one being sick. At my request, he issued a proclamation, that no Japanese should admit our people into their houses after day-light, under severe penalties; and that it should be lawful for me, or any other in my company, to enter any of the native houses in search of our men, not only without molestation or hinderance, but that the native inhabitants should aid and assist me; and if the doors were not opened at my desire, I was authorised to break them open. A soldier was sent to inform *Bastian* to be careful not to molest or disturb me, as he might expect to be the first that should pay for it. This gave much offence to our people, insomuch that some of them

swore

swore they would have drink in the fields if they were not suffered to have it in the town, for drink they would.

The 26th, *Novasco-dono* came to visit me at the factory, bringing me a present of two bottles of wine, seven loaves of fresh bread, and a dish of flying-fish. While he was with me, the old king came past our door, where he stopt, saying he had met two men in the street whom he thought strangers, and not belonging to us; he therefore desired that Swinton and our jurebasso might go with one of his attendants to see who they were. They turned out to be John Lambert and Jacob Charke, who were drinking water at a door in the street through which the king had gone. I was glad the king looked so narrowly after them, as it caused our men to be more careful of their proceedings.

Mr William Pauling, our master's mate, who had been long ill of a consumption, died at the English house upon the 27th of September, of which circumstance I apprised the king, requesting permission to bury him among the Christians, which was granted. We accordingly put the body in a winding-sheet, and coffined it up, waiting to carry it to the grave next morning. Our master, and several others of the ship's company, came ashore in the morning to attend the funeral, when we were given to understand that the body must be transported by water as far as the Dutch house, because the *bonzes*, or priests, would not suffer us to pass with the corpse through the street before their pagoda, or idol temple. Accordingly the master sent for the skiff, in which the coffin was transported by water to the place appointed, while we went there by land, and carried it thence to the burial-place; the purser walking before, and all the rest following after the coffin, which was covered by a Holland sheet, above which was a silk quilt. We were attended by a vast number of the natives, both young and old, curious to see our manner of burial. After the corpse was interred, we all returned to the factory, where we had a collation, and then our people returned to the ship. I had almost forgotten to remark, that we had much ado to get any native to dig the grave in which a Christian was to be buried, neither would they permit the body to be conveyed by water in any of their boats.

At this time the king commanded that all the streets in Firando should be cleaned, and that gutters should be made on each side to convey the water from them, all the streets to be

be new gravelled, and the water-channels to be covered with flat stones. This work was all done in one day, every one performing so much of it as was in front of his own house, and it was admirable to see the diligence every person used on this occasion. Our house was not the last in having this task performed, as our landlord, the Chinese captain, set a sufficient number of men to do the work.

The 30th, some other merchants of Miaco came to look at our commodities, who offered twelve tayes the fathom for our best *stammel*, or red cloth; but they went away without making any bargain. At this time we had very heavy winds, both by day and night, so that we were in fear of another tuffoon, on which account all the fishers hauled their boats ashore, and every one endeavoured to secure the roofings of their houses. A week before this, a *bose*, bonze or conjurer, had predicted to the king that this tempest was to come. About this time our surgeon, being in his cups, came into a house where a *bose* was conjuring for a woman who wanted to know if her husband or friends would return from sea. So when the *bose* was done, the surgeon gave him three-pence to conjure again, and to tell him when our general would return to Firando. In the end, the *bose* told him that the general would return within eighteen days, pretending that he heard a voice answer from behind a wall, both when he conjured for the woman, and now when he conjured for the surgeon.

On the 2d of October, the master sent me word that some of the men had run away with the skiff. These were John Bowles, John Saris, John Tottie, Christopher Evans, Clement Locke, Jasper Malconty, and James the Dutchman. While in the way to the king to get boats to send after them, our Dutch *jurebasso* came running after me, and told me our people were on the other side making merry at a tippling-house. On this information I returned to the English house to get a boat for the master to go and look them out, but they proved to be three others, William Marinell, Simeon Colphax, and John Dench, who had hired a boat and gone to another island, not being allowed to walk by night in Firando. By this mistake our deserters had the more time to get away. This night, about eleven, the old king's house, on the other side of the water, took fire, and was burnt to the ground in about an hour. I never saw a more vehement fire for the time it lasted, and it is thought his loss is very great. The old king is said to have set it on fire himself, by going about

about in the night with lighted canes, some sparks from which had fallen among the mats and set them on fire.

I went next day to visit the old king, giving him to understand, by means of his governor, that I was extremely sorry for the misfortune that had befallen him, and would have come in person to give all the assistance in my power, but was doubtful if my presence would have been acceptable, being a stranger; and begged leave to assure him, that he should find me ready at all times, even with the hazard of my life, to do him every service in my power. He gave me many thanks for my good will, saying, that the loss he had sustained was as nothing in his estimation. On my return to our house, I was met by the young king going to visit his grandfather. Before noon, we had word that our runaways were upon a desert island about two leagues from Firando, of which I gave notice to both kings, requesting their aid and council how we might best bring them back. They answered, that they would fetch them back dead or alive, yet would be loth to kill them, lest we might want hands to navigate the ship back to England. I returned many thanks for the care they had of us, yet sent them word we still had a sufficiency of honest men to carry our ship to England, even although we should lose these knaves. In fine, the king fitted out two boats full of soldiers to go after them, with positive orders to bring them back dead or alive, which I made known to our master, who wished much to go along with them, and did so accordingly.

§ 9. *Continuation of Occurrences at Firando, during the Absence of the General.*

On the 4th of October, a report was current in Firando that the *Devil* had revealed to the *bose*, [bonzes] or conjurers, that the town was to be burned to ashes that night, on which criers went about the streets the whole night, making so much noise that I could hardly get any rest, giving warning to all the inhabitants to extinguish their fires. But the devil turned out a liar, for no such thing happened. The 5th, old king *Foyne-same* came to our house, and was entertained to the best of our ability, when he told me our runaway seamen could not escape being taken, as he had sent two other armed boats after them, besides the two formerly mentioned. While I was talking with him, there came a gentleman

gentleman from the emperor's court with a letter, and told me that our general would be back to Firando in eight or ten days, as he had received his dispatches from the emperor before this gentleman left the court. At this time king Foyne told me that *Bon-diu*, the king or governor of Nangasaki, who is brother to the empress, was to be at Firando next day, and that it would be proper for our ship to fire off three or four pieces of cannon as he passed. He told me likewise, that the king or governor of a town called *Seam*, was then in Firando.

The master of our ship, Mr James Foster, returned from Nangasaki on the 7th, bringing our skiff with him, but all the deserters had got sanctuary in that town, so that he had not been able to see or speak with any of them. I was informed that Miguel, our jurebasso, whom I had sent along with the master as linguist, had dealt fraudulently both with the master and me, for several Japanese told me that he had spoken to our people and advised them to absent themselves. Knowing this, and being doubtful of ever recovering our people unless *Bondiu* were extraordinarily dealt with, I resolved to give that personage a present to secure him in our interest. In the afternoon, as he was passing on foot along the street in which was our house, along with the young king who gave him the post of honour, attended by about five hundred followers, I went out into the street and saluted them. Bon-diu stopped at our door and thanked me for the salute given him in passing our ship. I requested he would excuse me if I had hitherto neglected any part of my duty towards him, which was owing to my small acquaintance with the country and its customs, but that I meant to wait upon him either at his lodgings or aboard his junk, before he left Firando. He answered, that I should be heartily welcome, and remained so long in conversation, that it was quite dark before he got to his lodgings. At this time I carried the present to him, which he accepted in good part, offering to do our nation all the good in his power at court, whither he was now bound, or to serve us all he could any where else. Of his own accord, he began now to speak about the deserters, asking me if they should all be pardoned for his sake, if he brought them back to us? I answered, that the power of pardon belonged to our general, not to me, and that I had no doubt they might easily get free, except one or two of the chiefs in this and other disorders, who richly deserved punishment.

nishment. He then said that he wished them all pardoned, without any exception; to which I answered, that I was sure our general would most willingly do any thing desired by his highness, or the two kings of Firando. In conclusion, he said, if I would give it under my hand on the faith of a Christian, that all should be pardoned for this time, and that I would procure the general to confirm this at his return, he would then send to Nangasaki for the deserters, and deliver them into my custody, otherwise he would not meddle in the matter, lest he might occasion any of their deaths. I answered, I was contented with any thing his highness was pleased to command, and so gave him the desired writing under my hand, conditioning that they were all to be sent back. I then returned to our house after which the Dutch waited upon him with their present, but we were before hand with them.

On the 8th *Semidono* passed our house, and told me that king *Bon-diu* had a brother along with him, to whom it would be proper that we should give a present, but not so large as that given to Bon-diu. On this, advising with the other gentlemen, I laid out a present for him, and on going to deliver it, I found the Dutch before me with theirs, Captain Brower going with it himself. He accepted it very kindly, promising his interest and assistance to our nation, both at court and any where else. He came soon afterwards to our house, accompanied by many gentlemen, when they looked over all our commodities, yet went away without making any purchases. On this occasion he gave me a small *cattan*, and I gave him two glass bottles, two gally-pots, and about half a *cattee* of picked cloves, which he said he wanted for medicinal purposes. I likewise gave him and his followers a collation, with which they all seemed contented.

Soon afterwards, *Bon-diu* sent a gentleman to me, desiring to have my written promise for pardon to our deserters, to which I consented, after consulting with the other gentlemen. If I had not done this, we certainly had never got them back, and the Spaniards would have sent them to Manilla or the Moluccas. Immediately after this, I got notice that *Bon-diu* and his brother meant to visit our ship, wherefore I sent some banqueting stuff aboard, and went myself to meet them, when they were entertained as we best could. Bon-diu gave two *cattans*, and we saluted them with seven guns at their departure. The brother returned soon after, and requested to have one of the little monkeys for his brother's

ther's children; so I bought one for five dollars from our master-gunner, and sent it to *Bon-diu.* He being ready to go on shore, desired to have me along with him in his boat, which I complied with, and he was saluted with three guns at his departure, which, as I learnt afterwards, was much esteemed by both brothers. When ashore, he insisted to accompany me to our factory, much against my inclination, as I was again forced to give him a collation in Mr Adamses chamber, after which he and his companions went away seemingly satisfied. Late at night, old king Foyne sent a man to me to enquire the particulars of the presents I had given to both brothers, all of which he set down in writing, but I could never know the reason of this. I forgot to mention that Bon-diu, just before going aboard our ship, went to bathe in a new warm-bath at the Dutch factory. The 9th Bon-diu sent one of his men to give me thanks for the kind entertainment he had on board, and sent me by the messenger two barrels of Miaco wine. Soon after, his brother sent me a similar message and present. They were both very earnest to have a perspective-glass, wherefore I sent them an old one belonging to Mr Eaton; but it was soon after returned with thanks, as not suiting them.

On the 10th, two sons of another governor of Nangasaki who dwells in the town, came to see our house, both of them being Christians. After shewing them our commodities, I gave them a collation, accompanied with music, Mr Hownsell and the carpenter happening both by chance to be at the factory. While we were at table, old king Foyne came in upon us quite unexpectedly, and sat down to partake. I then desired our jurebasso to request the speedy sending back of our runaways, which they all promised, provided they should be pardoned, as I had formerly promised, and which promise I now renewed. Old Foyne desired that I would send him next day a piece of English beef, and another of pork, sodden with onions. I accordingly sent our jurebasso next day with the beef and pork, together with a bottle of wine, and six loaves of white bread, all of which he very kindly accepted. He had at table with him his grandson the young king, *Nabison*, his brother, and *Semidono*, his kinsman.

On the 12th I went to visit both kings, and found the old one asleep, but spoke with his governor, after which I went to the young king, who received me.[1] He gave me thanks for

[1] It was now a great festival among the pagans, which began on this day, said to be like the Lent of the papists.—*Purch.*

for the kind entertainment I had given the strangers, which he said his grandfather and he took in as good part as if done to themselves. Towards night, Foyne sent to say that he understood the strangers, who were now departed, had taken away various commodities from me, paying only as they thought good themselves, and not the prices I required. I answered, that they had certainly done so, but I knew not whether it were the custom of the country, being given to understand that they were in use to do so at Nangasaki both with the Chinese and Portuguese, and that in reality what they had taken from me was not worth the speaking of. I was answered, that although this was done at Nangasaki with the Chinese, who were forbidden to trade at Japan, they had not authority to do so with those strangers who had the privilege of trade, more especially here at Firando, where these people had no authority. I sent back my humble thanks to the king for the care he used to see justice done both to strangers and natives, saying, I would wait upon his highness myself to inform him of the whole truth. Captain Brower sent me word that they had taken various commodities from him, paying him just as they pleased; he also sent an empty bottle, desiring to have it filled with Spanish wine, as he had invited certain strangers, and had none of his own.

I heard three or four guns or chambers discharged on the 13th, which I supposed had been done at the Dutch house, in honour of the king; but I afterwards learnt that they were shot by a Chinese junk which was passing for Nangasaki. Shortly after, the old king sent for me to come to dinner at the Dutch house, and to bring Mr Eaton with me, and a bottle of wine.[2] Mr Eaton had taken medicine, and could not go out, but I went. We had an excellent dinner, the dishes being dressed partly in the Japanese fashion, and partly according to the Dutch way, but no great drinking. The old king sat at one table, accompanied by his eldest son and two brothers of the young king, as the young king had sent to say he was not well. At the other table there sat, first, *Nabesone*, the old king's brother, then myself, next me *Semidono*, then the old king's governor, and below him *Zanzebar's*

[2] These things are mentioned to shew how poor Cockes was imposed upon among them; as, taking advantage of his weak side, they seem all to have wished to get from him all they could, without any design of serving him in return.—Astl. I. 513. b.

zibar's father-in-law, and various other Japanese gentlemen on the other side of the table. Captain Brower did not sit down, but carved at table, all his own people attending and serving on their knees. Captain Brower even gave drink to every one of his guests with his own hands, and upon his knees, which seemed very strange to me. When they had dined, Foyne and all his nobles went away, and Captain Brower accompanied me to our house. I asked him why he served these people on his knees, when he told me it was the custom of the country, even the king serving his guests on his knees when he made a feast, to do them the more honour. Before night the old king came to the English house, and visited all its apartments. I gave him a collation, and after staying an hour, and taking one thing and another, he went his way.

On the 16th, learning that two Christians were arrived from Nangasaki, I went to visit them, and to enquire about our runaways. One was George Peterson, a Dutchman, born in Flushing; the other was Daman Maryn, a native of Venice. They told me that our runaways had been conveyed away in a small bark for *Macoro*,[3] and that they two had deserted in hope of procuring a passage in our ship to return to their own countries; they said they were well known to Mr Adams, and were desirous to have gone immediately on board, being both seafaring men. The Dutchman had served three or four and twenty years with the Spaniards, and came master's mate in one of their ships from *Agua-pulca* [Acapulco,] for Manilla in the Philippine islands. They had plenty of money, and would have sent it to our ship or to our factory; but I told them that I durst not presume to entertain them in the absence of our general, yet would do them all the service in my power at his return. I accordingly sent Miguel to inform the king that these two strangers were come to seek a passage in our ship, not being Spaniards nor subjects of Spain. The king sent me back for answer, that they were welcome, if they were such as they reported themselves; but, if Spaniards or Portuguese, he could not allow them to remain in Firando, as the Spanish ambassador had procured an order from the emperor that all Spaniards should retire to Manilla.

 The

[3] Called in the sequel Macow, or Macao, the Portuguese settlement on the coast of China, at the mouth of the *Bocca-tigris*, or river of Canton. —E.

The two strangers came to me early on the 17th, requesting me to accompany them to wait upon the king, to give them the better countenance, which I agreed to. On the way, they told me that our fugitives had given out at Nangasaki that more of our people would follow them, as none of any account would stay to navigate the ship home, because their officers used them more like dogs than men. They alleged also, that twenty resolute Spaniards might easily get possession of our ship in one or two small boats. The old king received us very kindly, and asked the strangers many questions about the wars in the Molucca islands between the Spaniards and Dutch. They said the Spaniards were resolved to prosecute this war with much vigour, having prepared a strong force for that purpose. They also told the king that all our fugitives had, as they believed, been secretly conveyed away from Nangasaki seven days before, in a *soma* that went from thence for *Macow*.[4] The king would not believe them, saying it was impossible such a man as Bon-diu, having given his word to restore them, should be found false to his promise. In the end, he agreed to allow these men to remain, and to go along with our ship, if our general pleased to take them. So the poor men returned much contented to their lodgings, assuring me they would prove faithful to us, and that we need not wish any worse punishment to our fugitives than the bad treatment they would receive from the Spaniards.

The 18th we had a total eclipse of the moon, which began about eleven p. m. The 19th, about the same hour, a fire began in Firando, near the young king's house, by which forty houses were burnt down; and, had not the wind fallen calm, most of the town had been destroyed. Had not our Englishmen bestirred themselves lustily, many more houses had gone to wreck, for the fire took hold three or four times on the opposite side of the street to our house, which they as often extinguished, for which they were very much commended by the king and other principal people. Old Foyne came to our door on horseback, and advised us to put all our things into the *godown*, and daub up the door with wet clay, which would place them in safety. Captain Brower likewise

[4] Macow, or Macao, a town of the Portuguese near the continent of China. Miguel, the jurebasso, servant to Mr Adams, was suspected of double-dealing in this affair of the fugitives: the circumstances I omit.—*Purch.*

wise, and some of his people, came very kindly to our house, offering to assist us either by land or water, if needful. It could not be known how this fire began, but there were reports among the Japanese that there would soon be a still greater fire, which had been predicted by the devil and his conjurers. I pray God it may not be done purposely by some villainous people, on purpose to rob and steal what they can lay hold of during the trouble and confusion.

The 20th I went to visit Captain Brower at the Dutch house, to return thanks for his friendly assistance the night before. Towards night, Hernando the Spaniard and Edward Markes returned from Nangasaki, where they could not procure sight of any of our fugitives, though they were still at that place. A Portuguese or Spaniard at Nangasaki, in high authority about sea affairs, told Markes we should never have our men back; but that if all the rest of our people would come, leaving the ship empty, they would be well received, and would be still more welcome if they brought the ship with them. The Japanese, who had been sent by king Foyne along with our people to look for our runaways, would not allow Markes to stir out of doors for a night and half a day after their arrival at Nangasaki, he going abroad himself, and Hernando lodging at a different place, whence I suspect there was some fraudulent understanding between the Japanese and Hernando, and have now lost hope of ever getting our men back. I blamed the jesuits, and the old king agreed with me, and told me he would take care that no more of our people should be carried to Nangasaki, except they stole the ship's boats, as the others had done, of which I gave notice to Mr James Foster, our master. Foyne at this time issued an edict, strictly forbidding any of the Japanese from carrying away any of our people, without previously making it known to him and me.

The 23d I was informed of a great pagan festival to be celebrated this day, both kings and all the nobles being to meet at a summer-house erected before the great pagoda, to see a horse-race. I think there must have been above 3000 people assembled together on this occasion. All the nobles went on horseback, each being accompanied by a retinue of slaves, some armed with pikes, some with fire-arms, and others with bows and arrows. The pikemen drew up on one side of the street, and the shot and archers on the other, the middle being left open for the race. Right before the summer-house,

house, where the king and nobles were seated, was a large round target of straw, hung against the wall, at which the archers running at full career on horseback discharged their arrows. The street was so crowded, that neither the present we sent, nor we ourselves, could get admission, so we passed along the street and returned by another way to our house. Late at night, the brother of Zanzibar's wife came to our house, bringing me a present of a haunch of venison and a basket of oranges, being accompanied by Zanzibar himself. About ten at night, the Chinese captain, our landlord, came to inform us that the king had ordered a tub of water to be kept ready on the top of every house, as the devil had given out that the town was to be burnt down that night: Yet the devil proved a liar: We got however a large tub on the top of our house, which held twenty buckets of water; and all night long people ran about the streets calling out for every one to look well to their fires, so that it was strange and fearful to hear them.

This report of burning the town was still current on the 24th, and every one was making preparations to prevent it. I made ready fifteen buckets, which cost six *condrines* each, which I filled with water and hung up in our yard, setting a large tub beside them full of water, besides that on the house top. I gave orders likewise to get two ladders ready for carrying water to the roof, and provided nine wine casks filled with tempered clay, ready for daubing up the doors of the *gadonge*, [godown or fire-proof warehouse,] if need should require in consequence of a conflagration, from which dire necessity may God defend us. All night long, three or four men ran continually backwards and forwards in the streets, calling out for every one to have a care of fire, and making so horrible a noise, that it was both strange and fearful to hear them.

On the 25th, the Chinese captain, our landlord, was taken sick, and sent for a piece of pork, which I sent him, and immediately afterwards I went to visit him, carrying a small bottle of Spanish wine. While I was there, Semidono and our guardian's father-in-law came likewise to visit him. The king sent me word, by Miguel, our jurebasso, that he had a bad opinion of Hernando Ximenes our Spaniard, and that he meant to have run away when lately at Nangasaki. But I knew this to be false, as he had then free liberty to go where he pleased, and did not run away. I had another complaint made against him, that he was a notorious gambler, and had enticed

enticed several to play, from whom he won their money, which I believe rather than the other accusation. I find by experience, that the Japanese are not friendly to the Spaniards and Portuguese, and love them at Nangasaki the worse, because they love them so well.[5] In the night between the 24th and 25th, some evil-disposed persons endeavoured to have set the town of Firando on fire in three several places, but it was soon extinguished, and no harm done; but the incendiaries were not discovered, though doubtless owing to the conjurers and other base people, who expected an opportunity of making spoil when the town was on fire.

The 26th of October, Mr Melsham being very sick, *Zanzibar* came to visit him, and urged him to use the physic of the country, bringing with him a *bonze*, or doctor, to administer the cure. Mr Melsham was very desirous to use it, but wished our surgeon to see it in the first place. So the bonze gave him two pills yesterday, two in the night, and two this morning, together with certain seeds; but, for what I can see, these things did him no good. God restore his health! At this time, all our waste-cloths, pennants, brass sheaves, and other matters, were sent aboard, and our ship was put into order to receive our general, whose return was soon expected. Last night another house was set on fire by some villains, but was soon extinguished with very little harm; yet our nightly criers of fire continue to make such horrible noises, that it is impossible for any one to get rest. The Chinese captain still continued sick, and sent to beg some spiced cakes and two wax-candles, which I sent him, as I had done before. Mr Melsham now grew weary of his Japanese doctor and his prescriptions, and returned to our surgeon Mr Warner, to the great displeasure of Zanzibar and the bonze.

§ 10. *Conclusion of Observations by Mr Cockes.*

Our Chinese landlord came to our house on the 30th October, to inform me of a general collection of provisions of all kinds, then making at every house in Firando, to be sent to the two kings, in honour of a great feast they were to give next

[5] This is quite obscure, and may perhaps allude to the efforts of the jesuits at Nangasaki, to convert the Japanese to a new idol worship, under the name of Christianity.—E.

next day, together with a comedy or play. By his advice, and after consulting with the other gentlemen of the factory, I directed two bottles of Spanish wine, two roasted hens, a roasted pig, a small quantity of rusk, and three boxes of confections and preserves to be sent, as a contribution towards their feast. Before night the young king sent one of his men to me, requesting me to furnish him with some English apparel, for the better setting out their comedy, and particularly to let him have a pair of red cloth breeches. I answered, that I had none such, and knew not any of our people who had; but any clothes I had that could gratify his highness were much at his service. At night the old king sent to invite me to be a spectator of their comedy on the morrow, and to bring Mr Foster, our master, along with me.

Next day, being the 31st, I sent our present, formerly mentioned, to the kings by our jurebasso before dinner, desiring their highnesses to excuse the master and myself, and that we would wait upon them some other time, when they had not so much company. This however did not satisfy them, and they insisted on our company, and that of Mr Eaton; so we went and had a place appointed for us, where we sat at our ease and saw every thing. The old king himself brought us a collation in sight of all the people; Semidono afterwards did the like in the name of both kings, and a third was brought us in the sequel by several of their principal nobles or attendants. But that which we most noted was their play or comedy, in which the two kings, with their greatest nobles and princes, were the actors. The subject was a representation of the valiant deeds of their ancestors, from the commencement of their kingdom or commonwealth to the present time, which was mixed with much mirth to please the common people. The audience was very numerous, as every house in the town of Firando, and every village, place, or hamlet in their dominions brought a present, and all their subjects were spectators. The kings themselves took especial care that every one, both high and low, should eat and drink before they departed. Their acting, music, singing, and poetry, were very harsh to our ears, yet the natives kept time to it, both with hands and feet. Their musical instruments were small drums or tabors, wide at both ends and small in the middle, resembling an hour-glass, on one end of which they beat with one hand, while with the other they strained the cords which surround it, making it

to

to sound soft or loud at their pleasure, and tuning their voices to its sound, while others played on a fife or flute; but all was harsh and unpleasant to our ears. I never saw a play of which I took such notice, as it was wonderfully well represented, yet quite different from ours in Christendom, which are only dumb-shews, while this was as truth itself, and acted by the kings themselves, to preserve a continual remembrance of their affairs.

On this occasion, the king did not invite the Dutch, which made our being present seem the greater compliment. When I returned to our house, I found three or four of the Dutchmen there, one of whom was in a Japanese habit, and came from a place called *Cushma*,[1] which is within sight of Corea. I understood they had sold pepper there and other goods, and suspect they have some secret trade thence with Corea, or are likely soon to have, and I trust if they do well that we shall not miss, as Mr Adams was the man who put them upon this trade, and I have no doubt he will be as diligent for the good of his own countrymen as he has been for strangers. Hernando Ximenes was with Captain Brower when the two men came from Cushma, and asked them whence they came, at which Brower was very angry, telling him he should have no account of that matter.

Towards night, I was informed that two Spaniards were arrived from Nangasaki, and were lodged with *Zanzibar*. They sent for our jurebasso to come to them, but I did not allow him, on which they and Zanzibar came to our house. One of them was *Andres Bulgaryn*, a Genoese, who had passed Firando only a few days before, and the other *Benito de Palais*, pilot-major of the Spanish ship lately cast away on the coast of Japan, the same person who came here formerly from Nangasaki to visit Captain Adams. They said they had come to visit their friends, me in the first place; and used many words of compliment, after which they entered into conversation respecting our fugitives. They pretended that it was not the fathers, as they called the jesuits, who kept our people from being seen and spoken with, but the natives of Nangasaki, who they said were very bad people. In fine, I shrewdly suspected these fellows of having come a-purpose

[1] Key-sima, an island considerably to the N.E. of Firando, and nearly midway between Niphon and Corea, from which it may be about forty miles distant.—E.

a-purpose to inveigle more of our people to desert, as the others did, wherefore I advised our master to have a watchful eye both to the ship and boats, and to take special notice who kept company with our men, as it was best to doubt the worst, for the best will save itself.

On the night of the 1st November, two houses were set a-fire on the other side of the water, which were soon extinguished, but the villains could not be found out. This day I sent word to Mr Foster on board, to look well to the ship and the boats, and to the behaviour of our people, as I strongly suspected the two Spaniards of being spies, come to entice away our men. I sent him word likewise, that I understood the Spaniards meant to invite him that day to dinner, but wished him to beware they did not give him a *higo*.[2] He answered, that he had the same opinion of them I had, and should therefore be mainly on his guard. He came soon after on shore, and the Spaniards came to our house, where by much entreaty they prevailed on Mr Foster and Mr William Eaton to go with them to dinner at Zanzibar's house, along with Hernando and the other two Spaniards. But these two Spaniards came to me, and desired me to tell Mr Foster and those who went with him, to take heed they did not eat or drink of any thing they did not see tasted by others, as they were not to be trusted, which I communicated to Mr Foster and Mr Eaton. Ximenes told me that Mr Adams had goods in his hands belonging to the pilot-major, who had come in the hope of finding Mr Adams here, and meant to wait his return. He said they had likewise brought letters from the bishop and other fathers to the other two Spaniards, advising them to return to Nangasaki, but which I think they will not do. I this day sent our jurebasso to both kings and the other nobles, to give them thanks for the kind entertainment we had received the day before.

The 2d, some villains set fire to a house in the fish street, which was soon put out, and the incendiaries escaped. It is generally thought these fires were raised by some base renegados who lurk about the town, and who came from Miaco: Yet, though much suspected, no proof has hitherto been brought against them. There has, however, been orders given to construct gates and barriers in different parts of all the streets, with watches at each, and no person to be allowed

[2] From the sequel, this unexplained term seems to imply treachery.—E.

allowed to go about in the night, unless he be found to have very urgent business. Another villain got this night into the house of a poor widow, meaning to have robbed her; but on her making an outcry, he fled into the wood opposite our house, where the Pagoda stands.[3] The wood was soon after beset all around by above 500 men, but the robber could not be found. At night, when we were going to bed, there was a sudden alarm given that there were thieves on the top of our house, endeavouring to set it on fire. Our ladders being ready, I and others went up immediately, but found nobody, yet all the houses of our neighbours were peopled on the top like ours on similar alarms. This was judged to be a false alarm, risen on purpose to see whether any one would be found in readiness. At this very time there was a house set on fire, a good way from our house, but the fire was soon quenched. The night before, three houses were set a-fire in different parts of the town, but the fires were all extinguished at the beginning, so that no hurt was done. At this time, an order was issued to give notice of all the inhabitants dwelling in every house, whether strangers or others; and that all who were liable to suspicion should be banished from the dominions of the two kings of Firando. Bars or gates were erected to shut up the passages at the ends of all the streets, and watches were appointed in different places, with orders not to go about crying and making a noise, as had been done hitherto without either form or fashion. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, a villain set fire about ten o'clock this night to a house near the Pagoda, opposite our house. He was noticed by the watch, who pursued him in all haste, but he escaped into the wood above the Pagoda. The wood was immediately beset by more than 500 armed men, and old king Foyne came in person with many of his nobles to assist in the pursuit; yet the incendiary escaped, and I verily believe he ran about among the rest, crying *stop thief* as well as the best.

On the night of the 4th, fire was set to several houses, both in the town and country round. An order was now given, to have secret watches in various parts of the town every night, and that no person should go out during the night except upon important occasions, and then to have a light carried before them, that it might be seen who they were. If

[3] This word signifies either the idol, or the idol temple, or both.—*Purch.*

If this rule be duly enforced, our house-burners will be put to their wits end. I proposed these measures to the king and others above a week before, and now they are put in execution.

On the 5th I received a letter from Domingo Francisco, the Spanish ambassador, dated five days before from *Ximenaseque*, [Simonoseki,] and another from George the Portuguese. The ambassador went over land from that place to Nangasaki, and sent the letter by his servant, to whom I shewed the commodities he enquired after, referring him for others till the return of our general, but gave him an answer, of which I kept a copy. The man chose two pieces of fine *Semian chowters* and eight pieces of white *bastas*, paying seven *tayes* each for the *chowters*, and two *tayes* each for the *bastas*. A Spanish friar or jesuit came in the boat along with the ambassador's servant, and asked to see our ship, which the master allowed him at my request, and used him kindly; for the old saw has it, That it is sometimes good to hold a candle to the devil. This day Mr Eaton, Hernando, and I dined with Unagense, and were kindly entertained.

About ten o'clock of the 6th November, 1613, our general and all his attendants arrived at Firando from the emperor's court, accompanied by Mr Adams. Immediately after his arrival, he sent me, with John Japan, our jurebasso, to visit both the kings, and to thank them for their kindness, for having so well accommodated him with a barge or galley, and for the care they had taken of the ship and every thing else during his absence. They took this message in good part, saying they would be glad to see our general at their houses. At this time certain merchants of Miaco came from Nangasaki to our house to look at our commodities, and among the rest took liking to ten pieces of *cassedy nill*, for which they agreed to give three *tayes* each. As had been done by other merchants, I sent the goods to their lodging, expecting to receive the money as usual; but they only sent me a paper, consigning me to receive payment from *Semidono*, who was newly gone from Firando on a voyage, and was met by our general. I sent back word to the merchants that I must either have payment or the goods returned, to which they answered, I should have neither one nor the other; and as the person with whom they lodged refused to pass his word for payment, I was forced to apply to both the kings for justice; but I first sent word aboard our ship, if the

the boat of Miaco weighed anchor to go away, that they should send the skiff to make her stay, which they did, and made her come to anchor again. In the mean time I went to the kings. The younger king said that *Semidono* was able enough to pay me; but when I asked him if Semidono refused to pay, whether he would, he answered no. While we were talking about the matter, the old king came in, and told me he would take order that I should be satisfied; so in the end the person with whom the merchants lodged passed his word for payment of the thirty *tayes*; yet the orders of old *Foyne Same* had come too late, if our skiff had not stopt the Miaco merchants. This day Captain Brower and all the merchants of the Dutch factory came to visit our general, and *Nobisone* sent him a young porker as a present, with a message saying he would come to visit him in a day or two.

§ 11. *Occurrences at Firando after the Return of Captain Saris.*[1]

The 7th of November, 1613, I sent in the first place some presents to the two kings of Firando, and afterwards went to visit them. On the 8th, Andrew Palmer, the ship's steward, and William Marnell, gunner's mate, having been ashore all night and quarrelled in their cups, went out this morning into the fields and fought. Both are so grievously wounded, that it is thought Palmer will hardly escape with his life, and that Marnell will be lame of his hands for life. The 9th I went aboard ship early, and called the master and all the officers into my cabin, making known to them how much I was grieved at the misconduct of some of them, particularly of Palmer and Marnell, who had gone ashore without leave, and had so sore wounded each other, that one was in danger of his life, and the other of being lamed for ever; and besides, that the survivor ran a risk of being hanged if the other died, which would necessarily occasion me much vexation. I also said, I was informed that Francis Williams and Simon Colphax were in the boat going ashore to have fought, and that John Dench and John Winston had appointed to do the like. John Dench confessed it was true, and that he had seen Palmer and Marnell fighting, and had parted them, otherwise one or both had died on the field. I told them these matters

[1] We here resume the narrative of Captain Saris. Purch. Pilgr. I. 378. The observations of Mr Cockes, contained in the three preceding sub-sections, break off abruptly in the Pilgrims, as above.—E.

matters were exceedingly distressing to me, and I trusted would now be remedied, otherwise the ship would be unmanned, to the overthrow of our voyage, and the vast injury of the honourable company which had entrusted us. After much contestation, they all engaged to amend what was amiss, and not to offend any more, which I pray God may be the case. I told them also, that old king Foyne had complained to me, threatening, if any more of them went ashore to fight and shed blood, contrary to the laws of Japan, he would order them to be cut in pieces, as he was determined strangers should have no more licence to infringe the laws than his own subjects.

At my return ashore, old *Foyne Same* came to visit me at the English house, and told me that the piece of *Poldavy*, and the sash I gave him, were consumed when his house was burnt down. This was in effect begging to have two others, which I promised to give him. I likewise got him to send some of his people aboard, along with John Japan, our jurebasso, to intimate to our men that if any of them went ashore to fight, he had given strict orders to have them cut in pieces. This I did in hopes of restraining them in future from any more drunken combats. Towards night, Juan Comas, a Spaniard, came from Nangasaki, bringing two letters from Domingo Francisco, one for me, and the other for Mr Cockes, together with three baskets of sugar as a present to me, and a pot of conserves, with many no less sugared words of compliment in his letters, saying how sorry he was that our seven fugitives had gone away during his absence, excusing himself and the jesuits, who he pretended had no hand in the matter, and pretending they had never spoken against us, calling us heretics. He said our men had gone from Nangasaki, three of them in a Chinese or Japanese *soma* for Manilla, and four in a Portuguese vessel. Yet I esteem all these as vain words to excuse themselves, and throw the blame on others; for the Spaniards and Portuguese mutually hate each other and the Japanese, as these last do them.

The 11th I visited *Nobesane*, who used me kindly, and would have had me dine with him next day, but I excused myself on account of the press of business in which I was engaged, and the short time I had to stay. I met old king Foyne at his house, who requested to have two pieces of English salt beef, and two of pork, sodden by our cook, with turnips, radishes, and onions, which I sent him. The 12th, the

the governors of the two kings came to visit me at our factory, whence they went aboard the Clove, accompanied by Mr Cockes, to signify to our crew that they should beware of coming ashore to fight and shed blood; as, by the law of Japan, those who went out to fight and drew weapons for that purpose, were adjudged to death, and all who saw them were obliged to kill both offenders, on pain of ruining themselves and all their kindred if they neglected putting the combatants to death.

The 14th I sent Mr Cockes and our jurebasso to wait upon the kings, to entreat they would provide me twelve Japanese seamen who were fit for labour, to assist me in navigating the ship to England, to whom I was willing to give such wages as their highnesses might deem reasonable. The kings were then occupied in other affairs, so that my messengers spoke with their secretaries, who said they needed not to trouble the kings on that business, as they would provide me twelve fit persons; but that there were several vagrant people about the town who would be willing enough to go, yet were very unfit for my purpose, as they would only consume victuals, and of whom the Dutch made use without making any request on the matter, and it was not known what had become of these men or of the ship; but, as the matter was now referred to them, they would look out for such as were fit for our purpose.

The 18th, Foyne sent me word he would visit me, and meant to bring the dancing girls of the country along with him, which he did soon after, accompanied by three courtezans, and two or three men, who all danced and made music after their fashion, though harsh to our ears. The 19th, the Chinese captain, and George Duras, a Portuguese, came to visit me, requesting me to send to *Semidono* to procure pardon for two poor fellows who were like to lose their lives for bidding a poor knave flee who had stolen a bit of lead not worth three halfpence; and though the malefactor was taken and executed, these men were in danger of the same punishment, had I not sent Mr Cockes to *Semidono* with my ring, to desire their pardon for my sake, which he engaged to procure, and did in effect.

The 20th, *Samedon*, king of *Crats*,[2] sent me word he meant

[2] This personage must have been governor of one of the provinces, islands, or towns of Japan; but no place in that eastern empire bears a name in modern geography which in the smallest degree resembles Crats. —E.

meant to go on board our ship, so I went there to meet him, and he came along with both the kings of Firando, when we saluted them with five pieces of ordnance; and we afterwards fired three with bullets at a mark, at the request of Samedon, who gave me two Japanese pikes, having *cattans* or *sables* on their ends. At their departure we again saluted them with seven guns, one being shotted and fired at the mark. The 22d I sent a present to the king of *Crats*, which was delivered to him at the house of *Tomesanes* the young king, where he was at breakfast. Samedon accepted it very kindly, sending me word by Mr Cockes that he was doubly obliged to me for his kind entertainment aboard, and for now sending him so handsome a present of such things as his country did not produce, all without any desert on his part, and the only recompence in his power was, if ever any of the English nation came into his dominions, he would give them a hearty welcome, and do them all the service in his power.

The 25th, the purser and Mr Hownsell came ashore, and told me that Andrew Palmer, the steward, had died the night before, Thomas Warner, our surgeon, affirming that he owed his death to his own obstinacy, his wound being curable if he would have been ruled. I desired that he might be buried on an island as secretly as possible, as we were about to get some Japanese into our ship, who might be unwilling to embark if they heard of any one having died. On the 28th a Japanese was put to death, who some said was a thief, and others an incendiary. He was led by the executioner to the place of punishment, a person going before him carrying a board, on which the crime for which he was to be punished was written, and the same was exhibited on a paper flag carried over his head. Two pikemen followed the culprit, having the points of their pikes close to his back, ready to slay him instantly if he offered to resist.

The ship being ready to depart, several of the natives complained that the ship's company owed them money, and desired to be paid. To prevent greater inconvenience, I listened to these people, and wrote to the master to make enquiry aboard as to who were in debt, that I might satisfy their creditors, making deductions accordingly from their wages.

On the 26th I assembled my mercantile council to consult about leaving a factory here in Firando, upon these considerations,

derations. 1. The encouragement we had privately received at the Moluccas. 2. That the Dutch had already a factory here. 3. The large privileges now obtained from the emperor of Japan. 4. The certain advice of English factories established at Siam and Patane. 5. The commodities remaining on hand appointed for these parts, and the expected profit which farther experience might produce. It was therefore resolved to leave a factory here, consisting of eight Englishmen, three Japanese *jurebassos* or interpreters, and two servants. They were directed, against the coming of the next ships, to explore and discover the coasts of Corea, *Tushmay*, other parts of Japan, and of the adjoining countries, and to see what good might be done in any of them.

The 5th of December, 1613, Mr Richard Cockes, captain and *Cape* merchant of the English factory now settled at Firando in Japan, took his leave of me aboard the Clove, together with his company, being eight English and five others, as before mentioned. After their departure, we mustered the company remaining aboard, finding forty-six English, five *swarts* or blacks, fifteen Japanese, and three passengers, in all sixty-nine persons. We had lost since our arrival in Japan ten Englishmen; two by sickness, one slain in a duel, and seven who deserted to the Portuguese and Spaniards, while I was absent at the court of the emperor. The English whom we left in the factory were Mr Richard Cockes, William Adams, now entertained in the service of the company at a hundred pounds a year, Tempest Peacock, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward Saris, and William Nelson.

§ 12. *Voyage from Japan to Bantam, and thence Home to England.*

That same day, being the 5th December, we set sail with a stiff northerly gale, steering S. by W. ½ a point westerly. By exact observation on shore, we found the island of Firando to be in lat. 33° 30′ N. and the variation 2° 50′ easterly.[1] We resolved to keep our course for Bantam along the coast of China, for which purpose we brought our starboard

[1] The town of Firando is in lat. 33° 6′ N. and even the most northern part of the island of that name only reaches to 33° 17′. The town is in long. 128° 42′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

board tacks aboard, and stood S.W. edging over for China, the wind at N.N.E. a stiff gale and fair weather. The 7th it blew very hard at N.W. and we steered S.S.W. encountering a great current which shoots out between the *island* of Corea[2] and the main land of China, occasioning a very heavy sea. The 8th, being in lat. 29° 40′ N. we steered W.S.W. on purpose to make Cape *Sumbor* on the coast of China. The sea was very rough, and the wind so strong that it blew our main course out of the bolt ropes. The 9th, in lat. 28° 23′, we sounded and had forty-nine to forty-five fathoms on an oozy bottom. The weather was clear, yet we could not see land. The 11th we had ground in forty-nine, forty-three, thirty-eight, thirty-seven, and thirty fathoms, the water being very green, and as yet no land to be seen.

The 12th, in thirty-five fathoms, and reckoning ourselves near the coast of China, we had sight of at least 300 sail of junks, of twenty and thirty tons each and upwards, two of which passed us close to windwards, and though we used all fair means to prevail upon them to come aboard we could not succeed, and seeing they were only fishing vessels we let them pass. Continuing our course we soon espied land, being two islands called the *Fishers islands*.[3] At noon our latitude was 25° 59′ N. and we had ground at twenty to twenty-six fathoms. About seven p. m. while steering along the land, we came close by a rock, which by good providence we had sight of by moonlight, as it lay right in our course. When not above twice our ship's length from this rock, we had thirty fathoms water, on which we hauled off for one watch, to give the land a wide birth, and resumed our course S.W. after midnight. The wind was very strong at N.E. and continually followed as the land trended. The 13th, in lat. 24° 35′ N. and variation 1° 30′ easterly, having the wind strong at N.E. with fair weather, we steered S.W. keeping about five leagues off the islands along the coast of China. The 15th we came among many fisher boats, but had so much

[2] Corea was long thought to be an island after the period of this voyage. Astl. I. 492. c.—It is now known to be an extensive peninsula, to the east of China, having the Yellow sea interposed.—E.

[3] By the latitude indicated in the text, Captain Saris, appears to have fallen in with the coast of Fo-kien, and to have passed through between that province and the island of Formosa, without discovering the existence of that island.—E.

much wind that we could not speak any of them, but they made signs to us, as we thought to keep to the westwards. At noon our lat. was 21° 40′ N. and having the wind at N.N.E. a stiff gale, we steered W.N.W. northerly, to make the land, and about two hours afterwards had sight of it, although by our dead reckoning we ought still to have been fifty-six leagues from it. It is to be noted, that the islands along the coast of China are considerably more to the southward than as laid down in the charts. About three p. m. we were within about two leagues of an island called *Sancha*.[4]

The 18th, in lat. 15° 43′ N. we had sight of an island called Pulo-cotan, being high land, and is about twenty leagues, according to report, from the shoal called *Plaxel*. In the morning of the 19th the coast of Cambodia was on our starboard side, about two leagues off, along which we steered S.E. by E. easterly, our latitude at noon being 13° 31′ N. estimating the ship to be then athwart *Varella*. We have hitherto found the wind always *trade* along shore, having gone *large* all the way from Firando, the wind always following us as the land trended. The 20th at noon we were in latitude 10° 53′, and three glasses, or an hour and half after, we had sight of a small island, which we concluded to be that at the end of the shoal called *Pulo-citi*. We found the book of *Jan Huyghens van Linschoten* very true, for by it we have directed our course ever since we left Firando. The 22d we had sight of *Pulo Condor* about five leagues off, our latitude at noon being 8° 20′ N.

About four a. m. on the 25th we made the island of *Pulo Timon*, and two hours afterwards saw *Pulo Tinga*. The 28th at three p. m. we had oosy ground at twenty fathoms, having divers long islands on our starboard and sundry small islands on our larboard, forming the straits of China-bata, which we found to be truly laid down in a chart made by a Hollander called *Jan Janson Mole*, which he gave to Mr Hippon, who gave it to the company. *Pulo Bata*, one of these islands, is low land, and is full of trees or bushes at the S.W. end.

[4] Probably the island of Tchang-to-huen, to the S.W. of the bay of Canton, the situation of which agrees with the latitude in the text, and the sound of the two first syllables of which name has some affinity with that given by Saris, evidently from Spanish or Portuguese charts. At this part of his voyage, Saris entirely misses to notice the large island of Hai-nan. —E.

A little before noon on the 29th, we perceived the colour of the water a-head of the ship to change very much, by which observation we escaped an imminent danger. This shoal seemed of a triangular shape, the S.W. end being the sharpest, and is not far from the entrance into the straits of *China-bata*. At noon our latitude was 4° 6′ N. At eight p. m. we came to anchor in seven fathoms, the weather threatening to be foul in the night, the place very full of shoals, and our experience little or nothing. Before our anchor took hold, we had six ¼, five ½, six, and then seven fathoms, soft sandy ground.

In the morning of the 30th we spoke the Darling, then bound for Coromandel, her company consisting of twenty-one English and nine blacks. By her we first learnt of the death of Sir Henry Middleton, the loss of the Trades-increase, and other incidents that had occurred during our voyage to Japan. In the night of the 30th God mercifully delivered us from imminent danger, as we passed under full sail close by a sunken ledge of rocks, the top of which was only just above water within a stone's throw of our ship; and had not the noise of the breakers awakened us, we had not cleared our ship. We instantly let go our anchor, being in a rapid current or tide-way, in seventeen fathoms upon oozy ground. When morning broke on the 31st we had sight of the high land of Sumatra, having an island a-stern, the ledge of rocks we had passed on our starboard, and three small islands forming a triangle on our larboard bow. We were about eight leagues off the high land of Java, but could not then get into the straits of Sunda, as the wind was quite fallen.

The 1st January, 1614, being quite calm, was mostly spent at anchor. The 2d, having a little wind, we set sail, and about eight o'clock fell in with the Expedition, homewards bound for England, laden with pepper, by which ship we wrote to our friends in England. The 3d we came to anchor in the road of Bantam, and to our great grief found no lading ready for us, for which neglect I justly blamed those I had left to provide the same, while they excused themselves by alleging they did not expect us so soon back. I questioned *Kewee*, the principal Chinese merchant, who came to visit me on board, as to the price of pepper. He answered, that it was already known ashore I was homewards bound, and must necessarily load pepper; and, as my merchants had

not provided any before hand, I might be assured it would rise. He said the price was then at twelve dollars for ten sacks, but he could not undertake to deliver any quantity at that price. I offered him twelve dollars and a half the ten sacks, but he held up so high, that we had no hope of dealing for the present. Of the ten persons left by us in the factory when we departed for Japan, we found only five alive at our return, while we only lost one man between Firando and Bantam.

I went ashore on the 4th to visit the governor of Bantam, to whom I presented two handsome *cattans*, or Japanese swords, and other articles of value; and this day I bargained with *Kewee* for 4000 sacks of pepper at thirteen dollars the ten sacks, bating in the weight 3 per cent. and directed the merchants to expedite the milling thereof as much as possible. I employed the 5th in reducing the several English factories at Bantam under one government, settling them all in one house; also in regulating the expences of diet, that all might be frugally managed, to prevent extravagance in rack-houses abroad, or in hanger-on blacks at home, which had lately been the case. I directed also that there should be fewer warehouses kept in the town, and that these might be better regulated, and the goods stowed in a more orderly manner. Hitherto the multiplication of factories, having one for each voyage, had occasioned great expence, and had raised the price of pepper, as each outbid the other, for the particular account of their own several voyages, with great loss to the public.

The 6th was employed in re-weighing the pepper received the day before, most of the sacks being found hard weight, and many to want a part of what was allowed by the king's beam; wherefore I sent for the weigher, whom I used kindly, entreating him to take a little more care to amend this fault, which he promised to do, and for his better encouragement I made him a present to the value of five dollars. The 16th being Sunday, I staid aboard, and about 2 p. m. we observed the whole town to be on fire. I immediately sent our skiff ashore to assist the merchants in guarding our goods. The wind was so violent, that in a very short space of time the whole town was burnt down, except the English and Dutch factories, which it pleased God of his mercy to preserve.

Being

Being ashore on the 20th, I procured two Chinese merchants, named *Lackmoy* and *Lanching*, to translate the letter which the king of Firando in Japan had given me to deliver to our king, James I. It was written in the Chinese character and language, which they translated into the Malay, and which in English was as follows:

To the King of Great Britain, &c.

"Most mighty king, I cannot sufficiently express how acceptable your majesty's most loving letter, and bountiful present of many valuable things, sent me by your servant Captain John Saris, has been to me; neither the great happiness I feel in the friendship of your majesty, for which I render you many thanks, desiring the continuance of your majesty's love and correspondence. I am heartily glad at the safe arrival of your subjects at my small island, after so long a voyage. They shall not lack my help and furtherance to the utmost, for effecting their so worthy and laudable purposes, of discovery and commerce, for which I greatly commend their diligence in the same; referring for the entertainment they have received to the report of your servant, by whom I send to your majesty an unworthy token of my gratitude, wishing your majesty long life. Given from my residence of Firando, the sixth day of the tenth month.

Your majesty's loving friend, commander of this island of Firando in Japan,

FOYNE SAM-MASAM."

My interpreters could not well pronounce his name, Lanching saying it was *Foyne Foshin Sam*, while Lackmoy said it was written as above. This comes to pass by reason of the Chinese characters, which, in proper names, borrow the characters of other words, of the same or nearest sound, and thereby occasion frequent mistakes.

The 22d, such houses as had escaped in the former fire of the 16th, were now burnt down; yet the English and Dutch houses escaped, for which we were thankful to God. On the 26th, a Dutch ship of 1000 tons arrived from Holland, called the Flushing. At the island of Mayo, the company mutinied against the captain, whom they would have murdered in his cabin, had it not pleased God that a Scotsman revealed the plot when the mutineers were already armed to carry it into

into effect, so that they were taken between decks with their weapons in their hands. In this ship there were several English and Scots soldiers. She did not remain at Bantam, but sailed towards evening for Jacatra.

The 27th, our lading being fully procured, and several of our company fallen sick, I went ashore to hasten our merchants to get us ready for sailing. The 1st February, the Darling was forced back to Bantam; and order was taken by mutual consultation for the proper care of her goods, and for her immediate departure for *Succadanea* in the island of Borneo, and thence to Patane and Siam.

The 13th of February we got out from the straits of Sunda, in which the tide of flood sets twelve hours to the eastwards, and the ebb twelve hours to the westwards. On the 16th of May we anchored in the bay of Saldanha, where we found the Concord of London, being the first ship set out by the united company. We now found the natives of this place very treacherous, making us to understand by signs, that two of their people had been forcibly carried off. They had sore wounded one of the people belonging to the Concord; and while we were up in the land, they assaulted the people who were left in charge of our skiff, carried away our grapnel, and had spoiled the boat-keepers if they had not pushed off into deep water. The 19th a Dutch ship arrived bound for Bantam, the master being Cornelius van Harte.

We remained here twenty-three days, where we thoroughly refreshed the ship's company, and took away with us alive fourteen oxen and seventy sheep, besides good store of fish and beef, which we *powdered* there, finding it to take salt well, contrary to former reports. For ten days after leaving Saldanha, we had the wind N.W. and W.N.W. but after that we had a fine wind at S.W. so that we could hold our course N.W. On the 27th September, thanks be to God, we arrived at Plymouth; where, for the space of five or six weeks, we endured more tempestuous weather, and were in greater danger of our lives, than during the whole voyage besides.

§ 13. *In*

§ 13. *Intelligence concerning Yedzo, or Jesso, received from a Japanese at Jedo, who had been twice there.*[1]

Yedzo, or Jesso, is an island to the N.W. of Japan, from which it is ten leagues distant. The natives are of white complexions, and well-conditioned, but have their bodies covered all over with hair like monkies. Their weapons are bows and poisoned arrows. The inhabitants of the south extremity of this country understand the use of weights and measures; but those who inhabit the inland country, at the distance of thirty days journey, are ignorant of these things. They have much silver and gold-dust, in which they make payment to the Japanese for rice and other commodities; rice and cotton-cloth being of ready sale among them, as likewise iron and lead, which are carried there from Japan. Food and cloathing are the most vendible commodities among the natives of that country, and sell to such advantage, that rice often yields a profit of four for one.

The town where the Japanese have their chief residence and mart in Yedzo is called *Matchma*,[2] in which there are 500 households or families of Japanese. They have likewise a fort here, called *Matchma-donna*. This town is the principal mart of Yedzo, to which the natives resort to buy and sell, especially in September, when they make provision against winter. In March they bring down salmon and dried fish of sundry kinds, with other wares, for which the Japanese barter in preference even to silver. The Japanese have no other settled residence or place of trade except this at Matchma.[3] Farther northward in Yedzo there are people of a low stature like dwarfs.[4] The other natives of Yedzo are of good stature like the Japanese, and have no other cloathing but what is brought them from Japan. There is a violent current in the straits between Yedzo and Japan, which comes from the sea of Corea, and sets E.N.E. The winds there

[1] This article is appended to the Voyage of Saris, in the Pilgrims, vol. I. p. 384.—E.

[2] In modern maps, the southern peninsula of Yesso, or Yedso, is named *Matsaki*, apparently the same name with that in the text.—E.

[3] In our more modern maps, there are four other towns or residences on the western coast of the peninsula of Matsaki, named Jemasina, Sirekosawa, Famomoli, and Aria.—E.

[4] The island of Kubito-sima, off the western coast of Yedzo, is called likewise in our maps, the Isle of Pigmies.—E.

there are for the most part like those usual in Japan; the northerly winds beginning in September, and ending in March, when the southerly winds begin to blow.

§ 14. *Note of Commodities vendible in Japan.*[1]

Broad-cloths of all sorts, as black, yellow, and red, which cost in Holland eight or nine gilders the Flemish ell, two ells and three quarters, are worth in Japan, three, four, to five hundred.[2] Cloth of a high wool is not in request, but such as is low shorn is most vendible. Fine *bayes* of the before-mentioned colours are saleable, if well cottoned, but not such as those of Portugal. Sayes, *rashes*, single and double *bouratts*, silk grograms, Turkey grograms; camblets, *Divo Gekepert*, *Weersetynen*, *Caniaut*, *Gewart-twijne*;[3] velvets, musk, sold weight for weight of silver; India cloths of all sorts are in request; satins, taffetas, damasks, Holland linen from fifteen to twenty stivers the Flemish ell, but not higher priced; diaper, damasks, and so much the better if wrought with figures or branches; thread of all colours; carpets, for tables; gilded leather, painted with figures and flowers, but the smallest are in best demand; painted pictures, the Japanese delighting in lascivious representations, and stories of wars by sea or land, the larger the better worth, sell for one, two, or three hundred. Quick-silver, the hundred cattees sell from three to four hundred.

The hundred cattees of vermilion are worth from three to six hundred. Paint for women's faces, the hundred cattees are worth twenty-eight. Copper in plates, 125 Flemish pounds are worth from 90 to 100. Lead in small bars, the 100 cattees from 60 to 88. Lead in sheets is in greater request, the thinner the better, and 100 pounds Flemish sell for

[1] This forms a part of the Appendix to the Voyage of Saris, Purch. Pilg. I. 394; where it is joined to the end of observations by the same author on the trade of Bantam, formerly inserted in this Collection under their proper date.—E.

[2] This account is very vaguely expressed; but in the title in the Pilgrims, the sales are stated to be in *masses* and *canderines*, each canderine being the tenth part of a masse. The information contained in this short subdivision is hardly intelligible, yet is left, as it may possibly be of some use towards reviving the trade of Japan, now that the Dutch are entirely deprived of their eastern possessions.—E.

[3] These articles, in Italics, are unknown.

for 80. Fine tin, in logs or bars, 120 pounds Flemish bring 350. Iron, twenty-five Dutch ounces worth four. Steel, the 100 cattees, worth from one to two hundred. Tapestry. Civet, the cattee worth from 150 to 200. China root, the 100 cattees or pekul worth 40. China sewing gold, the paper worth three masse three. Powdered Chinese sugar, the 100 cattees or pekul worth forty to fifty. Sugar-candy, the pekul or 100 cattees, from fifty to sixty. Velvets, of all colours, eight ells the piece, from 120 to 130. Wrought velvets, from 180 to 200. Taffetas of all colours, and good silk, worth, the piece, from twenty-four to thirty or forty. Satin, seven or eight ells long, the piece worth from 80 to 100. Figured satin, from 120 to 150. *Gazen*, of seven pikes or ells, from forty to fifty. Raw silk, the cattee of twelve pounds Flemish, from thirty to forty. Untwisted silk, the weight of twenty-eight pounds Flemish, from thirty to forty. Twisted silk, from twenty-eight to forty.

Drinking-glasses of all sorts, bottles, canns, cups, trenchers, plates, beer-glasses, salt-sellers, wine-glasses, beakers, gilt looking-glasses of large size, *Muscovy glass*, salt, writing-papers, table-books, paper-books, *lead to neal pots*. Spanish soap is in much request, and sells for one masse the small cake. Amber beads, worth 140 to 160. Silk stockings, of all colours. Spanish leather, neats leather, and other kinds of leather used for gloves, worth six, eight, or nine. Blue *candiques* of China, from fifteen to twenty. Black *candiques*, from ten to fifteen. Wax for candles, 100 pounds Flemish worth from 200 to 250. Honey, the pekul, worth sixty. *Samell* of Cochin-China, the pekul, worth 180. Nutmegs, the pekul, twenty-five. Camphor of Borneo, or *barous*, *the pound hollans*, from 250 to 400. Sanders of *Solier*, the pekul, worth 100. Good and heavy Callomback wood, the pound, worth one, two, three, to five. Sapan, or red wood, the pekul, from twenty to twenty-six. Good and large elephants teeth, from 400, to 500, 600, 700, and even 800. Rhinoceros horns, the Javan cattee, worth thirty. Gilded harts-horns, the piece, worth 300, 400, 500. Roch allum in request, in so much that what cost only three gilders has sold for 100 gilders; but not in demand by every one.

The Chinese in Japan will commonly truck for silver, giving gold of twenty-three carats, at the rate of from fifteen to twenty times its weight in silver, according as silver is plenty or scarce.

The

The following commodities are to be bought in Japan, and at the rates here quoted. Very good hemp, 100 cattees, being 120 pounds of Holland, are worth from sixty-five to seventy. *Eye-colours* for dying blue, almost as good as indigo, made up in round cakes, and packed 100 cakes in a fardel, worth fifty to sixty. Dye-stuff for white, turning to red colour, made up in fardels of fifty *gautins malios*, worth five to eight. Very good white rice, cased, worth, the *fares*, eight three-fifths. Rice of a worse sort, the bale, worth seven three-tenths. At Jedo, Osaka, and Miaco, there is the best dying of all sorts of colours, as red, black, and green; and for gilding gold and silver, is better than the Chinese varnish. Brimstone is in great abundance, and the pekul may be bought for seven. Saltpetre is dearer in one place than another, being worth one and a half. Cotton-wool, the pekul, may be bought for ten.

§ 15. *Supplementary Notices of Occurrences in Japan, after the Departure of Captain Saris.*[1]

"This subdivision consists entirely of letters from Japan, and conveys some curious information respecting the transactions of the English in Japan, whence they have been long excluded. They are now perhaps of some interest, beyond the mere gratification of curiosity, as, by the entire expulsion of the Dutch from India, there seems a possibility of the British merchants in India being able to restore trade to that distant country. In the *Third* PART of our Collection, various other relations of Japan will be inserted."—E.

No. I. *Letter from Mr Richard Cocks, dated Firando, 10th December,* 1614.[2]

To this day, I have been unable to complete my old books of accounts, owing to the dispatching of our people, some to one place and some to another, and owing to the rebuilding of our house, and afterwards buying a junk, and repairing her. She is now ready to set sail for Siam, having been at anchor these ten days, waiting for a fair wind to proceed on her

[1] These are appended in the Pilgrims, vol. I. pp. 406—413, to the observations of Mr Richard Cocks, already given in conjunction with the voyage of Captain Saris.—E.

[2] This letter appears to have been written to Captain Saris.—E.

her voyage, at *Couchi*, a league from Firando, where your ship rode at your departure from hence. She is called the Sea-Adventure, of about 200 tons burden, in which Mr Adams goes as master, with Mr Wickham and Mr Edward Sayers as merchants, in consequence of the death of Mr Peacock, slain in Cochin-China, and the probability that Mr Carwarden has been cast away in his return from thence, as we have no news of him or of the junk in which he sailed, as I have at large informed the worshipful company.

Since your departure from Japan, the emperor has banished all jesuits, priests, nuns, and friars, from the country, shipping them off for *Amacau* [Macao] in China, or Manilla in the Philippine islands, and has caused all their churches and monasteries to be pulled down or burnt. *Foyne Same*, the old king of Firando, is dead, and *Ushiandono*, his governor, with two other servants, cut open their bellies to bear him company, their bodies being burned, and their ashes entombed along with his. Wars are likely to ensue between *Ogusho Same*, the old emperor, and *Fidaia Same*, the young prince, son of *Tico Same*, who has strongly fortified himself in the castle of *Osaka*, having collected an army of 80,000 or 100,000 men, consisting of malcontents, runaways, and banished people, who have repaired from all parts to his standard, and he is said to have collected sufficient provisions for three years. The old emperor has marched against him in person, with an army of 300,000 men, and is at the castle of *Fusima*. The advanced parties of the two armies have already had several skirmishes, and many have been slain on both sides. The entire city of Osaka has been burned to the ground, excepting only the castle, so that Mr Eaton had to retire with his goods to *Sakey*,[3] yet not without danger, as a part of that town has likewise been burnt. So great a tempest or tuffoon has lately occurred at *Edoo* [Jedo,] as had never been before experienced at that place. The sea overflowed the whole city, obliging the people to take refuge on the hills; and the prodigious inundation has defaced or thrown down all the houses of the nobles, which you know were very beautiful and magnificent.

Let this suffice for Japanese news; and I now proceed to inform you of our success in selling our goods. The emperor

3 It has been formerly explained that *Sakey* was a town on the river Jodo, directly opposite to Osakey or Osaka, the river only being interposed.—E.

ror took all our ordnance, with most of our lead, and ten barrels of gunpowder, with two or three pieces of broad-cloth. Most of our other broad-cloths are sold, namely, black, hair-colour, and cinnamon-colour, at fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, and twelve tayes the *tattamy;* but they will not even look at Venice-reds and flame-colours, neither are *stammels* in such request as formerly, but they enquire much for whites and yellows. As the Dutch sold most of their broad-cloths at low prices, we were forced to do so likewise. In regard to our Cambaya goods, they will not look at our *red Zelas,* blue *byrams,* or *dutties,* being the principal part of what is now left us; and only some white bastas sell at fourteen or fifteen masses each. *Cassedys nill, alleias,* broad *pintados,* with spotted, striped, and checquered stuffs, are most in request, and sell at good profit. We have also sold nearly half of our Bantam pepper for sixty-five *masse* the *pekull,* and all the rest had been gone before now, had it not been for the war. I am in great hope of procuring trade into China, through the means of Andrea, the China captain, and his two brothers, who have undertaken the matter, and have no doubt of being able to bring it to bear, for three ships to come yearly to a place near *Lanquin,** to which we may go from hence in three or four days with a fair wind. Of this I have written at large to the worshipful company, and also to the lord-treasurer.

Some little sickness with which I have been afflicted is now gone, for which I thank God. Mr Easton, Mr Nealson, Mr Wickham, and Mr Sayer, have all been very sick, but are all now well recovered, except Mr Eaton, who still labours under flux and tertian ague. May God restore his health, for I cannot too much praise his diligence and pains in the affairs of the worshipful company. Jacob Speck, who was thought to have been cast away in a voyage from hence to the Moluccas, is now returned to Firando in the command of a great ship called the Zelandia, together with a small pinnace called the Jacatra. The cause of his being so long missing was, that in going from hence by the eastward of the Philippines, the way we came, he was unable to fetch the Moluccas, owing to currents and contrary winds, and was driven to the west of the island of Celebes, and so passed round

* As Nangasaki is uniformly named *Langasaque* in this first English voyage to Japan, I am apt to suspect the *Lanquin* of the text may have been Nan-kin.—E.

round it through the straits of Desalon, and back to the Moluccas. The Chinese complain much against the Hollanders for robbing and pilfering their junks, of which they are said to have taken and rifled seven. The emperor of Japan has taken some displeasure against the Hollanders, having refused a present they lately sent him, and would not even speak to those who brought it. He did the same in regard to a present sent by the Portuguese, which came in a great ship from Macao to Nangasaki. You thought, when here, that if any other ship came from England we might continue to sell our goods without sending another present to the emperor; but I now find that every ship which comes to Japan must send a present to the emperor, as an established custom. I find likewise that we cannot send away any junk from hence without procuring the yearly licence from the emperor, as otherwise no Japanese mariner dare to leave the country, under pain of death. Our own ships from England may, however, come in and go out again when they please, and no one to gainsay them.

We have not as yet been able by any means to procure trade from *Tushma* into Corea; neither indeed have the inhabitants of Tushma any farther privilege than to frequent one small town or fortress, and must not on pain of death go beyond the walls of that place. Yet the king of Tushma is not subject to the emperor of Japan.[5] We have only been able to sell some pepper at Tushma, and no great quantity of that. The weight there is much heavier than in Japan, but the price is proportionally higher.

I have been given to understand that there are no great cities in the interior of Corea, between which inland country and the sea there are immense bogs or morasses, so that no one can travel on horseback, and hardly even a-foot; and as a remedy against this, they have great waggons or carts upon broad flat wheels, which are moved by means of sails like ships. Thus, by observing the monsoons or periodical winds, they transport their goods backwards and forwards, by means of these sailing waggons. In that country they make damasks, sattins, taffaties, and other silk stuffs, as well as in China.

It is said that *Fico Same*, otherwise called *Quabicondono*, the former emperor of Japan, pretended to have conveyed a great

[5] No place or island of any name resembling *Tushma* is to be found in our best maps. The name in the text probably refers to *Tausima*, called in some maps *Jusus*, an island about forty miles long, about midway between Kiusiu and Corea.—E.

great army in these sailing waggons, to make a sudden assault upon the emperor of China in his great city of Pekin, where he ordinarily resides; but was prevented by a nobleman of Corea, who poisoned himself to poison the emperor and many of the nobles of Japan. On which occasion, as is said, the Japanese lost, about twenty-two years ago, all that they had conquered in Corea.

James Turner, the youth who used to play the fiddle, left a girl here with child; and though I gave her two tayes in silver to bring up the child, she killed it as soon as it was born, which is a common thing in this country. The whistle and chain belonging to Mr Foster, the master of the Clove, are found, and are under the charge of Mr Adams, who will be accountable for them. I meant to have sent you a Japanese almanack by a former letter to the same effect as this, dated the 25th *ultimo*, and sent by the Sea Adventure by way of Siam, but forgot to do so; and which I now send along with this letter. I pray you that this letter may suffice for your brother, Mr George Saris, and the rest of my loving friends: And, with hearty commendations in general, I leave you all to the holy protection of the Almighty; resting always your ever loving friend at command,

RICHARD COCKS.

No. 2. *Letter from Mr Richard Cocks, dated Firando, 10th December,* 1614, *to the Worshipful Thomas Wilson, Esq. at his House in the Britain-burse*[1] *in the Strand.*

My last to you was of the 1st December, 1613, from this island of Firando in Japan, and sent by Captain John Saris in the ship Clove. In that letter, I advised you how unkindly the Hollanders dealt with us at the Moluccas; since which time there has not occurred any matter of moment to communicate, except what I have detailed in another letter to my good Lord Treasurer. It is given out here by the Hollanders, that our East India Company and that of Holland are likely to join into one; and if this prove true, it is thought it will be an easy matter to drive the Spaniards and Portuguese out of these eastern parts of the world, or else to cut them off from all trade. You would hardly believe how much the Hollanders have already daunted the Portuguese and

[1] Perhaps that now called Exeter Change.—E.

and Spaniards in these parts, especially in the Moluccas, where they daily encroach on the Spaniards, who are unable to withstand them, and are even in fear that they may shortly deprive them of the Philippine islands. The Portuguese also are in great fear of being driven by them out of the trade they now carry on from Ormus to Goa, and with Malacca and Macao in China.

There is one thing of which I cannot yet conceive the issue, and that is the robbing and plundering the Chinese junks, which is daily done by the Hollanders in these parts, the goods whereof must amount to great value, and suffice to fit out and maintain a great fleet, which is worthy of consideration. Should the emperor of Japan fall out with the Hollanders, and debar them from the trade of his dominions, which is not unlikely, the Hollanders will then make prize of the Japanese junks as well as of those of China; for their strength at sea in these parts is sufficient to do what they please, if only they had a place to retire to for revictualling and refitting their ships; for they are of late grown so stout, that they mock at those who were formerly their masters and teachers. It is very certain that they have got possession of several fortresses at the Moluccas and other parts; yet, to my certain knowledge, the natives in these parts are more inclined towards the Spaniards, although at the first they were glad of the arrival of the Hollanders, having been disgusted by the intolerable pride of the Spaniards. But now they have time to reflect, that the Spaniards brought them abundance of money, and were liberal though proud; while the poor Hollanders, who serve there both by sea and land, have such bare pay, that it can hardly supply clothes and food; and their commanders allege, that all the benefits derived from conquest or reprisals, belong to the states and the *Winthebbers*, as they call them. It is hard to judge how all these things may end.

Were it not for the misbehaviour of the Hollanders, I am of opinion that we should procure trade with China, as we only demand leave for three ships to come and go there, and merely to establish factors there to transact our business, without bringing any jesuits or *padres*, whom the Chinese cannot abide to hear of, because they came formerly in such great numbers to inhabit the land, and were always begging and craving, to the great displeasure of the pagans. I am however in good hope of success, as our English nation has

acquired

acquired a good fame and character since our arrival, which I am given to understand has come to the ears of the emperor of China, who has heard how we have been received by the emperor of Japan, having large privileges allowed us, and also that we have at all times held the Castilians in defiance both by sea and land. I have been informed of these things by the Chinese who come hither, and that the emperor and other great men of China delight to hear accounts of our nation. I had almost forgotten to mention, that some China merchants lately asked me, if we were allowed to trade with China, whether the king of England would prevent the Hollanders from robbing and spoiling their junks? Which question was rather doubtful to me, yet I answered that his majesty would take measures to prevent the Hollanders from injuring them.

We have lately had news that a tuffoon or tempest has done vast injury at Jedo, a city of Japan as large as London, where the Japanese nobility have very beautiful houses, now mostly destroyed or greatly injured. The whole city was inundated, and the inhabitants forced to take shelter in the hills; a thing never before heard of. The palace of the king, which is a stately building in a new fortress, has had all its gilded tiles carried away by a whirlwind, so that none of them could be found. The pagans attribute this calamity to some charms or conjurations of the jesuits, who were lately banished; but the Japanese converts to popery ascribe it to the vengeance of God, as a punishment for having banished these holy men.

We have lately had a great disaster in Cochin-China, to which place we sent a quantity of goods and money, to the value of £730, as it cost in England, under the care of Mr Tempest Peacock and Mr Walter Carwarden, who went as merchants in a Japanese junk, carrying our king's letters and a handsome present for the king of Cochin-China. They arrived at the port called *Quinham*,[2] delivered his majesty's letters and present, and were entertained with kind words and fair promises. The Hollanders, seeing that we adventured to that country, would needs do the same, and were at first kindly entertained; but in the end, Mr Peacock and the

[2] *Turon* is the port of Cochin-China in the present time, and *Quinham* is unknown in modern geography; perhaps the old name of some island or village at the port or bay of Turon.—E.

the chief Dutch merchant going ashore one day in the same boat, to receive payment from the king for broad-cloth and other commodities they had sold him, they were treacherously assailed on the water, their boat overset, and both were killed in the water with harpoons, as if they had been fishes, together with their interpreters and other attendants, who were Japanese. Mr Carwarden being aboard our junk escaped sharing in this massacre, and came away, but neither he nor the junk have ever been since heard of, so that we fear he has been cast away.

It is commonly reported here, both among the Chinese and Japanese, that this was done by order of the king of Cochin-China in revenge against the Hollanders, who had burnt one of his towns, and had slaughtered his people most unmercifully. The origin of this quarrel was occasioned by a large quantity of false dollars, sent to *Quinham* by the Hollanders some years ago, and put off in payment for silks and other Chinese goods, to the great injury of the merchants of that country. When the falsehood of the money was discovered, they laid hands upon the Dutch factors, and are said to have put some of them to death. Upon this the Dutch ships came upon the coast, and landed a body of men, who burnt a town, putting man, woman, and child to the sword. This, as reported, was the occasion of our present mischance, and of the slaughter of Mr Peacock, because he was in company with the Hollanders. Along with this letter, I send you a Japanese almanack, by which you will see the manner of their printing, with their figures and characters. And so I leave you to the holy protection of the Almighty, resting always, &c.

RICHARD COCKS.

No. 3. *Letter from Edmond Sayer, dated Firando, 5th December,* 1615. *But having no Address.*

I received a letter from you by the hands of Captain Copendall of the Horiander, who arrived here on the 29th of August this year, by which I learnt your safe arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, homewards bound, and of the loss of some of your company; and I make no doubt that, long ere now, you are safe arrived in England, by the blessing of God. I sent you a letter, dated in November, 1614, by the Dutch ship called the Old Zealand, in which I informed you of

of the death of Mr Peacock and Walter Carwarden, both betrayed in Cochin-China, to our great grief, besides the loss of goods to the company.

The last year, Mr Wickham, Mr Adams, and I, when bound for Siam in a junk we had bought, and meeting with great storms, our vessel sprung a leak, and we were fain to bear up for the *Leukes*[1] islands, where we had to remain so long, before we could stop our leaks, that we lost the monsoon, and had to return here. We have fitted her out again this year, and are now ready to sail again for Siam. My greatest hope in these parts is, that we shall be able to establish trade with China, of which we seem to have a fair prospect through the efforts of the China captain and his brothers; and I make no doubt that we shall have a factory there ere long.

This last summer we have had great troubles, in consequence of war between the emperor and *Fidaia Same*, and we do not certainly know whether the latter be slain or fled; but the emperor gained the victory, with a vast loss of men on both sides.[2] Having no other news to write, I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, and am, &c.

EDMOND SAYER.

No. 4. *Letter, with no address, from Edmond Sayer, dated Firando, 4th December,* 1616.

Worshipful Sir,—My duty always remembered. Having a favourable opportunity, I could not omit to trouble you with a few lines. I am but newly arrived here in Firando from a difficult and tedious voyage to Siam, to which country we went in a junk belonging to the right honourable company, in which Mr Adams was master, and myself factor. Having bought there more goods than our own junk could carry, we freighted another junk for Japan, in which Mr Benjamin Fry, the chief in the factory at Siam, thought it proper for me to embark, for the safety of the goods. The year

[1] The Liqueo islands are here obviously meant, a group to the south of the south-western extremity of Japan, in 28° N. and long. 129° 30′ W. from Greenwich; such being the latitude and longitude of the centre of the great Liqueo, the principal island of the group.—E.

[2] In the text of the Pilgrims, this loss is estimated at 400,000, and in a marginal note at 40,000, both in words at length; for which reason the number is omitted in the text.—E.

year being far spent, we were from the 1st June to the 17th September in our voyage between Siam and *Shachmar*, during which we experienced many storms and much foul weather, and lost twenty of our men by sickness and want of fresh water. The great cause of our tedious and unfortunate voyage was in our not having a good pilot. The one we had was a Chinese, who knew nothing of navigation; for, when out of sight of land, he knew not where he was, nor what course to steer. Besides he fell sick, and was unable to creep out of his cabin, so that I was obliged to do my best to navigate our junk; which, with what small skill I possessed, and by the aid of God, I brought safe to *Shachmar*, where we arrived on the 17th of September, having then only five men able to stand on their legs. In consequence, I arrived so late at Firando that I could not go this year to Siam. But Mr William Eaton has gone there in the company's junk, having two English pilots, named Robert and John Burges.—I am, &c.

EDMOND SAYER.

No. 5. *Letter from Richard Cocks to Captain John Saris, dated Firando,* 15*th February,* 1617.[1]

My last letter to you was dated 5th January, 1616, and sent by way of Bantam in the ship Thomas, which went from hence that year along with another small ship called the Advice. In that letter I wrote you at large of all things that had then occurred, and mentioned having received two of your letters from London; one dated 4th November, 1614, and the other 15th August, 1615. The Advice has since returned to Japan, and arrived at Firando on the 2d of August last, and by her I had a letter from the honourable company, dated 30th January, 1616.

You will perhaps have heard that Captain Barkeley, while on his death-bed, narrowly escaped losing 6000 dollars, paid out for custom on pepper; for, if he had died before it was found out, perhaps some other man might have taken credit for paying that sum. It is a common saying, that it is easy for those who live at Bantam to grow rich, as *no man dies without*

[1] Perhaps the date of this letter, according to modern computation, ought to have been 1618, as in those days the year did not begin till Lady-day, the 25th March.—E.

without an heir. We have been again this year before the emperor of Japan, but could not procure our privileges to be enlarged, having still only leave to carry on trade at Firando and Nangasaki, and our ships to come only to Firando.

Mr Edmond Sayer went last year to Cochin-China with a cargo amounting to about 1800 *tayes,* in goods and money; and when ready to come away, was defrauded of 650 tayes, by a Chinese and others, of whom he had bought silk for the worshipful company. He had weighed out the money, waiting to receive the silk, and the money lay ready in the room where he sat; but some of these thievish people made a hole through the cane-wall of the room, and stole away the money unperceived. I am sorry for this mischance; but Mr Sayer is in hopes to recover it this year, as he left a person to follow out the suit, and goes back himself in a Chinese junk, with 2000 *tayes* in silver to purchase silk. He is to be accompanied by one Robert Hawley, as his assistant and successor, in case he should die, and Mr William Adams goes pilot, in place of the Chinese. God send them a prosperous voyage, and that they may recover the lost money. Our own junk, the Sea Adventure, made another voyage last year to Siam, Mr William Eaton being merchant; and has gone back again this year. God send them a prosperous voyage.

Last year, the Hollanders sent a fleet of ships from the Moluccas to Manilla, to fight the Spanish fleet: But the Spaniards kept safe in port for five or six months, so that the Hollanders concluded they durst not come out at all, and therefore separated to look out for Chinese junks, of which some say they took and plundered twenty-five, while others say thirty-five. It is certain that they took great riches, and all under the assumed name of Englishmen. At length the Spanish fleet put to sea, and set upon five or six of the Dutch ships, the admiral of which was burnt and sunk, together with two other ships, the rest escaping. The Spaniards then separated their fleet, to seek out the remaining Dutch ships. The Spanish vice-admiral fell in with two Dutch ships one morning, and fought them both all day; but was at length constrained to run his ship ashore and set her on fire, that she might not be taken by the Hollanders. These two Dutch ships, and one that was in the former fight, came afterwards to Firando, together with two other large

large Dutch ships from Bantam, as big as the Clove, intending to have intercepted the Macao ship, which they narrowly missed. Thus five great Holland ships came this year to Firando, the smallest of them being as large as the Clove. One of these, called the Red Lion, which was she that rode beside us at the Moluccas, was cast away in a storm at Firando, together with a Chinese junk they brought in as a prize. All the goods were recovered, but were all wet. The emperor allows them to make good prize of all they take.

The Black Lion, one of their ships, of 900 tons burden, was sent away for Bantam, fully laden with raw silk and other rich Chinese commodities. Another, called the Flushing, of 700 or 800 tons, is gone for the Moluccas, fully laden with provisions and money. The Sun, a ship of 600 or 700 tons, with a galliass of above 400 tons, are left to scour the coast of China, to make what booty they can, and to return next monsoon. The galliass has sailed already, but the Sun waits for the Macao ship departing from Nangasaki, that she may endeavour to take her. The Macao ship had actually sailed, but seeing the galliass, she returned to Nangasaki, and will, as I think, hardly venture to sail this year. As I said before, the Dutch have always robbed the Chinese under the name of Englishmen, which has greatly injured our endeavours to procure trade in that country; so that we have been obliged to send people to give notice to the Chinese governors, that they were Hollanders who have taken and plundered their junks, and not Englishmen. In fine, I have advised the worshipful company at large of every thing of moment, which I doubt not will be communicated to you. I send you here inclosed a copy of my last year's letter; and so, committing you to God, I rest your loving friend at command,

RICHARD COCKS.

No. 6. *Extract of a Letter from Richard Cocks, without Date or Address.*

There came two friars in that ship as ambassadors from the viceroy of New Spain, with a present for the emperor; but he would neither receive the present, nor speak with them that brought it, even sending Mr Adams to order them to quit his dominions, as he had formerly banished all men of their cloth, and continued still in the same mind. It is said

said that *Fidaia Same* had promised to receive the jesuits again into Japan, if he had got the victory and been settled in the empire. Had this taken effect, we and the Hollanders had doubtless been turned out of Japan, so that it is better as it is.

Last year, when we fitted out our junk, we employed a Spaniard, called Damian Marina, the same person who thought to have gone with you in company with George Peterson. This Damian was a good helmsman, and was therefore employed by us, and another Spaniard, named Juan de Lievana, went with them as passenger. The junk however lost her voyage, and they returned to Nangasaki, where the carrak of Macao soon afterwards arrived. Understanding that these two Spaniards had gone in our vessel, the Portuguese arrested them and put them in irons in their ship, condemning them to death as traitors to their king and country, for serving their English enemies. I took their defence in hand, and procured an order from the emperor to set them at liberty, to the great displeasure of the Spaniards and Portuguese; and these two men are going passengers to Bantam in the Hosiander.

We have had great troubles in Japan, in consequence of the wars, by transporting our goods from place to place, to save them. Mr Adams is gone again in the junk for Siam, accompanied only by Mr Edmond Sayer. Mr Nealson is very sick; but Mr Wickham and Mr Eaton are both well. I long to hear from you, and I pray you to deliver the inclosed to my brother. Yours, most assured at command,

RICHARD COCKS.

No. 7. *Letter from Richard Cocks, without Address, dated Firando, 10th March, 1620.*[1]

"Hollanders abuses of the English in those parts are here published for knowledge of these eastern affairs and occurrents, as it is meet in a history. But neither were these national, but personal crimes, and done in time and place of pretended hostility; and now, I hope, satisfaction is or shall be

[1] In the Pilgrims, the date of this letter is made 1610, evidently by error of the press; and, as observed of No. 5, the real date, according to modern computation, ought to be 1621. The introductory paragraph is a note by Purchas, distinguished by inverted commas, retained as a curious specimen of his mode of writing.—E.

be made. Neighbourhood of region, religion, and customs, are easily violated by drink, covetousness, and pride, the three furies that raised these combustions. This history hath related the worth of many worthy Hollanders: If it yields a close-stool for Westarwood, as excrements rather than true Dutch, or a grain-tub or swill-tub for some brave brewers and bores, that embrued with nobler blood than themselves, prefer their brutish passions to God's glory, religion, and public peace, let it be no imputation to the nation, which I love and honour, but to such baser spirits as have [like scorbutical humours in these long voyages, and their longer peace and want of wonted employments,] been bred as diseases to their, and infections to our bodies. My intent is to present others with their acts, and myself with prayers, that all may be amended."—*Purchas.*

It is now almost three years since I wrote your worship any letter. The purpose of this is to inform you of the unlooked-for and unruly proceedings of the Hollanders against our English nation, in all these parts of the world, not sparing us even in this empire of Japan, contrary to the large privileges granted to us by the emperor, that the Japanese should not meddle with or molest us. But these Hollanders, having this year seven ships great and small in this port of Firando, have, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed open war against our English nation, both by sea and land, threatening to take our ships and goods, and to kill our persons, as their mortal enemies. This was done by one Adam Westarwood, their admiral or lord-commander, as they call him, and was openly proclaimed aboard all their ships. They have even come to brave us before our own doors, picking quarrels with us, and forcibly entering our house, thinking to have cut all our throats, yet only wounded two persons; and, had it not been for the assistance of the Japanese our neighbours, who took our parts, they had assuredly slain us all, as there were an hundred Hollanders to one Englishman. Not contented with this, they took our boat when going about our business, in which was one Englishman, whom they carried prisoner to their house, threatening to put him to death; and indeed he was in imminent danger, among a crowd of drunken fellows, who threatened to stab him with their knives. This young man was Richard King, son to Captain King of Plymouth. Besides this, as two

two of our barks were passing their ships, within the town and harbour of Firando, they pointed a cannon at them, which missed fire, yet shot at them with muskets, which missed the Englishmen and killed a Japanese. For all this there is no justice executed against them by the king of Firando, though he has received the commands of the emperor to that effect.

You will also please to understand, that two of these ships which they have brought to Firando are English ships, taken by them from Englishmen in the Indies. They also took two other ships from us, which were riding at anchor in the road of Patania, where we have a factory, and had not the least suspicion of any such event. In this unwarrantable affair, they killed Captain John Jordaine,[2] our chief president for the right worshipful company in the Indies. Several others were then slain, and the Hollanders carried the ships and goods away; but six of the mariners, which were in these captured English ships, escaped from them here at Firando, and came to our house. The Hollanders sent to me, demanding to have these men given up to them. But I answered, that I must first see their commission, that I might know by what authority they presumed to take our ships and goods, and to slay our men, the faithful subjects of his majesty. Upon this, they went to the *Tono*, or king of Firando, desiring to have their *English slaves*,[3] as they were pleased to call our men, delivered up to them. But they were told, that they must first demand of the emperor, and whatever he ordained should be obeyed; but that, in the meantime, he did not consider the English to be their slaves. This was the grand occasion on which they grounded their quarrel against us, and meant to have killed us all. But I trust in God and his majesty, by the solicitations of our right honourable and right worshipful employers, that his majesty will not suffer his true and loyal subjects to lose their lives, ships, and goods by this thievish and unthankful rabble, who are assembled in these parts of the world, and who make a daily practice to rob and steal from all, whether friends or foes: And I trust that you will become a solicitor in this so just cause, against so inveterate an enemy.

This

[2] This Captain Jordaine is said to have been treacherously slain in the time of a treaty.—*Purch.*

[3] And who was the happy instrument of their own delivery, from what they accounted slavery, but the English nation?—*Purch.*

This Adam Westarwood, their lord-commander, set my life to sale, offering fifty dollars to any one that would kill me, and thirty dollars for every other Englishman that they could slay: But hitherto God hath preserved me and the rest in this place; for though they have wounded two or three of our men, none have died. This villainous proceeding[4] of their lord-commander was secretly told me by some of their own people, who advised me and the rest of us to take heed to our safety. They also informed me of the noble parentage of this their lord-commander Westarwood, telling me that his father is a close-stool maker at Amsterdam, or thereabouts; and that the best of their captains are the sons of shoemakers, carpenters, or brewers. God bless their honourable and worshipful generation! I would say, God bless me from them. To make an end of this matter, I went up this year to the emperor's court at Meaco, to complain of the abuses offered to us in his dominions, contrary to the privileges his majesty had granted us. I had very good words, and fair promises made me that we should have justice, and that the *tono* or king of Firando should be ordered to see it performed: But as yet nothing has been done, though I have many times made earnest suit on the subject.

While I was at the court, and in the emperor's palace at Meaco, there were several Spaniards and Portuguese there to pay their obeisance to the emperor, as is their custom every year on the arrival of their ships. There was also a Hollander at the court, who had lived almost twenty years in Japan, and speaks the Japanese language very fluently. In my hearing, and that of others, this fellow began highly to extol their king of Holland, pretending that he was the greatest king in Christendom, and held all the others under his command. He little thought that we understood what he said; but I was not slack in telling him, that he need not be so loud, for they had no king in Holland, being only governed by a count, or rather that they governed him. Nay, if they had any king at all in whom they could boast, it certainly was the king of England, who had hitherto been their protector, and without whose aid they had never been able to brag of their States. This retort made the Spaniards and Portuguese laugh heartily at the poor Hollander, and made him shut his mouth.

And

[4] Unchristian, uncivil, inhumane, immane, devilish impiety.—*Purch.*

And now for the news of this country. The emperor is a great enemy to the name of Christians, especially to the Japanese who have embraced the faith; so that all such as are found are put to death. While at Meaco, I saw fifty-five martyred at one time, because they would not forsake the faith, and among them were some children of five or six years old, who were burnt in the arms of their mothers, calling on Jesus to receive their souls. Also, in the town of Nangasaki, sixteen others were martyred for the same cause, of whom five were burnt, and the rest beheaded and cut in pieces, and their remains put into sacks and cast into the sea in thirty fathoms deep: Yet the priests got them up again, and kept their remains secretly as relics. There are many others in prison, both here and in other places, who look hourly to be ordered for execution, as very few of them revert to paganism. Last year, about Christmas, the emperor deposed one of the greatest princes in all Japan, called *Frushma-tay*, lord of sixty or seventy *mangocas*, and banished him to a corner in the north of Japan, where he has a very small portion in comparison with what was taken from him, and he had the choice of this or of cutting open his own belly. It was thought that this would have occasioned great troubles in Japan, for all the subjects of *Frushma-tay* were up in arms, and meant to hold out to the utmost extremity, having fortified the city of *Frushma*, and laid in provisions for a long time. But the *tay* and his son, being then at the emperor's court, were commanded to write to their vassals, ordering them to lay down their arms and submit to the emperor, or otherwise to cut open their own bellies. Life being sweet, they all submitted, and those were pardoned who had taken up arms for their *tay*. The emperor has given their dominions, which were two kingdoms, to two of his own kinsmen; and this year the emperor has ordered the castle belonging to Frushma to be pulled down, being a very beautiful and gallant fortress, in which I saw him this year, and far larger than the city of Rochester. All the stones are ordered to be conveyed to Osaka, where the ruined castle, formerly built by *Fico-Same*, and pulled down by *Ogosha-Same*, is ordered to be rebuilt three times larger than before; for which purpose all the *tonos* or kings have each their several tasks appointed them, to be executed at their several charges, not without much grumbling: For they had got leave, after so many years attendance at court, to return to their own residences,

dences, and were now sent for again all of a sudden to court, which angreth them not a little: "But go they must, will they nill they, on pain of belly-cutting."

At this time there runs a secret rumour, that *Fidaia Same* is alive, and in the house of the *Dairo*[5] at Meaco; but I think it has been reported several times before this that he was living in other places, but proved untrue. There are some rich merchants here that belong to Meaco, who are much alarmed by this report, lest, if true, the emperor may burn Meaco; and who are therefore in haste to get home. Were Fidaia actually alive it might tend to overthrow the emperor's power, for, though a great politician, he is not a martial man: But be this as it may, things can hardly be worse for us. I advised you in my last of the destruction of all the Christian churches in Japan; yet there were some remnants left at Nangasaki till this year, and in particular the monastery of Misericordia was untouched, as were all the church-yards and burying-places; but now, by order of the emperor, all is destroyed, all the graves and sepulchres of the Christians opened, and the bones of the dead taken out by their parents and kindred, to be buried elsewhere in the fields. Streets have been built on the scites of these churches, monasteries, and burying-grounds, except in some places, where pagodas have been erected by command of the emperor, who has sent heathen priests to occupy them, thinking utterly to root out Christianity from Japan. There were certain places near Nangasaki where several jesuit fathers and other Christians were martyred, in the reign of *Ogosha Same*, and where their parents and friends had planted evergreen-trees, and erected altars near each tree, where many hundreds went daily to say their prayers; but now, by command of the emperor, all these trees are cut down, the altars destroyed, and the ground all levelled, it being his firm resolution utterly to root out the remembrance of all matters connected with Christianity.

In the months of November and December, 1618, there were two comets seen all over Japan. The first, rising in the east, was like a great fiery beam, rent to the southwards, and vanished away in about the space of a month. The other rose

[5] The Dairo was formerly the sovereign of Japan, uniting the supreme civil and spiritual power, committing the military affairs to a kind of generalissimo, who usurped supreme authority, and reduced the Dairo to be a kind of sovereign pontiff or chief-priest.—E.

rose also in the east, like a great blazing star, and went northwards, vanishing quite away within a month near the constellation of Ursa-Major or Charles-waine. The wizards of Japan have prognosticated great events to arise from these comets, but hitherto nothing material has occurred, excepting the deposition of *Frushma-tay,* already related.

I am almost ashamed to write you the news which the Spaniards and Portuguese report, though some of them have shewn me letters affirming it to be true, of a bloody cross having been seen in the air in England; and that an English preacher, speaking irreverently of it from the pulpit, was struck dumb: On which miracle, as they term it, the king of England sent to the pope, to have some cardinals and learned men brought to England, as intending that all the people of England should become Roman catholics. I pray you pardon me for writing of such nonsense, which I do that you may laugh; yet I assure you there are many Spaniards and Portuguese here who firmly believe it. I know not what more to write you at this time: But I hope to come to England in the next shipping that comes here; and I trust in God that I may find your worship in good health.

RICHARD COCKS.

SECTION XVI.

Ninth Voyage of the East India Company, in 1612, *by Captain Edmund Marlow.*[1]

We sailed from the Downs on the 10th February, 1612, in the good ship James, and crossed the equator on the 11th April.[2] The 27th of that month, at noon, we were in latitude,

[1] Purch. Pilg. I. 440.—The relation of this voyage in the Pilgrims is said to have been written by Mr John *Davy,* the master of the ship: Probably the same John *Davis,* or *Davies,* formerly mentioned as having frequently sailed as master to India in these early voyages, and from whose pen Purchas published a *Rutter,* or brief book of instructions for sailing to India. On the present occasion, this voyage has been considerably abbreviated, especially in the nautical remarks, which are now in a great degree obsolete and useless, and have been already sufficiently enlarged upon in the former voyages to India.—E.

[2] From some indistinct notices, in the commencement of this voyage, the Dragon and Hosiander appear to have belonged to the *tenth* voyage of

tude, by observation, 19° 40′ S. and in longitude, from the Lizard, 11° 24′ W. We this day saw an island fourteen leagues from us in the S.E. which I formerly saw when I sailed with Sir Edward Michelburne. It is round like Corvo, and rises rugged, having a small peaked hill at its east end. Its lat. is 23° 30′ S. and long. 10° 30′ W. from the Lizard; and there is another island or two in sight, seven or eight leagues E.N.E. from this.[3]

We saw the island of St Lawrence on the 29th June, and anchored in five fathoms water in the bay of St Augustine on the 28th at night. Next day we weighed, and brought the ship to anchor in the river, one anchor being in thirty-five and the other in ten fathoms. A ship may ride here in shallower water at either side, the deep channel being narrow. In this anchorage no sea can distress a ship, being protected by the land and shoals, so that it may well be called a harbour, from its safety. We remained here twenty days, and sailed for Bantam on the 18th of July.

In the morning of the 24th September we saw the islands of Nintam, in lat. 1° 30′ S.[4] The sound between the two great islands is eighteen leagues from Priaman, and eleven leagues from the shoals before *Ticoo*, which must be carefully avoided during the night, by laying two or three or four leagues off till day-light. When you see three hummocks that resemble three islands, take care always to have a person stationed on the outer end of the boltsprit to give warning of any spots in your way, as there are coral beds, which may be easily seen and avoided. The course from this sound for Ticoo or Priaman is E.N.E. to these shoals. In passing this sound, keep your lead always going, and come no nearer the large southern island than the depth of sixteen fathoms, as there are shoals towards the east side, and a breach or ledge also off the northern island, on the larboard going in for Priaman. When nearing the shoals of Ticoo, set the three hummocks on the main, which look like islands, as

the East India Company, and the Solomon to the *eleventh* voyage; and that these three ships sailed from England at the same time with the James, which belonged to the *ninth* voyage.—E.

[3] This seemeth the island of Martin Vaz.—*Purch.*

The island of Trinidad, or Martin Vaz, is only in lat. 20° 15′ S. and long. 29° 32′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

[4] Pulo Mintao is probably here meant, which is to the south of the line, but touches it at its northern extremity. The sound in the text, is probably that between Pulo Botoa and Pulo Mintao.—E.

as all the land near them is very low; and when you have these hummocks N.E. by E. then are you near the shoals, and when the hummocks are N.N.E. you are past the shoals. But great care is necessary everywhere, as it is all bad ground hereabout, till past the high land of *Manancabo*, which is in lat. 4° 30′ S. or thereby.

We came to anchor in the road of Priaman on the 26th September, where we found the Thomas, and remained fourteen days to refresh our sick men, when the Hector and our ship sailed for Bantam, where we arrived in company with the Janus and Hector on the 23d October. The 4th November we weighed from the road of Bantam, intending to proceed by the straits of Sunda for Coromandel; but the winds and currents were so strong against us, that we were forced back into the straits of Sunda to refit our ship, which was much weather-beaten. The 11th December, we anchored again at Pulo Panian, and went to work to trim our ship and take in ballast. Being ballasted, watered, and refitted, we sailed again on the 10th January, 1613, for the straits of Malacca. But, being too late in the monsoon, and both wind and current against us, we got no farther than seventy leagues from Bantam by the first of March, with much toil to the men. Wherefore we concluded to take in wood and water, and to return for Bantam by the outside of Sumatra.

Having again sailed for Coromandel, we were at noon of the 5th June, 1613, in lat. 12° N. and long. 23° W. from the salt hills, having been carried by the currents 4° 30′, or ninety leagues out of our reckoning. Whoever sails from Bantam, either up or down, will find such uncertain reckoning that he may well miss his destined port, unless he looks well to the variation of the needle, which will help materially in ten or fifteen leagues, and indeed there is no other way of dealing with these currents. We now got sight of the land, which is so very low that the pagodas or pagan churches are first descried. With the aid of the lead, you may sail boldly on this coast of Coromandel in fifteen fathoms by night, and ten by day; but a steady man must always be kept at the lead on such occasions, as the sea shoals suddenly; for after thirteen fathoms, it will suddenly fall off to shoal water, being like a well or steep bank, and the ground ooze. The course along the coast is N. by E. to Pullicate, and so to Masulipatam.

The 6th June we anchored at noon in the road of Pullicate

cate, in eight fathoms on sand. There is a middle ground, having only five fathoms, and within that another, having six, seven, and eight. The marks for the road where we anchored, are the round hill by the other hill, W. by N. and the Dutch fort S.W. by W. The latitude is 13° 30′ N. and the variation 13° 10′. Departing from Pullicate roads on the night of the 7th, we were on the 8th in lat. 14° 40′ at noon, having sailed twenty-three leagues since last night, our depth of water being twenty-three to twenty-five fathoms, and our course N. by E. but the lead is our sure guide on this coast, under God. The 9th at noon we were in lat. 15° 30′, having the land in sight, but not the high land of *Petapoli* [Putapilly]. During the last twenty-four hours, we sailed seventeen leagues north, in fifteen and sixteen fathoms. The high land now in sight is known by a pagoda or pagan temple, and is five leagues from the high land of Putapilly, in the road of which place we anchored on the 10th in five fathoms on sand, this new high land bearing from us N.N.W. the platform of palm trees upon the island E.N.E. by E. and the bar N.W. by N. The whole sea coast is low land. The latitude here is 15° 52′. Having established a factory, in which we left Mr George Chansey and our purser as merchants, with other seven men to assist in taking care of our goods, we sailed from Putapilly on the forenoon of the 19th.

We anchored in the road of Masulipatam on the 21st, where we found a ship belonging to Holland. We remained here for six months, until the 6th January, 1614, and then set sail for Putapilly, where we arrived on the 19th of that month, and remained there, taking in the merchants and their goods till the 7th February, when we sailed for Bantam. We arrived there on the 20th April, and on the 10th June set sail for Patane. By noon of that day, being in lat. 5° 44′ S. we had sight of the islands nine leagues from Bantam, our course, after getting clear of the road, being N.N.E. in five, six, seven, eight, twelve, fourteen, and so to twenty-four fathoms. At six in the morning of the 11th, we were close beside the two islands that are north from Bantam near Sumatra, in lat. 5° S. and in twenty fathoms; this being the surest course both going to and from Bantam, but it is necessary to keep a good look-out for the sand-banks which are even with the water. The 12th, being involved in a strong adverse current, we were forced to anchor in a quarter less four

four fathoms, in sight of a reef, twelve leagues short of Lucapara, and forty-eight from Bantam.

The 14th, we came in with the island of Banda and the main of Sumatra, and went through between them in five ½ fathoms. In this passage it is proper to keep nearer the Sumatra shore, though the water is deeper on the Banda side of the strait; as that side is rocky, while the side towards Sumatra is oozy. The 16th we came to Palimbangan point; and the 17th at noon, being in lat. 1° 10′ S. we anchored in nine fathoms, on account of it falling calm with a strong current, the isle of Pulo Tino being to seawards. The 30th, we anchored in the road of Patane in three ½ fathoms. On the 1st August we sailed to Sangora to trim our ship, being a good place for that purpose under shelter of two islands hard by the main, and fourteen or fifteen leagues from Patane. We anchored in Sangora road, under the eastermost of the two islands, on the 4th; and having put our ship into good trim, we came away on the 9th September, and returned to Patane next day. We remained there a month taking in the goods of the Globe, to carry them to Bantam, for which place we sailed on the 9th October, and arrived at Bantam on the 9th November. We continued there till the 27th January, 1615, to load our ship, and to get all things in readiness for our voyage home to England.

The 29th we set sail from Bantam, homewards bound; and when some hundred leagues from thence, our captain, Mr Edmund Marlow, died. He was an excellent man, and well skilled in the mathematics and the art of navigation. The first place at which we anchored was Saldanha bay, where we arrived on the 29th April, 1615, and next day our consort the Globe came in. Having well refreshed and refitted our ships, we set sail from thence on the 17th May, and arrived at St Helena on the 3d June. Sailing from thence along with our consort, on the 7th of that month, we arrived in England on the 3d of August, giving praise to God for our safety.

SECT.

SECTION XVII.

Tenth Voyage of the English East India Company, in 1612, *written by Mr Thomas Best, chief Commander.*[1]

From the full title of this voyage, in the Pilgrims, we learn that there were two ships employed in this *tenth* voyage, named the Dragon and the Hosiander, in which were about 380 persons; and these were accompanied by two other ships, the James and the Solomon, which belonged to other voyages, each voyage being then a separate adventure, and conducted by a separate subscription stock, as formerly explained in the introduction to the present chapter. We learn from other parts of the Pilgrims, that the James belonged to the *ninth* voyage, related immediately before this, and the Solomon to the *eleventh*, to be afterwards narrated.—E.

§ 1. *Observations during the Voyage from England to Surat.*

We sailed from Gravesend on the 1st of February, 1612. At noon on the 22d March we made the latitude 15° 20′ N. and at two p. m. were abreast of Mayo, one of the Cape Verd islands, being S.W. by S. about twelve leagues from Bonavista. To the N. and N.N.W. of Mayo the ground is all foul, and due N. of the high hummocks a great ledge of rocks runs out from the land for five or six miles, a mile without which ledge there are twenty fathoms water. On the west side of the island, you may borrow in twelve or fifteen fathoms, till you come into the road, where we anchored in twenty-four fathoms.

On the morning of the 28th March, we came close by an island in lat. 23° 30′, and long. from the meridian of Mayo, 1° 50′ E. We did not land upon this island, but came within two or three miles of it, and in my opinion there is hardly any anchorage to be found. It may probably produce some refreshment, as it certainly has wood, which we saw, and it may have water, as we observed a fair plain spot and very green on its southern part; but we could find no ground within

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 456.

within two or three miles of its coast. E.N.E. some seven or eight leagues from this, there is another island; and E. by S. or E.S.E. from the first island, about four or five leagues, there are two or three white rocks.[2]

We remained twenty-one days in Saldanha road, and bought for the three[3] ships thirty-nine beeves and 115 sheep, which we paid for with a little brass cut out of two or three old kettles. We got the sheep for small pieces of thin brass, worth about a penny or three halfpence each; and the beeves in the same manner for about the value of twelve-pence a-piece. This is an excellent place of refreshment, as besides abounding in beef and mutton, there is plenty of good fish, all kinds of fowls, and great store of fat deer, though we could not kill any of these. It has likewise excellent streams of fresh water, and a most healthful climate. We landed eighty or ninety sick, who were lodged in tents, and they all recovered their health in eighteen days, save one who died. From the 7th to the 28th June, when we set sail from Saldanha bay, we had continual fine weather, the sun being very warm, and the air pleasant and wholesome.

We sailed from Saldanha road on the 28th June, and were 100 leagues to the east of *Cabo das Aguilhas* before we found any current, but it was then strong. The 31st July at noon, we found the latitude 17° 8′ S. our longitude being 20° 47′ E. and at four p. m. we saw the island of *Juan de Nova*, distant four leagues E.S.E.[4] Its size, and I think we saw it all, is about three or four miles long, all very low and rising from the sea like rocks. Off the west end we saw breakers, yet could not get ground with a line of 130 fathoms, sounding from our boat. The latitude of this island, observed with great accuracy, is 17°,[5] and it seems well laid down in our charts, both in regard to latitude and longitude. It is a most sure sign of being near this island, when many sea fowl are

 seen,

[2] In the text it is not said if the latitude be N. or S. yet S. is probably meant. No island is however to be found in the indicated situation. In the *eleventh* voyage, an island is said to have been discovered in lat. 19° 34′ S. certainly known to have been Trinidad, Santa Maria d'Agosto, or Martin Vaz, of which hereafter.—E.

[3] One of the ships appears to have separated from the fleet, but it does not appear which.—E.

[4] St Juan de Nova is in lat. 17° 30′ S. and long. 43° 50′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

[5] In lat. 17° S. and long. 60° E. is an island or bank called Nazareth, Corados, or Garajos, a long way however from St Juan de Nova.—E.

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seen, and we accordingly saw there much fowl, some white, having their wings tipped only with black, and others all black.

The 3d August, in lat. 13° 35′ by observation, and longitude 22° 30′ from the Cape, we saw *Mal-Ilha*, one of the Comoros, about twelve leagues off, having on the east part of it a very fair sugar-loaf hill.[6] At the same time with this island, we had sight of that named Comoro, bearing N.N.W. by W. being high land. At six a. m. of the 4th we were close in with *Mal-Ilha*, and standing in for some place in which to anchor, while some eight or nine miles from the shore, we saw the ground under the ship in not less than eight or ten fathoms. The Hosiander, two miles nearer the land, had four or five fathoms, and her boat was in three fathoms. We then sent both our boats to sound, which kept shoaling on a bank in eight, ten, and twelve fathoms, and off it only half a cable's length had no ground with 100 fathoms. At the north end of Mal-Ilha there is a fair big high island, about five or six miles in circuit.[7] A bank or ledge of rocks extends all along the west side of Mal-Ilha, continuing to the small high island; and from this little island to Mal-Ilha may be some eight or nine miles, all full of rocks, two of them of good height. Being at the north end of this ledge, and the little island bearing S.E. you may steer in with the land, keeping the island fair aboard; and within the rocks or broken ground and Mal-Ilha there is a bay with good anchorage. To the eastwards, on coming in from the ledge of rocks, there is a great shoal, the outermost end of which is N.E. or N.E. by E. from the small island five or six miles, and no ground between that we could find with forty or fifty fathoms line. In fine, all the north side of Mal-Ilha is very dangerous, but the above-mentioned channel is quite safe. I would have come to anchor here, as there is a town about a mile east from the before-mentioned bay, the people being very good, and having abundance of refreshments, as beeves, goats,

[6] Mohilla, the Mal-ilha of the text, is in lat. 16° 45′ S. and long. 44° E. from Greenwich. Its difference of long. from the Cape of Good Hope is 23° 45′ E. Thus, in every instance hitherto, the observations of lat. and long. by Captain Best, at least as printed by Purchas, are grossly erroneous.—E.

[7] This description seems rather to refer to the island of Mayotto, about thirty leagues E. of S. from Mohilla; the small island to the north, or N. by W. being called Saddle Isle.—E.

goats, hens, lemons, cocoa-nuts in great plenty, and excellent water, but could not get in, owing to the wind being directly south.

Two of my men had belonged to a Dutch fleet, that year when they assaulted Mosambique, on which occasion they put in here, and recovered the healths of 400 or 500 men in five weeks. Yet it is well named Mal-Ilha, or the bad island, for it is the most dangerous of any place I ever saw. It is next to Comoro, from which it is distant some twelve or fourteen leagues S.S.E.

At dawn on the 1st September we got sight of land to the eastwards, four or five leagues distant, my reckoning being then eighty or ninety leagues short, owing, I suppose, to some current setting east from the coast of Melinda; neither from the latitude of Socotoro to Damaun could we see the sun, to know our variation. The 3d at seven a. m. we spoke two country boats, which informed us that the town, church, and castle in sight was Damaun. From these boats I got two men, who engaged to carry the Dragon to the bar of Surat, promising not to bring us into less than seven fathoms. On the 5th a Surat boat came on board with *Jaddow* the broker, who had served Captain William Hawkins three years, and Sir Henry Middleton all the time he was here. There were likewise in this boat the brother of the customer of Surat, and three or four others. All these remained with us till the 7th, when we came to anchor at the bar of Surat, in eight ¼ fathoms at high water, and six ½ at neap tides. At spring tides, however, I have found the tide to rise in the offing three fathoms, and even three ½. The latitude of our anchorage was 21° 10′ N. and the variation 16° 20′ or 16° 27′.[8] On the 11th, *Thomas Kerridge* came aboard, with a certificate or licence under the seals of the justice and governor of Surat, for our quiet and peaceable trade and intercourse, and with kind entreaties to come ashore, where we should be heartily welcomed by the people. They also brought off a letter or narrative, written by Sir Henry Middleton, which had been left in charge of the *Moccadam* of Swally. On the same day, I again sent Mr Kerridge ashore, accompanied by Hugh Gettins.

§ 2.

[8] Surat bar is in lat. 21° 2′ N. and long. 72° 50′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

§ 2. *Transactions with the Subjects of the Mogul, Fights with the Portuguese, Settlement of a Factory, and Departure for Acheen.*

On the 13th September, 1612, sixteen sail of Portuguese frigates, or barks, put into the river of Surat. The 22d, we determined in council to send a dispatch to the king at Agra, signifying our arrival, and to require his explicit answer, whether he would permit us to trade and settle a factory; and if refused, that we would quit his country. The 30th, I got notice that Mr Canning, our purser, and William Chambers, had been arrested ashore; wherefore I caused a ship of Guzerat to anchor close beside me, determining to detain her till I should see how matters went ashore. We also stopped a bark laden with rice from *Bassare,* belonging to the Portuguese, out of which we took twelve or fourteen quintals of rice, for which we paid at the rate of thirteen-pence the quintal. When I had taken possession of the Guzerat ship, I wrote to the chiefs of Surat, requiring them to send me all my men, together with the value of the goods I had landed; on which I should deliver up their ship and people, allowing them till the 5th of October to give me an answer; at which time, if I had not a satisfactory answer, I declared my determination to dispose of the ship and her goods at my pleasure. There were some 400 or 450 men aboard that ship, ten of the chiefest among whom I brought into my ship, to serve as hostages.

On the 6th October, *Medi Joffer* came aboard my ship, accompanied by four chiefs and many others, bringing me a great present, and came to establish trade with us, and to solicit the release of the Guzerat ship. On the 10th I left the bar of Surat, and came to Swally roads, where I anchored in eight fathoms at high water. This road-stead is ten or twelve miles north from the bar of Surat. The 17th, the governor of *Aamadavar* [Ahmedabad] came to the water side. I landed on the 19th, having four principal persons sent aboard my ship, as pledges for my safety. On the 21st I concluded upon articles of agreement with the governor and merchants, of which the tenor follows:

"Articles agreed upon, and sealed, by the governor of Ahmedabad, the governor of Surat, and four principal merchants; and to be confirmed by the firmaun and seal of the Great

Great Mogul, within forty days from the date and sealing hereof, or else to be void; for the settlement of trade and factories in the cities of Surat, Cambaya, Ahmedabad, Goga, or in any other part or parts of the dominions of the Great Mogul in this country. Witnessed by their hands and seals, the 21st of October, 1612."

1. All that concerns Sir Henry Middleton is to be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us; so that they shall never make seizure, stoppage, or stay of our goods, wares, or commodities, as satisfaction for the same.

2. They shall procure at their own proper cost, from the King or Great Mogul, his grant and confirmation of all the articles of this agreement, under the great seal of his government, and shall deliver the same to us, for our security and certainty of perpetual amity, commerce, and dealing, within forty days from the date and sealing hereof.

3. It shall be lawful for the king of England to keep his ambassador continually at the court of the Great Mogul, during all the time of this peace and trade, there to accommodate and conclude upon all such great and weighty matters as may in any respect tend to disturb or break the said peace.

4. At all times, on the arrival of any of our ships in the road of Swally, proclamation shall be made in the city of Surat, during three successive days, that all the people of the country shall be free to come down to the shore, and there to have free trade, dealing, and commerce with us.

5. That all English commodities shall pay custom, according to the value or price they bear, at the time of entry at the custom-house, after the rate of three ½ per cent. ad valorem.

6. All petty and pedlar ware to be free from duty, that does not exceed the value of ten dollars.

7. The English are to have ten *manu* carried from the water side to Surat for a *manuda*,[1] and at the same rate back; and are to be furnished with carts on application to the *moccadam* of Swally for sending to Surat, and at that place by a broker with carts downwards to the sea side at Swally.

8. If any of our people die in the country, neither the king, the governor, nor any inferior officer should pretend any title or claim to any thing that had belonged to the deceased,

[1] This unexplained rate of carriage was probably ten *maunds* for one *mahmoodie*.—E.

ceased, neither should demand any fees, taxes, or customs upon the same.

9. In case all the men left in these parts should die before the return of any of our ships, then some officer appointed for the purpose shall make a true inventory and schedule of all monies, goods, jewels, provisions, apparel, or other things, belonging to our nation, and shall safely preserve and keep the same, to be delivered over to the general, captain, or merchants of the first English ships that arrive afterwards, from whom a regular receipt and discharge shall be given for the same.

10. That they shall guarantee all our men and goods on land, redeeming all of both or either that may happen to be taken on the land by the Portuguese; delivering both to us again free of all charges, or in lieu thereof the full value of our said goods and men, and that without delay.

11. Insomuch as there are rebels and disobedient subjects in all kingdoms, so there may be some pirates and sea-rovers of our nation, who may happen to come into these parts to rob or steal. In that case, the trade and factory belonging to the English shall not be held responsible or liable to make restitution for goods so taken; but we shall aid the subjects of the Great Mogul to the best of our power who may happen to be thus aggrieved, by application to our king for justice against the aggressors, and for procuring restitution.

12. That all victuals and provisions, required during the stay of our ships in the roads of Surat and Swally, shall be free of custom, provided they do not exceed the value of 1000 dollars.

13. That in all questions of wrongs and injuries offered to us and to our nation, we shall receive speedy justice from the judges and others in authority, according to the nature of our complaints and the wrongs done to us, and shall not be put off by delays, or vexed by exorbitant charges or loss of time.

On the 24th October, I landed the present intended for the Great Mogul, which I brought to the tent of the governor of Ahmedabad, who took a memorandum of all the particulars, as also a copy of our king's letter to their sovereign. After which, as before agreed upon with the governor, I sent them back aboard ship: For I had told him, unless his king would confirm the articles agreed upon, and likewise write our

our king a letter, that I would neither deliver the present nor our king's letter; for, if these things were refused, then was their king an enemy not a friend, and I had neither present nor letter for the enemy of our king. At this time, however, I delivered our present to the governor, and another to his son.

The 14th November, a great fleet of frigates or barks, consisting of some 240 sail, came in sight. I thought they had come to attack us, but they were a *caffila* of merchantmen bound for Cambaya; as there comes every year a similar fleet from Goa, Chaul, and other places to the southwards, for Cambaya, whence they bring the greatest part of the loading which is carried by the caracks and galleons to Portugal.

The 27th I received notice from Mr Canning and Edward Christian, who were both ashore, that four galleons were fitted out from Goa, and were coming to attack us, having been in full readiness, and at anchor on the bar of Goa on the 14th November. The Portuguese fleet came in sight of us on the 28th; and on the 29th drew near us with the tide of flood. At two in the afternoon I got under weigh, and by four was about two cables length from their vice-admiral, fearing to go nearer lest I might have got my ship aground. I then opened a fire upon him, both with great guns and small arms, and in an hour had peppered him well with some fifty-six great shot. From him we received one small ball, either from a minnion or saker, into our mizen-mast, and with another he sunk our long-boat, which we recovered, but lost many things out of it.

The 30th at day-light, I set sail and steered among the midst of the Portuguese fleet, bestirring ourselves manfully, and drove three of their four ships aground on the bar of Surat; after which I anchored about nine a. m. This morning the Hosiander did good service, coming through also among the enemy's ships, and anchored beside me. At the tide of flood, the three ships that were aground floated. We then weighed and made sail towards them, they remaining at anchor. On getting up to them, we spent upon three of them 150 great shot, and the morning after some fifty more. At night, we gave the admiral a salute from our four stern guns as a farewell; in return for which he fired one of his bow guns, a whole or demi-culverine, the shot from which came even with the top of our forecastle, went through our

Davie,

Davie, killed William Burrel, and carried off the arm of another of our men. The Hosiander[2] spent the whole of this day in firing against one of the ships that was aground, and received many shots from the enemy, one of which killed Richard Barker the boatswain.

Night coming on, we anchored some six miles from the Portuguese ships; and at nine p. m. they sent a frigate down towards us, which came driving right *athwart halse* of the Hosiander, and being discovered by their good watch, was speedily saluted by shot. The first shot made them hoist sail, the second went through their sails, and they immediately made off.[3] Their intention certainly was to have set our ships on fire, if they had found us off our guard.[4]

We remained at anchor all the first December, the Portuguese not coming to us nor we to them; though they might easily have come to us without danger from the sands, but not so we to them. This day I called a council, and it was concluded to go down to the south, that we might have a broader channel, hoping that the galleons would follow us. We accordingly went down some six or seven leagues on the 2d, but they did not follow us; wherefore on the 3d we stood up again, and anchored fairly in sight of them. We weighed again on the morning of the 4th, and stood away before them, they following: But in the afternoon they gave us over, and hauled in with the land, and at night we directed our course for Diu. At night of the 5th, we anchored in fourteen fathoms near the shore, four or five leagues eastwards of Diu.

The 9th we came to *Madafaldebar,*[5] which is ten or eleven leagues E. by N. from Diu, the coast between being very fair, and having no unseen dangers. The depth near Diu is fifteen or sixteen fathoms, half way to *Madafaldebar* twelve fathoms, then ten and nine, but not less; and in nine fathoms we

[2] Nathaniel Salmon of Leigh was master of the Hosiander.—*Purch.*

[3] This frigate was sunk by the shot, as I was assured by Mr Salmon the actor, and eighty of her men were taken up drowned.—*Purch.*

[4] On this occasion the Portuguese had four great galleons and some twenty-six frigates, or armed barks. In these fights they lost all their *quondam* credit, and 160 men, or as others say 500; and the English settled trade at Surat in spite of all their efforts.—*Purch.*

[5] From the indications in the text, this must be *Jaffrabat* on the coast of Guzerat, about thirty-one miles E. by N. from Diu. The name used in the text must be taken from the native language, while that of modern geography is the Persian, Mogul, or Arabic name of the place.—E.

we anchored in a fine sandy bay, on the west side of which is a river coming from a considerable distance inland This place is some five or six miles west from the isles of *Mortie*.[6] The 15th we set sail to explore the bay of *Mohar*,[7] having been reported by some of the people who had belonged to the Ascension to be a good place for wintering in, or waiting the return of the monsoon for sailing to the southwards. We accordingly anchored that night in the bay, which is nine or ten leagues E.N.E. from Madafaldebar, finding the coast and navigation perfectly good, with ten fathoms all the way, and no danger but what is seen. I sent my boat ashore, and got twenty excellent sheep for three shillings each, the best we had seen in the whole voyage. We found the ruins of a great town at this place, but very few inhabitants.

There happened to be an army encamped in the neighbourhood of this place, and on the 17th, the general sent four men to me, requesting a conference. I landed on the 21st, and had much conversation with the general, who greatly desired to have two pieces of ordnance from us, making many fair promises of favour to our nation, and even presented me with a horse and furniture and two Agra girdles or sashes; but I refused him, having none to spare, and needing all we had for our defence. I presented him in return with two vests of stammel cloth, two firelocks, two bottles of brandy, and a knife.

The 22d, we saw the four galleons coming towards us, and at nine p. m. they anchored within shot of where we lay. At sun-rise next morning we weighed and bore down upon them, and continued to fight them till between ten and eleven a. m. when they all four weighed and stood away before the wind. We followed them two or three hours, but they sailed much better large than we, so that we again came to anchor, and they likewise anchored about two leagues from us. In this days fight, I expended 133 great shot, and about 700 small. At sunrise of the 24th we again weighed and bore down upon the galleons, and began to fight them at eight a. m. continuing till noon, having this day expended 250 great shot, and 1000 small. By this time both sides were weary, and

6 Called *Searbett* in Arrowsmith's excellent map of Hindostan, eight miles E.N.E. from Jaffrabat.—E.

7 Called on the margin of the Pilgrims, *Moha*, *Mona*, or *Mea*; and which from the context appears to be a bay immediately west from *Wagnagur*.—E.

and we all stood to sea, steering S. by E. The galleons followed us till two or three p. m. when they put about and came to anchor. I now took account of our warlike ammunition, and found more than half our shot expended, the store of the Hosiander being in a similar situation. We had now discharged against the enemy 625 great shot, and 3000 small.

Being about four or five leagues from the land, we met with a sand, on which there was only two or two ½ fathoms, laying S.S.E. or thereabout from *Mosa*. I went over it in nine fathoms, at which time the two high hills over *Gogo* were nearly N. from us. Upon this sand the Ascension was cast away. Between the main and this sand, the channel is nine and ten fathoms, and the shoaling is rather fast. We continued steering S. with the tide of ebb, and anchored in eight fathoms, finding the tide to set E.N.E. and W.S.W. by the compass. At midnight of the 24th we weighed, standing S.S.E. and at two p. m. of the 25th we anchored in seventeen fathoms at high water, full in sight of Damaun, which bore E.S.E. In the afternoon of the 26th we anchored off the bar of Surat. The 27th we went to Swally road, when Thomas Kerridge and Edward Christian came aboard.

On the 6th of January, 1613, the *Firmaun* from the Great Mogul, in confirmation of peace and settlement of a factory for trade, came to Swally as a private letter; wherefore I refused to receive it, lest it might be a counterfeit, requiring that the chief men of Surat should come down and deliver it to me, with the proper ceremonials. Accordingly, on the 11th, the sabandar, his father-in-law Medigoffar, and several others, came to Swally, and delivered the Firmaun to me in form, making great professions of respect for our nation in the name of their king. The 14th we landed all our cloth, with 310 elephants teeth, and all our quicksilver. This day likewise the Portuguese galleons came within three or four miles of us. The 16th, I landed Anthony Starkey, with orders to travel over land for England, carrying letters to give notice of our good success.[8]

The 17th, having received all my goods from Surat, I set sail at night, leaving these coasts. The 18th we passed the four galleons, which all weighed and followed us for two or three

[8] Mr Starkey and his Indian companion or guide were poisoned on the way by two friars.—*Purch.*

three hours; but we finally separated without exchanging shots. The 19th, when abreast of Basseen, we stopt three Malabar barks, which had nothing in them, and from one of which we took a boat. The 20th at night we were abreast of Chaul, both town and castle being full in sight. In the afternoon of the 21st we were abreast of Dabul, where we boarded three junks belonging to Calicut, laden with cocoa-nuts. The 22d in the morning, the Hosiander sent her boat aboard two junks, and at noon we were at the rocks, which are ten or eleven leagues N. of Goa, and six or eight miles from the main. Two or three of these rocks are higher than the hull of a large ship. At six p. m. we were abreast of Goa, which is easily known by the island at the mouth of the river, on which island there is a castle. All the way from Damaun to Goa, the coast trends nearly N. and S. with a slight inclination to N.W. and S.E. the whole being very fair and without danger, having fair shoaling and sixteen or seventeen fathoms some three or four leagues off shore, with good anchorage every where.

The 24th we saw a fleet of sixty or eighty frigates or barks bound to the southwards, being in lat. 13° 00′ 30″. The high land by the sea now left us, and the shore became very low, yet with fair shoaling of sixteen and seventeen fathoms some three or four leagues off. In the afternoon we went into a bay, where all the before-mentioned frigates were at anchor, together with three or four gallies. We brought out a ship with us, whence all the Portuguese fled in their boats, and as two frigates lay close aboard of her, they had carried away every thing valuable. Next day we examined our prize, and found nothing in her except rice and coarse sugar, with which we amply supplied both ships; and having taken out her masts, and what firing she could afford, we scuttled and sunk her, taking out likewise all her people, being twenty or twenty-five Moors. The 26th we met a boat belonging to the Maldives laden with cocoa-nuts and bound for Cananor, into which I put all the people of the prize, except eight, whom I kept to assist in labour, one of them being a pilot for this coast.

The 27th we were a little past Calicut, abreast of Paniany, our lat. at noon being 10° 30′ N. In the morning of the 28th, we saw Cochin, which is known by the towers and castle, being in lat. 9° 40′ N. or thereby. All the way from Goa to Cochin we never had above twenty fathoms, though

sometimes

sometimes four or five leagues from the land; and when only three, four, or six miles off, the depths were from ten to twelve fathoms. From lat. 11° 30′ N. to Cochin, the land was all very low by the water side; but up the country it was very high all along. Four or five leagues to the north of Cochin, there is a high land within the country, somewhat like a table mountain, yet rounded on the top, having long high mountains to the north of this hill. All this day, the 28th, we sailed within six or eight miles of the land, in nine, ten, and twelve fathoms.

We anchored on the 30th in fifteen fathoms, about twenty-six leagues to the north of Cape Comorin right over against a little village, whence presently came off six or eight canoes with water and all kinds of provisions; the name of this place is *Beringar*, which our mariners usually call *Bring-John*, being in the kingdom of Travancor. The 1st February, the king sent me a message, offering to load my ship with pepper and cinnamon, if I would remain and trade with him. The 5th we were abreast of Cape Comorin, where we had a fresh gale of wind at E. by N. which split our fore-top-sail and main bonnet, yet a canoe with eight men came off to us three or four leagues from the land. We were here troubled with calms and great heat, and many of our men fell sick, of which number I was one On the 8th we were forced back to the roads of *Beringar*. This place has good refreshments for ships, and the people are very harmless, and not friends to the Portuguese. From this place to Cape Comorin, all the inhabitants of the sea coast are Christians, and have a Portuguese priest or friar residing among them. It is to be remarked, that the whole coast, even from Damaun to Cape Comorin, is free from danger, and there is fair shoaling all the way from Cochin to that cape, having sixteen, eighteen, and twenty fathoms close to the land, and no ground five or six leagues off, after you come within twenty-five or thirty leagues of the Cape. The variation at Damaun was 16° 30′; half way to the Cape about 15°, and 14° at the cape, the latitude of which is 7° 30′ N. [*exactly* 7° 57′].

In the afternoon we were fair off the Cape, and found much wind at E.S.E. giving small hope of being able to go eastwards till the end of the monsoon, which our Indians reported would be about the end of April. So I bore up, and came to anchor, four or five leagues within the Cape, in twenty fathoms close by two rocks. About two miles right off

off these two rocks is a sunken rock, which is very dangerous, especially if sailing in twenty fathoms, but by keeping in twenty-four fathoms all danger is avoided. We remained here nine days, when we again made sail. In the morning of the 28th we had sight of Ceylon, some eight or nine leagues E S.E. being in lat. 7° N. At 4 p. m. we were close in with that island, in thirteen, fifteen, and sixteen fathoms. The 1st of March, at 6 p. m. we were abreast of Columbo, the lat. of which is about 6° 30′ N. [7° 2′]; having twenty-four and twenty-five fathoms three leagues off. The 12th we stood in with the land, and anchored in twenty-four fathoms, the wind being S.E. and S. I sent my boat ashore four leagues to the north of *Punta de Galle*, and after some time a woman came to talk with one of our Indians who was in the boat. She said we could have no provisions; but by our desire she went to tell the men. Afterwards two men came to us, who flatly refused to let us have any thing, alleging that our nation had captured one of their boats; but it was the Hollanders not the English. The 14th, in the morning, the southern point of Ceylon, called *Tanadare* [Dondra], bore E.S.E. of us, some five leagues off. This point is in lat. 5° 30′ [5° 54′ N.], and is about ten or twelve leagues E.S.E. from Punta de Galle. The 17th we were near one of the sands mentioned by Linschoten, being two leagues from the land. We had twenty-five fathoms water, and on the land, right opposite this sand, is a high rock like a great tower. The land here trends E.N.E.[9]

§ 3. *Occurrences at Acheen, in Sumatra.*

At noon of the 12th April, 1613, we came to anchor in the road of Acheen, in twelve fathoms, but ships may ride in ten or even eight fathoms; the best place in which to ride being to the eastward of the castle, and off the river mouth. I landed the merchants on the 13th; but the king did not come to town till the 15th, when he sent me his *chop* or licence to land, which was brought by an eunuch, accompanied by the *Xabander* and six or eight more, to whom I gave

120

[9] Owing probably to careless abbreviation by Purchas, this solitary notice is all that is given of the voyage between Dondra-head in Ceylon and Acheen, in the north-west end of Sumatra, to which the observation in the text seems to refer.—E.

120 *mam.* I landed along with them, and two hours afterwards the king sent me a present of some provisions, I having sent him on my landing a present of *two pieces*;[1] the custom being to make the king some small present on landing, in return for which he sends several dishes of meat.

On the 17th, the king sent an elephant, with a golden bason, for our king's letter, which I accompanied to court, attended by forty of our men, who were all admitted into the king's presence. After many compliments, the king returned me our king's letter, that I might read it to him; and accordingly the substance of it was explained in the native language, with the contents of which he was well pleased. After some time, the king told me that he would shew me some of his diversions, and accordingly caused his elephants to fight before us. When six of them had fought for some time, he caused four buffaloes to be brought, which made a very excellent and fierce fight; such being their fierceness that sixty or eighty men could hardly part them, fastening ropes to their hind-legs to draw them asunder. After these, some ten or twelve rams were produced, which fought very bravely. When it was so dark that we could hardly see, these sports were discontinued, and the king presented me with a banquet of at least 500 dishes, and such abundance of hot drinks as might have sufficed to make an army drunk. Between nine and ten at night, he gave me leave to depart, sending two elephants to carry me home; but as they had no coverings I did not ride either of them.

On the 18th, I went again to court by appointment of the king, when we began to treat concerning the articles formerly granted by his grandfather to Mr James Lancaster; but when we came to that in which all goods were to be brought in and carried out free from customs, we broke off without concluding any thing. The 19th the ambassador of Siam came to visit me, and told me, that about thirty months before, three Englishmen had waited upon his king, who gave them kind entertainment, being rejoiced at receiving letters from the king of England. He also said that his king would be much pleased if our ships came to his ports, telling me what great quantities of Portugal cloth, for so he called our English cloth, would sell in his country. According to his opinion,

[1] These *pieces*, so often mentioned in the early voyages, were probably fowling-pieces, or European fire-arms.—E.

opinion, the colours most saleable in his country are, *stammel* and other reds, yellows, and other light, gay, and pleasing colours, such as those already in most request at Surat. He also told me, that his king had made a conquest of the whole kingdom of Pegu, so that he is now the most powerful sovereign in the east, except the emperor of China, having twenty-six tributary kings under his government and authority, and is able to equip for war 6000 elephants. Their coin is all of silver, gold being less esteemed, and of less proportional value than with us. That country produces great abundance of pepper and raw silk; and he said the Hollanders have factories at Patane, an excellent port, where they are called English. Siam likewise, according to him, is a good port, and nearer the court than Patane: Those who go to the city in which the king resides land always at the port of Siam, whence the royal residence is twenty days journey by land. I requested from the ambassador to give me a letter to his sovereign, and letters also to the governors of the maritime towns in Siam, in favour of the English nation, when we should come upon these coasts, which he promised me. And, lastly, in token of friendship we exchanged coins; I giving him some of our English coin, and receiving from him the coins of Siam. I had often, after this first interview, friendly intercourse with this ambassador.

I went to court on the 20th, but had no opportunity to speak with the king; whereupon I sent to the king's deputy, or chief minister, and complained of having been dishonoured, and of having been abused by the *shahbander*. He promised me speedy redress, and that he should inform the king without delay, which indeed he did that same day. On the day following, the king sent two officers of his court to me, to intimate that I might repair freely to his court at all times, passing the gate without hindrance, or waiting for his *criss*. He also removed the shahbander of whom I had complained, and appointed a gentleman, who had formerly been his vice-ambassador to Holland, to attend upon me at all times to court, or any where else, at my pleasure. The 24th I went to court, and had access to the king, who satisfied me in all things, and promised to ratify and renew all the articles formerly agreed upon between his predecessor and Mr James Lancaster. After many compliments, he gave me leave; and presently after my return, he sent me an ele-

phant

phant to attend upon me, and to carry me at all times to any place I pleased. This is a sign of the highest honour and esteem, as no person may have an elephant, or ride upon one, but those whom the king is pleased to honour with that privilege.

The 2d of May, the king invited me to his fountain to swim, and I was there accordingly along with him, the place being some five or six miles from the city; and he even sent me two elephants, one to ride upon, and the other to carry my provision. Having washed and bathed in the water, the king made me partake of a very splendid banquet, in which there was too much arrak, the whole being eaten and drank as we sat in the water; and at this entertainment all his nobles and officers were present. Our banquet continued from one till towards five in the evening, when the king allowed me to depart. Half an hour afterwards, all the strangers were permitted to go away, and presently afterwards he came away himself.

On the 14th, some Portuguese came to Acheen on an embassy from the governor of Malacca to the king; and as the wind was scant, they landed three leagues to the east of Acheen road. I immediately sent the Hosiander, of which I appointed Edward Christian captain, to go in search of the bark from Malacca, which was brought to me on the 17th: But the king sent me two messengers, desiring me to release her and her people and cargo; which I refused, till I had examined the bark and her contents; saying, however, that in honour and respect for his majesty, I should then do whatever he was pleased to desire. Afterwards, I was informed by Mr Christian, that there were only four or five bales of goods in the bark, and that nothing she contained had been meddled with. Being satisfied of this I went ashore, and found my merchants were at the court. They returned presently, saying, that the king was greatly displeased at the capture of the Portuguese bark in his port, protesting by his god that he would make us all prisoners, if she were not released. Having notice that I was ashore, the king presently sent for me; and, as I was on my way to the court, I met with a gentleman from the king, who desired me in his name to release the bark; but I told him I must first see and speak to the king. I was then brought into the king's presence, and, after much discourse with him, I gave him the bark and all her contents; with which he was so much

 pleased,

pleased, that he gave me the title of *Arancaia Puto*, signifying the *honourable white man*, requiring all his nobles to call me by that name. In farther proof of his satisfaction with my conduct on this occasion, he sold me all his benzoin at my own price, being twenty *tailes* the bahar, though then selling commonly at thirty-four and thirty-five tailes. He at the same time expressed his esteem and affection for me in the strongest terms, desiring me to ask from him whatever I thought proper. I only requested his letters of recommendation and favour for Priaman, which he most readily promised; and, at my taking leave, he both made me eat some mangoes, of which he was then eating, and gave me some home with me.

On the 27th, *Malim Gairy* came to Acheen, by whom I received letters from our merchants at Surat, as also a copy of the *firmaun*, sent them from Agra, bearing date the 25th January, in the seventh year of the then reigning Great Mogul, by which every thing was confirmed that had been agreed upon between the governor of Ahmedabad and me. The 17th of June, a Dutch merchant came to Acheen from Masulipatam, who had been eight months on his way, from whom we learnt the death of Mr Anthony Hippon at Patane, and of Mr Brown, master of the Globe, who died at Masulipatam, where our people had met with evil usage. The 24th I received of the king his present for the king of England, consisting of a *criss* or dagger, a *hasega*, four pieces of fine Calicut lawn, and eight camphire dishes.[1]

The 3d of July, the fleet of armed vessels belonging to Acheen arrived, being only twenty days from the coast of Johor, at which place they had captured the factory of the Hollanders, making prize of all their goods, and had brought away some twenty or twenty-four Dutchmen as prisoners. The 7th, I received the king's letter for Priaman, together with a *chop* or licence for my departure; and on the 12th, taking my leave of Acheen, I embarked. In the morning of the 13th I set sail. It is to be noted, that, from the 12th

[1] In the translation of the letter accompanying these presents, to be noticed hereafter, they are thus described :—" A criss wrought with gold, the hilt being of beaten gold, with a ring of stones; an Assagaya of Swasse, half gold half copper; eight porcelain dishes small and great, *of camfire one piece of souring stuff*; three pieces of callico lawns."—The passage in Italics is inexplicable, either in the words of the letter, or in the description in the text.—E.

April to the middle of June, we had much rain here at Acheen, seldom two fair days following, and accompanied by much wind in sudden gusts. From the 15th June to the 12th July, we had violent gales of wind, always at S.W. or W.S.W. or W.

§ 4. *Trade at Tecoo and Passaman, with the Voyage to Bantam, and thence Home to England.*

Leaving Acheen, as said before, on the 13th July, 1613, we came in sight of *Priaman* on the 3d of August, it being then nine or ten leagues off, N.E. by E. and clearly known by two great high hills, making a great *swamp* or saddle between them. We saw also the high land of *Tecoo*, which is not more than half the height of that of Priaman, and rises somewhat flat. At the same time likewise we saw the high land of *Passaman*, some seven or eight leagues north of Tecoo, mid-way between Tecoo and Priaman, which mountain is very high, and resembles Ætna in Sicily.[1] In the afternoon of the 7th we came to Tecoo, and anchored to the eastward of the three islands in seven fathoms, the southmost isle bearing W.S.W. the middle isle W.N.W. and the northern isle N. ½E. our anchorage being a mile from them.

I sent ashore my merchants on the 19th, and landed myself in the afternoon. Next day, by advice of our council, the Hosiander was sent to Priaman, with the letter of the king of Acheen. She sailed from Tecoo on the 12th, and came back on the 18th, when she was dispatched to Bantam. The 25th there came a junk from Bantam, the owners of which were Chinese. They confirmed to me the reported death of Sir Henry Middleton, with the loss of most of the men belonging to the Trades-increase, in consequence of her main-mast breaking, while heaving her down for careening her bottom. She was now returned from Pulo-Pannian to Bantam, and they said that three hundred Chinese had died while employed at work upon her.

The 28th a boat I had sent to Passaman returned, having been well entertained at that place, and brought with them the *Scrivano* to deal with me, with whom accordingly I concluded a bargain. The 29th, the governor of Tecoo sent for me

[1] Perhaps this observed similarity with Ætna is meant to indicate that this hill also is a volcano.—E.

me to come ashore, when I went to wait upon him. He was in council, with all the chiefs of the district, and, after a long discussion, we agreed on the following price of pepper. In the first place, we were to pay eighteen dollars the bahar; then there was 8d. the bahar for lastage or weighing, 30d. for *canikens,* and 35d. for *seilars:* Besides all which they bargained for presents to sixteen chiefs or great men. On the 30th, Henry Long came from Passaman, and informed me that Mr Oliver had fallen sick, and that several others of our men had died there; upon which I sent my pinnace to bring back Mr Oliver and all others who survived, and to discontinue our factory at that place.

The 21st October, the Hosiander returned from Bantam, bringing me letters from the English merchants at that place; saying that they had 17,000 bags of pepper ready, all of which I might have, or any part of it I thought proper, if I chose to come for it, at thirteen dollars the *timbane.* On this, and several other considerations, I held a mercantile council, in which it was agreed that the Hosiander should be left at *Tecoo* for the sale of our Surat goods, all of which were accordingly put on board her for that purpose, and I departed in the Dragon for Bantam from the road of Tecoo on the 30th October. I remained in this road of Tecoo eleven weeks, in which time I bought 115 or 120 tons of pepper, and buried twenty-five of our men. All of these either died, or contracted their mortal illnesses at Passaman, not at Tecoo; and surely, if we had not attempted to trade at Passaman, all, or at least most of these, might have now been living. Wherefore, I earnestly advise all of our nation to avoid sending any of their ships or men to Passaman, for the air there is so contagious, and the water so unwholesome, that it is impossible for our people to live at that place.

I set sail from Tecoo on the 30th October, and arrived in the road of Bantam on the 11th November, where I anchored in a quarter less four fathoms, [3¾ fathoms.] Next day I convened our English merchants on board my ship, and agreed on the price of pepper at thirteen dollars the *bahar,* which is 600 pounds of our weight. Having concluded my business at this place, I set sail for Saldanha bay; where I bought for a small quantity of copper, worth perhaps between three and four pounds, 494 sheep, 4 beeves, and 9 calves. We sailed again from that place on the 4th March, 1614; and on the day of our departure, the natives brought

us

us more live-stock than we knew how to dispose of; but we brought away alive, eighty sheep, two beeves, and one calf.

The 24th of March we saw St Helena, eight or nine leagues to the W.N.W. its latitude, by my estimation, being 16° S. and its long. from the Cape of Good Hope, 22° W. At three p. m. we anchored in the road of that island, right over-against the Chappel. While at St Helena, finding the road from the Chappel [church valley], to where the lemon-trees grow, a most wicked way, insomuch that it was a complete day's work to go and come, I sent my boats to the westward, in hopes of finding a nearer and easier way to bring down hogs and goats. In this search, my people found a fair valley, some three or four miles to the S.W. which leads directly to the lemon-trees, and is the largest and finest valley in the island, after that at the Chappel, and is either the next, or the next save one, from the valley of the Chappel. At this valley, which is some three or four miles from that of the Chappel, and is from it the fourth valley or swamp one way, and from the point to the westward the second, so that it cannot be missed, it is much better and easier for getting provisions or water, and the water is better and clearer. The road or anchorage is all of one even ground and depth, so that it is much better riding here than at any other part of the island; and from this place, a person may go up to the lemon-trees and back again in three hours. We here got some thirty hogs and pigs, and twelve or fourteen hundred lemons; but if we had laid ourselves out for the purpose, I dare say we might have got 200 hogs, besides many goats.

Continuing our voyage home, we got sight of the Lizard point on the 4th June, 1614, our estimated longitude from the Cape of Good Hope being then 27° 20′, besides two degrees carried by the currents; so that the difference of longitude, between the Cape and the Lizard, is 29° 20′, or very nearly. Though we had then only left the Cape of Good Hope three months before, and were only two months and nine days from St Helena, more than half our company was now laid up by the scurvy, of which two had died. Yet we had plenty of victuals, as beef, bread, wine, rice, oil, vinegar, and sugar, as much as every one chose. All our men have taken their sickness since we fell in with Flores and Corvo; since which we have had very cold weather, especially in two great storms, one from the N. and N.N.E. and the other at

N.W.

N.W. so that it seemeth the sudden coming out of long heat into the cold is a great cause of scurvy. All the way from the Cape of Good Hope to the Azores, I had not one man sick.

The 15th of June, 1614, we came into the river Thames, by the blessing of God, it being that day six months on which we departed from Bantam in Java.

SECTION XVIII.

Observations made during the foregoing Voyage, by Mr Copland, Chaplain, Mr Robert Boner, Master, and Mr Nicholas Whittington, Merchant.[1]

§ 1. *Notes extracted from the Journal of Mr Copland, Chaplain of the Voyage.*

The bay of Saldhana, and all about the Cape of Good Hope, is healthful, and so fruitful that it might well be accounted a terrestrial paradise. It agrees well with our English constitutions; for, though we had ninety or an hundred sick when we got there, they were all as well in twenty days as when we left England, except one. It was then June, and we had snow on the hills, though the weather below was warmish. The country is mixed, consisting of mountains, plains, meadows, streams, and woods which seem as if artificially planted on purpose, they are so orderly; and it has abundance of free-stone for building. It has also plenty of fish and wild-fowl, as geese, ducks, and partridges, with antelopes, deer, and other animals. The people were very loving, though at first afraid of us, because the Dutch, who resort hither to make train-oil, had used them unkindly, having stolen and killed their cattle; but afterwards, and especially on our return, they were more frank and kind. They are of middle size, well limbed, nimble and active; and are fond of dancing, which they do in just measure, but entirely naked. Their dress consists of a cloak of sheep or sealsskin to their middle, the hair side inwards, with a cap of the same,

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 466. On this occasion, only such notices as illustrate the preceding voyage are extracted.—E.

same, and a small skin like that of a rat hanging before their privities. Some had a sole, or kind of sandal, tied to their feet. Their necks were adorned with greasy tripes, which they would sometimes pull off and eat raw; and when we threw away the guts of beasts and sheep we bought from them, they would eat them half raw and all bloody, in a most beastly and disgusting manner. They had bracelets about their arms of copper or ivory, and were decorated with many ostrich feathers and shells. The women were habited like the men, and were at first very shy; but when here on our return voyage, they became quite familiar, even lifting their rat-skins: But they are very loathsome objects, their breasts hanging down to their waists. The hair both of the men and women is short and frizzled. With these people copper serves as gold, and iron for silver. Their dwellings are small tents, removable at pleasure; and their language is full of a strange *clicking* sound, made by doubling their tongues in their throats. There is a high hill, called the *Table Mountain*, which covers all the adjoining territory for an hundred miles. The natives, who are quite black, behaved to us very peaceably, but seemed to have no religion, yet their skins were slashed or cut, like the priests of Baal; and one seemed to act as chief, as he settled the prices for the whole. Some of our people went a considerable way into the country, and discovered many bays and rivers.

When at *Surat*, the Guzerats took some of our sea-coal to send to their sovereign, the Great Mogul, as a curiosity. At this place there came against us a Portuguese squadron of four galleons, attended by twenty-five or twenty-six armed barks or frigates, commanded by an admiral named Nuno de Accunna, and having all red colours displayed, in token of defiance. When advised by the sabander to keep between us and the shore, he proudly answered, That he scorned to spend a week's provisions on his men in hindering us from trade, as he was able to force us to yield to his superior force in an hour. After three fights, they sent one of their frigates against us, manned with six or seven score of their best men, intending to set us on fire, but they were all sunk.

Medhaphrabad,[2] formerly a fine walled city, has been entirely

[2] Called Madafaldebar in the preceding section, and there supposed to be the place now named Jaffrabat, on the coast of Guzerat.—E.

tirely ruined in the wars of the Moguls. It has still a strong castle, held by a refractory chief of the Rajapoots, and was besieged by the nabob, having fifty or sixty thousand men in his camp. The nabob dwelt in a magnificent tent, covered above with cloth of gold, and spread below with Turkey carpets, having declared he would not desist from the siege till he had won the castle. He sent a horse, and two vests wrought with silk and gold, to our general Captain Best, with four vests for four others. On the 23d and 24th of December, we fought again with the Portuguese, in view of the whole army of the Moguls, and forced them to cut their cables and flee from us, being better sailing vessels than ours.

I rode from Swally to Surat in a coach drawn by oxen, which are ordinarily used in this country for draught, though they have plenty of excellent and handsome horses. On the way I was quite delighted to see at the same time the goodliest spring and harvest combined I had ever seen any where, often in two adjoining fields, one as green as a fine meadow, and the other waving yellow like gold, and ready to cut down; their grain being wheat and rice, of which they make excellent bread. All along the road there were many goodly villages, full of trees which yield a liquor called *toddy*, or palm-wine, which is sweet and pleasant, like new wine, being strengthening and fattening. They have grapes also, yet only make wine from the dried raisins. In Surat there are many fair houses built of stone and brick, having flat roofs, and goodly gardens, abounding in pomegranates, pomecitrons, lemons, melons, and figs, which are to be had at all times of the year, the gardens being continually refreshed with curious springs and fountains of fresh water. The people are tall, neat, and well-clothed in long robes of white callico or silk, and are very grave and judicious in their behaviour. The sabander assured us that we had slain 350 of the Portuguese; but we heard afterwards, that above 500 were killed or maimed. Our general sent letters for England by land, but the messenger and his Indian attendant were poisoned by two friars. A second letter was entrusted to a mariner, which reached its destination.

We anchored in the road of Acheen on the 12th April, 1613, where we were kindly received by the king. On the 2d of May, all the strangers then at Acheen were invited to a banquet at a place six miles from the town, and on this occasion two elephants were sent for our general. To this place

place all the dishes were brought by water by boys, who swam with one hand, while each carried a dish in the other; and the drink was brought in the same manner. When the guests had satisfied themselves with tasting any of the dishes, which indeed they must of all, the remainder was thrown into the river. In this feast there were at least 500 dishes served, all well dressed. It continued from one o'clock till five; but our general, who was wearied with sitting so long in the water beside the king, was dismissed an hour before the other guests. The captain or chief merchant of the Dutch factory, either by taking too much strong drink, or from sitting too long in the cold water, caught an illness of which he died soon after.

The 2d June we were entertained by a fight of four elephants with a wild tyger, which was tied to a stake; yet did he fasten on the legs and trunks of the elephants, making them to roar and bleed extremely. This day, as we were told, one eye of a nobleman was plucked out by command of the king, for having looked at one of the king's women, while bathing in the river. Another gentleman, wearing a sash, had his head cut round, because it was too large. Some he is said to throw into boiling oil, some to be sawn in pieces, others to have their legs cut off, or spitted alive, or empaled on stakes. The 25th of June, the king of Acheen sent our general a letter for the king of England, most beautifully written and painted, of which the following is a translation of the preamble.[3]

PEDUCKA SIRIE, Sultan, King of kings renowned in war, sole king of Sumatra, more famous than his ancestors, feared in his dominions, and honoured in all the neighbouring countries. In whom is the true image of a king, reigning by the true rules of government, formed as it were of the most pure metal, and adorned by the most splendid colours. Whose seat is most high and complete; whence floweth, as a river of fine crystal, the pure and undefiled stream of bounty and justice. Whose presence is like the most pure gold: King of Priaman, and of the mountain of gold: Lord of nine sorts of precious stones: King of two Umbrellas of beaten gold; who sitteth upon golden carpets; the furniture of whose horses, and his own

[3] Being merely complimentary, it has not been deemed necessary to give any more of this letter than the hyperbolical titles assumed by the petty Mallay rajah.—E.

own armour, are of pure gold; the teeth of his elephants being likewise of gold, and every thing belonging to them. His lances half gold half silver; his small shot of the same; a saddle also for an elephant of the same; a tent of silver; and all his seals half gold half silver. His bathing-vessels of pure gold; his sepulchre also entire gold, those of his predecessors being only half gold half silver. All the services of his table of pure gold; &c.

This great king sendeth this letter of salutation to James, king of Great Britain, &c.

This king of Acheen is a gallant-looking warrior, of middle size, and full of spirit. His country is populous, and he is powerful both by sea and land. He has many elephants, of which we saw 150 or 180 at one time. His gallies are well armed with brass ordnance, such as demi-cannons, culverins, sackers, minions, &c. His buildings are stately and spacious, though not strong; and his court or palace at Acheen is very pleasant, having a goodly branch of the main river surrounding and pervading it, which he cut and brought in from the distance of six miles in twenty days, while we were there. At taking leave, he desired our general to offer his compliments to the king of England, and to entreat that two white women might be sent him: "For," said he, "if I have a son by one of them, I will make him king of Priaman, Passaman, and the whole pepper coast; so that you shall not need to come any more to me, but may apply to your own English king for that commodity."

§ 2. *Notes concerning the Voyage, extracted from the Journal of Mr Robert Boner, who was Master of the Dragon.*

The regular trade-wind is seldom met with till two or three degrees south of the equator. Tornados are sure to be encountered in two or three degrees north of the line, and sometimes even four degrees. It is necessary to use the utmost diligence in getting well to the south, as in that consists the difference between a good and bad voyage, and the health of the men depend greatly on that circumstance. In passing the line, it is proper so to direct the course from the island of Mayo as to cross between the longitudes of *seven* and *nine* degrees *west* of the Lizard, if possible. At all events be careful

careful not to come within *six* degrees, for fear of the calms on the coast of Guinea, and not beyond *ten* degrees west from the Lizard if possible, to avoid the W.N.W. stream which sets along the coast of Brazil to the West Indies; and in crossing the line, in 7°, 8°, or 9° west of the Lizard, you shall not fear the flats of Brazil: For the general wind in these longitudes is at E.S.E. or S.E. so that you may commonly make a S.S.W. course, so as to keep the ship full that she may go speedily through; for there is much loss of time in hauling the ship too close by the wind, and it is far better therefore to give her a fathom of the sheet.

In making for the bay of Saldanha [*Table bay*,] keep between the latitudes of 33° 50′ and 34° 20′ of S. lat. so as to be sure of coming not much wide of the bay. If, on seeing the land, it appear high, you are then to the S.W. of the bay: if low sand-hills, you are then to the northward of the bay. In falling in with the high land to the southward, which is between the Cape of Good Hope and the bay, the land trends N.N.W. and S.S.E. seven leagues from the Cape, and then trends away N.E. and S.W. towards the point of the Sugar-loaf, some four leagues. From this point of the *Sugar-loaf* lieth *Penguin* island; but keep fair by the point, as two miles from Penguin island there are two shoals. From the point to the island there are some seven or eight miles N. and S. and so, borrowing on that point, in eight or nine fathoms, steer a course S.E. and E.S.E. till you bring the *Table* S.S.W. and the *Sugar-loaf* S.W. by W. when you may anchor in 6 or 6½ fathoms as you please; and then will the point of land by the *Sugar-loaf* bear W.N.W. some two leagues off, and *Penguin* island N.N.W. some three leagues distant. The latitude of the point going into the bay of Saldanha [*Table bay*,] is 34° 5′ S.[1] On coming in there is nothing to fear, though the air be thick, as the land is bold within a cable's length of the shore.

In my opinion, the current near Cape *Aguillas* sets to the southward not above fifty or sixty leagues from the land: Wherefore, in going to the eastwards, it is right to have sixty leagues from land, so that you may miss that current. For 90 or 100 leagues beyond Cape *Aguillas*, the land trends E. by N. and not E. N. E. as in the charts.

In my opinion the gulf of Cambaya is the worst place in all

[1] Only 33° 54′.—*Ed.*

all India for worms; wherefore ships going to Surat ought to use every precaution against injury from them. At Acheen our general was denominated *Arancaya Pattee* by the king, who showed him extraordinary favour, sending for him to be present at all sports and pastimes; and all our men were very kindly used by the people at this place, more so than any strangers who had ever been there before.

§ 3. *Extracts from a Treatise, written by Mr Nicholas Whittington, who was left as Factor in the Mogul Country by Captain Best, containing some of his Travels and Adventures.*

The sheep at the Cape of Good Hope are covered with hair instead of wool. The beeves are large, but mostly lean. The natives of that southern extremity of Africa are negroes, having woolly heads, flat noses, and straight well-made bodies. The men have only one testicle, the other being cut out when very young.[1] Their apparel consists of a skin hung from their shoulders, reaching to their waist, and two small rat-skins, one before and the other behind, and all the rest of their body naked, except a kind of skin or leather-cap on their heads, and soles tied to their feet, considerably longer and broader than the foot. Their arms are very scanty, consisting of bows and arrows of very little force, and lances or darts very artificially made, in the use of which they are very expert, and even with them kill many fish. They are in use to wear the guts of sheep and oxen hanging from their necks, smelling most abominably, which they eat when hungry, and would scramble for our garbage like so many dogs, devouring it quite raw and foul.

At Surat, although Sir Henry Middleton had taken their ships in the Red Sea, they promised to deal fairly with us, considering that otherwise they might burn their ships and give over all trade by sea, as *Mill Jaffed*, one of the chief merchants of Surat, acknowledged to us. While at Surat, every one of us that remained any time ashore was afflicted with the flux, of which Mr Aldworth was ill for forty days. The custom here is, that all strangers make presents on visiting

[1] Captain Saris told me that some have two; but these are of the baser sort and slaves, as he was told by one of those marked by this note of gentility.—*Purch.*

siting any persons of condition, and they give other presents in return.

Finding it impossible to have any trade at Surat, as the Portuguese craft infested the mouth of the river, our general removed with the ships to Swally roads, whence we might go and come by land without danger, between that place and Surat. Mr Canning had been made prisoner by the Portuguese, but the viceroy ordered him to be set ashore at Surat, saying, "Let him go and help his countrymen to fight, for we shall take their ships and all of them together." He was accordingly liberated, and came to us at Swally. The purser had likewise been nearly taken; but he escaped and got on board. The 3d October, *Seikh Shuffe*, governor of *Amadavar*, [Ahmedabad], the chief city of Guzerat, came to Surat and thence to Swally, where he entered into articles of agreement for trade and friendship.

The 29th of October, four Portuguese galleons and a whole fleet of frigates, or armed grabs, hove in sight. Our general went immediately to meet them in the Dragon, and fired not one shot till he came between their admiral and vice-admiral, when he gave each of them a broadside and a volley of small arms, which made them come no nearer for that day. The other two galleons were not as yet come up, and our consort the Hosiander could not get clear of her anchors, so that she did not fire a shot that day. In the evening both sides came to anchor in the sight of each other. Next morning the fight was renewed, and this day the Hosiander bravely redeemed her yesterday's inactivity. The Dragon drove three of them aground, and the Hosiander so *danced the hay* about them, that they durst never show a man above hatches. They got afloat in the afternoon with the tide of flood, and renewed the fight till evening, and then anchored till next day. Next day, as the Dragon drew much water, and the bay was shallow, we removed to the other side of the bay at *Mendafrobay*, [Jaffrabat], where *Sardar Khan*, a great nobleman of the Moguls, was then besieging a castle of the *Rajaputs*, who, before the Mogul conquest, were the nobles of that country, and were now subsisting by robbery. He presented our general with a horse and furniture, which he afterwards gave to the governor of Gogo, a poor town to the west of Surat.

After ten days stay, the Portuguese having refreshed, came hither to attack us. Sardar Khan advised our general to

to flee; but in four hours we drove them out of sight, in presence of thousands of the country people. After the razing of this castle, Sardar Khan reported this gallant action to the Great Mogul, who much admired it, as he thought none were like the Portuguese at sea. We returned to Swally on the 27th December, having only lost three men in action, and one had his arm shot off; while the Portuguese acknowledged to have lost 160, though report said their loss exceeded 300 men.

The 13th January, 1613, I was appointed factor for the worshipful company, and bound under a penalty of four hundred pounds. Our ships departed on the 18th, the galleons not offering to disturb them; and at this time Anthony Starkey was ordered for England. Mr Canning was seventy days in going from Surat to Agra, during which journey he encountered many troubles, having been attacked by the way, and shot in the belly with an arrow, while another Englishman in his company was shot through the arm, and many of his peons were killed and wounded. Two of his English attendants quitted him, and returned to Surat, leaving only two musicians to attend upon him. He arrived at Agra on the 9th April, when he presented our king's letter to the Great Mogul, together with a present of little value; and being asked if this present came from our king, he answered that it only came from the merchants. The Mogul honoured him with a cup of wine from his own hand, and then referred him, on the business of his embassy, to Morak Khan. One of his musicians died, and was buried in the church-yard belonging to the Portuguese, who took up the body, and buried it in the highway; but on this being complained of to the king, they were commanded to bury him again, on penalty of being all banished the country, and of having all the bodies of their own dead thrown out from the church-yard. After this, Mr Canning wrote that he was in fear of being poisoned by the jesuits, and requested to have some one sent up to his assistance, which was accordingly agreed to by us at Surat. But Mr Canning died on the 29th of May, and Mr Kerridge went up on the 22d of June.

At this time I was to have been sent by the way of Mokha to England; but the master of the ship said it was impossible, except I were circumcised, to go so near Mecca. The 13th October, 1613, the ship returned, and our messenger made prisoner at the bar of Surat by the Portuguese armed frigates,

frigates, [grabs] worth an hundred thousand pounds, and seven hundred persons going to Goa.[2] This is likely to be of great injury here, for no Portuguese is now permitted to pass either in or out without a surety; and the Surat merchants are so impoverished, that our goods are left on our hands, so that we had to send them to Ahmedabad. John Alkin, who deserted from Sir Henry Middleton to the Portuguese, came to us at this time, and told us that several of their towns were besieged by the Decaners, and other neighbouring Moors, so that they had to send away many hundred Banians and others, that dwelt among them, owing to want of provisions; and indeed three barks came now with these people to Surat, and others of them went to Cambaya. Their weak behaviour in the sea-fight with us was the cause of all this.

About this time also, Robert Claxon of the Dragon, who had deserted to the Portuguese for fear of punishment, came to us accompanied by a German who had been a slave among the Turks. One Robert Johnson, who was with the Portuguese, and meant to have come to us, was persuaded by an other Englishman, while passing through the Decan, to turn mussulman, and remain in that country, where he got an allowance of seven shillings and sixpence a-day from the king, and his diet from the king's table. But he died eight days after being circumcised. Robert Trully, the musician, fell out with Mr Kerridge at Agra, and went to the king of Decan, carrying a German with him as interpreter. They both offered to turn Mahometans, and Trully, getting a new name at his circumcision, received a great allowance from the king, in whose service he continues; but the German, who had been formerly circumcised in Persia, and now thought to have deceived the king, was not entertained; whereupon he returned to Agra, where he serves a Frenchman, and now goes to mass. Robert Claxon, above mentioned, had also turned Mahometan in the Decan, with a good allowance at court; but, not being contented, he came to Surat, where he was pitied by us for his seeming penitence; but being entrusted with upwards of forty pounds, under pretence of making purchases, he gave us the slip and returned to the Decan.

[2] Probably owing to careless abridgement by Purchas, this passage is quite unintelligible. The meaning seems to be, That the ship in which was the English messenger, having a cargo worth 100,000*l.* sterling, and 700 persons aboard, bound on the pilgrimage to Mecca, was taken and carried into Goa.—E.

can. Thus there are at present four English renegadoes in the Decan, besides many Portuguese. The 27th October, 1613, we received letters sent by Mr Gurney of Masulipatam, written by Captain Marlow of the ship Janus, informing us of his arrival and trade at that place.

From Surat I went to *Periano?* three *coss;* thence to Cossumba, a small village, ten *coss;* and thence to Broach, ten *coss.* This is a very pretty city on a high hill, encompassed by a strong wall, and having a river running by as large as the Thames, in which were several ships of two hundred tons and upwards. Here are the best calicoes in the kingdom of Guzerat, and great store of cotton. From thence I went to *Saninga* [Sarang], ten coss; to *Carrou?* ten c. and then fourteen c. to *Boldia* [Brodrah], a smaller city than Broach, but well built, having a strong wall, and garrisoned by 3000 horse under *Mussuff Khan.* I went thence ten c. to a river named the *Wassach,* [the Mahy?] where Mussuff was about to engage with the rajaputs who lay on the opposite side of the river, the chief of whom was of the race of the former kings of Surat. Thence other fourteen coss to *Niriand,* [Nariad] a large town where they make indigo; and thence, ten c. more to *Amadabar,* or Ahmedabad, the chief city of Guzerat, nearly as large as London, surrounded by a strong wall, and seated in a plain by the side of the river Mehindry. There are here many merchants, Mahometans, Pagans, and Christians; with great abundance of merchandize, which chiefly are indigo, cloth of gold, silver tissue, velvets, but nothing comparable to ours, taffeties, *gumbucks,* coloured *baffaties,* drugs, &c. *Abdalla Khan* is governor of this place, who has the rank and pay of a commander of 5000 horse. From thence, on my way to Cambay, I went seven c. to *Barengeo,* [Baregia] where every Tuesday a *cafilla* or caravan of merchants and travellers meet to go to Cambay, keeping together in a large company to protect themselves from robbers. From thence sixteen c. we came to Soquatera, a fine town with a strong garrison; whence we departed about midnight, and got to Cambay about eight next morning, the distance being ten *coss.*

In November, we rode to *Sarkess,* three *coss* from Ahmedabad, where are the sepulchres of the Guzerat kings, the church and handsome tombs being kept in fine order, and many persons resort to see them from all parts of the kingdom. At the distance of a coss, there is a pleasant house with

with a large garden, a mile round, on the banks of the river, which *Chon-Chin-Naw*,[3] the greatest of the Mogul nobles, built in memory of the great victory he gained at this place over the last king of Guzerat, in which he took the king prisoner, and subjugated the kingdom. No person inhabits this house, and its orchard is kept by a few poor men. We lodged here one night, and sent for six fishermen, who in half an hour caught more fish for us than all our company could eat.

The 28th November, we received intelligence at Ahmedabad, that three English ships had arrived at *Larry Bunder*, the port town of *Guta-Negar-Tutta*, [Tatta] the chief city of *Sindy*. I was sent thither, and came on the 13th December to *Cassumparo*, where I overtook a cafilla or caravan travelling to *Rahdunpoor*, six days journey on my way. We went thence to *Callitalouny*, a fair castle; thence seven c. to *Callwalla*, a pretty village, given by the emperor Akbar to a company of women and their posterity for ever, to bring up their children in dancing and music. They exhibited their talents to our caravan, and every man made them some present, and then they openly asked if any of us wanted bedfellows. On the 16th we went eight *coss* to *Carrya*, where is a well-garrisoned fortress. We remained here till the 18th, waiting for another caravan for fear of thieves, and then went to *Deccanaura*,[4] on which day our camel was stolen and one of our men was slain. The 19th we travelled ten c. to *Bollodo*, a fort held by *Newlock Abram Cabrate* for the Mogul, and who that day brought in 169 heads of the Coolies, a plundering tribe. The 20th in thirteen c. we came to a fort named *Sariandgo*; and the 21st in ten c. we arrived at *Rhadunpoor*, a large town with a fort. We remained here till the 23d, to provide water and other necessaries for our journey through the desert.

The 23d, leaving Rhadunpoor, we travelled seven coss, and lay

[3] This name seems strangely corrupted, more resembling the name of a Chinese leader than of a Mogul Khan or Amir. Perhaps it ought to have been Khan-Khanna.—E.

[4] It singularly happens, in the excellent map of Hindoostan by Arrowsmith, that none of the stages between Ahmedabad and Rahdunpoor are laid down, unless possibly *Decabarah* of the map may be *Deccanaura* of the text; while Mr Arrowsmith actually inserts on his map the route of Whittington across the sandy desert of Cutch, between Rahdunpoor and the eastern branch of the Indus, or *Nulla Sunkra*, and thence through the Delta to Tatta.—E.

lay all night in the fields, having that day met a caravan coming from Tatta that had been plundered of every thing. On the 24th I sent off one of my peons with a letter to Larry Bunder, who promised to be there in ten days, but I think he was slain by the way; we went twelve c. that day. The 25th we travelled fourteen c. and lodged by a well, the water of which was so salt that our cattle would not drink it. The 26th ten c. to such another well, where our camels took water, not having had any for three days. The 27th after fourteen c. we lodged on the ground; and the 28th, in ten c. we came to a village called *Negar Parkar*. In this desert we saw great numbers of wild asses, red deer, foxes, and other wild animals. We stopt all the 29th, and met another caravan, that had been robbed within two days journey of Tatta. *Parkar* pays tribute yearly to the Mogul; but all the people from thence to *Inno*, half a day's journey from Tatta, acknowledge no king, but rob and spare at their pleasure. When any of the Moguls come among them, they set their own houses on fire, and flee into the mountains; and as their houses are only built of straw and mortar, they are soon rebuilt. They exact customs at their pleasure, and even guard passengers through the desert, not willing they should be robbed by any but themselves. The 30th we left *Parkar*, and after travelling six coss, we lay at a tank or pond of fresh water. The 31st we travelled eight c. and lay in the fields beside a brackish well. The 1st January, 1614, we went ten c. to *Burdiano*, and though many were sick of this water, we had to provide ourselves with a supply for four days. The 2d we travelled all night eighteen c. The 3d, from afternoon till midnight, we went ten c. The 4th twelve c. This day I fell sick and vomited, owing to the bad water. The 5th, after seven c. we came to three wells, two of them salt and one sweetish. The 6th, having travelled ten c. we came to *Nuraquimire*, a pretty town, where our company from Rhadunpoor left us. We who remained were two merchants and myself, with five of their servants, four of mine, ten camels, and five camel-drivers.

This town of *Nuraquimire* is within three days journey of Tatta, and to us, after coming out of the desert, seemed quite a paradise. We agreed with a kinsman of the Rajah, or governor, for twenty *laries*, or shillings, to conduct us on the remainder of our journey. We accordingly departed on the 8th, and travelled ten c. to *Gundajaw*, where we had been

robbed but for our guard. The 9th we were twice set upon, and obliged to give each time five *laries* to get free. We came to *Sarruna*, a great town of the *rajputs* with a castle, fourteen *coss* from Tatta. We visited the governor, *Ragee Bouma*, eldest son to sultan *Bulbul*, who was lately captured by the Moguls and had his eyes pulled out, yet had escaped about two months ago, and was now living in the mountains inviting all his kindred to revenge. The *Ragee* treated me kindly as a stranger, asking me many questions about my country. He even made me sup with him, and gave me much wine, in which he so heartily partook, that he stared again. A banian at this place told me that Sir Robert Sherly had been much abused by the Portuguese and the governor of *Larry Bunder*, having his house set on fire, and his men much hurt in the night; and that on his arrival at Tatta, thirteen days journey from thence, he had been unkindly used by the governor of that city. He likewise told me of the great trade carried on at Tatta, and that ships of 300 tons might be brought up to Larry Bunder: and advised me to prevail upon *Ragee Bouma* to escort us to Tatta.

According to this bad advice, we hired the *Ragee* for forty *laries* to escort us with fifty horsemen to the gates of Tatta. We departed from *Sarruna* on the 11th January, and having travelled five coss we lay all night by the side of a river. Departing at two next morning, the Ragee led us in a direction quite different from our right road, and came about daybreak into a thicket, where he made us all be disarmed and bound, and immediately strangled the two merchants and their five men by means of their camel ropes. After stripping them of all their clothes, he caused their bodies to be flung into a hole dug on purpose. He then took my horse and eighty rupees from me, and sent me and my men up the mountains to his brothers, at the distance of twenty coss, where we arrived on the 14th, and where I remained twenty days a close prisoner. On the 7th February, an order came to send me to *Parkar*, the governor of which place was of their kindred, and that I should be sent from thence to Rhadunpoor; but I was plundered on the way of my clothes and every thing else about me, my horse only being left me, which was not worth taking away.

Arriving at Parkar on the 28th February, and finding the inhabitants charitable, we were reduced to the necessity of begging victuals; and actually procured four mahmoodies by that

that means, equal to as many shillings. But having the good fortune to meet a banian of Ahmedabad, whom I had formerly known, he relieved me and my men. We were five days in travelling from Parkar to Rhadunpoor, where I arrived on the 19th March, and went thence to Ahmedabad on the 2d April, after an absence of 111 days. Thence to Brodia and Barengeo, thence sixteen c. to Soquatera, and ten c. to Cambay. We here crossed the large river, which is seven coss in breadth,[5] and where many hundreds are swallowed up yearly. On the other side of the river we came to *Saurau*,[6] where is a town and castle of the *razbootches* or rajputs. The 16th of April I travelled twenty-five coss to Broach. The 17th I passed the river [Narbuddah], and went ten c. to *Cossumba*; and on the 18th thirteen c. to Surat.

According to general report, there is no city of greater trade in all the Indies than Tatta in Sinde; its chief port being Larry Bunder, three days journey nearer the mouth of the river. There is a good road without the river's mouth, said to be free from worms; which, about Surat especially, and in other parts of India, are in such abundance, that after three or four months riding, were it not for the sheathing, ships would be rendered incapable of going to sea. The ports and roads of Sinde are said to be free. From Tatta they go in two months by water to Lahore, and return down the river in one. The commodities there are *baffatys*, stuffs, *lawns* [muslins], coarse indigo, not so good as that of Biana. Goods may be carried from Agra on camels in twenty days to *Bucker* on the river Indus, and thence in fifteen or sixteen days aboard the ships at the mouth of the Indus. One may travel as soon from Agra to Sinde as to Surat, but there is more thieving on the Sinde road, in spite of every effort of the Mogul government to prevent it.

The inhabitants of Sinde consist mostly of Rajputs, Banians, and Baloches, the governors of the cities and large towns being Moguls. The country people are rude, going naked from the waist upwards, and wear turbans quite different from the fashion of the Moguls. Their arms are swords, bucklers,

[5] The great river in the text is assuredly the upper part of the gulf of Cambay, where the tide sets in with prodigious rapidity, entering almost at once with a vast wave or bore, as described on a former occasion in the Portuguese voyages.—E.

[6] Probably Sarrode, on the south side of the entry of the river Mahy.—E.

bucklers, and lances; their bucklers being large and shaped like bee-hives, in which they are in use to give their camels drink, and their horses provender. Their horses are good, strong, and swift, and though unshod, they ride them furiously, backing them at a year old. The Rajputs eat no beef or buffalo flesh, even worshipping them; and the Moguls say that the Rajputs know how to die as well as any in the world. The Banians kill nothing, and are said to be divided into more than thirty different casts, that differ somewhat among them in matters of religion, and may not eat with each other. All burn their dead; and when the husband dies, the widow shaves her head, and wears her jewels no more, continuing this state of mourning as long as she lives.

When a Rajput dies, his wife accompanies his body to the funeral pile in her best array, attended by all her friends and kindred, and by music. When the funeral pile is set on fire, she walks round it two or three times, bewailing the death of her husband, and then rejoicing that she is now to live with him again: After which, embracing her friends, she sits down on the top of the pile among dry wood, taking her husband's head on her lap, and orders fire to be put to the pile; which done, her friends throw oil upon her and sweet perfumes, while she endures the fire with wonderful fortitude, loose not bound. I have seen many instances of this. The first I ever saw was at Surat, the widow being a virgin of ten years old, and her affianced husband being a soldier slain in the wars at a distance, whence his clothes and turban were sent to her, and she insisted on burning herself along with these. The governor refused to give her permission, which she took grievously to heart, and insisted on being burnt; but they durst not, till her kindred procured leave by giving the governor a present, to her great joy. The kindred of the husband never force this, but the widow esteems it a disgrace to her family not to comply with this custom, which they may refrain from if they choose: But then they must shave their heads, and break all their ornaments, and are never afterwards allowed to eat, drink, sleep, or keep company with any one all the rest of their lives. If, after agreeing to burn, a woman should leap out of the fire, her own parents would bind her and throw her in again by force; but this weakness is seldom seen.

The Banian marriages are made at the age of three years or even under; and two pregnant women sometimes enter into

into mutual promises, if one of their children should prove male and the other female, to unite them in marriage. But these marriages are always in the same cast and religion, and in the same trade and occupation; as the son of a barber with the daughter of a barber, and so on. When the affianced couple reach three years of age, the parents make a great feast, and set the young couple on horseback dressed in their best clothes, a man sitting behind each to hold them on. They are then led about the city in procession, according to their state and condition, accompanied by bramins or priests and many others, who conduct them to the pagoda or temple; and after going through certain ceremonies there, they are led home, and feasts are given for several days, as they are able. When ten years of age, the marriage is consummated. The reason they assign for these early marriages is, that they may not be left wifeless, in case their parents should die. Their bramins are esteemed exceedingly holy, and have the charge of their pagodas or idol temples, having alms and tithes for their maintenance; yet they marry, and follow occupations, being good workmen and ready to learn any pattern. They eat but once a day, washing their whole bodies before and after meat, and use ablutions after the natural evacuations.

The *Baloches* are Mahometans, who deal much in camels, and are mostly robbers by land or on the rivers, murdering all they rob; yet are there very honest men among them in Guzerat and about Agra. While I was in Sinde, they took a boat with seven Italians and a Portuguese friar, all the rest being slain in fight. This was ripped up by them in search of gold.[7]

John Mildnall, or Mildenhall, an Englishman, had been employed with three other young Englishmen, whom he poisoned in Persia, to make himself master of the goods. He was himself also poisoned, yet, by means of preservatives, he lived many months afterwards, though exceedingly swelled, and so came to Agra with the value of 20,000 dollars. On this occasion I went from Surat for Agra, on the 14th May, 1614. I arrived first at *Bramport*, [Bushanpoor] where Sultan *Parvis* lives, situated in a plain on the river *Taptee* or of Surat, which is there of great breadth, and at this place there is

[7] This is obscurely expressed, leaving it uncertain *what* was ripped up in search of gold: The boat, the bodies of the slain, or the prisoners.—E.

is a large castle. Thence I went to Agra in twenty-six days, having travelled the whole way from Surat to Agra, which is 700 *coss*, or 1010 English miles, in thirty-seven days of winter, during which time it rained almost continually. From Surat to Burhanpoor is a pleasant champain country, well watered with rivers, brooks, and springs. Between Burhanpoor and Agra the country is very mountainous, not passable with a coach, and scarcely to be travelled on camels. The nearest way is by *Mando*, passing many towns and cities on every day's journey, with many high hills and strong castles, the whole country being well inhabited, very peaceable, and clear of thieves.

Agra is a very large town, its wall being two coss in circuit, the fairest and highest I ever saw, and well replenished with ordnance; the rest of the city being ruinous, except the houses of the nobles, which are pleasantly situated on the river. The ancient royal seat was *Fatipoor*, twelve coss from Agra, but is now fallen into decay. Between these two is the sepulchre of the king's father, to which nothing I ever saw is comparable; yet the church or mosque of *Fatipoor* comes near it, both being built according to the rules of architecture. In Agra the jesuits have a house and a handsome church, built by the Great Mogul, who allows their chief seven rupees a-day, and all the rest three, with licence to convert as many as they can: But alas! these converts were only for the sake of money; for when, by order of the Portuguese, the new converts were deprived of their pay, they brought back their beads again, saying they had been long without pay, and would be Christians no longer. In consequence of the Portuguese refusing to deliver back the goods taken at Surat, the king ordered the church doors to be locked up, and they have so continued ever since; so the *padres* make a church of one of their chambers, where they celebrate mass twice a day, and preach every Sunday, first in Persian to the Armenians and Moors, and afterwards in Portuguese for themselves, the Italians, and Greeks.

By them I was informed of the particulars of Mildenhall's goods, who had given them all to a French protestant, though himself a papist, that he might marry a bastard daughter he had left in Persia, and bring up another. The Frenchman refusing to make restitution, was thrown into prison, and after four months all was delivered up.

Between Agimere and Agra, at every ten *coss*, being an ordinary

dinary day's journey, there is a *Serai* or lodging house for men and horses, with hostesses to dress your victuals if you please, paying a matter of three-pence for dressing provisions both for man and horse. And between these two places, which are 120 coss distant, there is a pillar erected at every *coss*, and a fair house every ten coss, built by Akbar, on occasion of making a pilgrimage on foot from Agra to Agimere, saying his prayers at the end of every coss. These houses serve for accommodating the king and his women, no one else being allowed to use them. The king resides at Agimere on occasion of wars with *Rabna*, a rajput chief, who has now done homage, so that there is peace between them. I made an excursion to the Ganges, which is two days journey from Agra. The Banians carry the water of the Ganges to the distance of many hundred miles, affirming that it never corrupts, though kept for any length of time. A large river, called the *Geminie* [Jumna], passes by Agra.

On the 24th of May, 1616, while on our voyage home to England, we went into Saldanha bay, where were several English ships outwards bound, namely, the Charles, Unicorn, Janus, Globe, and Swan, the general being Mr Benjamin Joseph. We arrived safe at Dover on the 15th September, 1616.

John Mildenhall, mentioned in the foregoing article, left England on the 12th February, 1600, and went by Constan tinople, Scanderoon, Aleppo, Bir, Caraemit, Bitelis, Cashbin, Ispahan, Yezd, Kerman, and Sigistan, to Candhar; and thence to Lahore, where he arrived in 1603. He appears to have carried letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Great Mogul, by whom he was well received, and procured from him letters of privilege for trade in the Mogul dominions. He thence returned into Persia, whence he wrote to one Mr Richard Staper from Cashbin, on the 3d October, 1606, giving some account of his travels, and of his negociations at the court of the Mogul. This letter, and a short recital of the first two years of his peregrinations, are published in the Pilgrims, vol. I. pp. 114—116, but have not been deemed of sufficient importance for insertion in this collection.—E.

SECTION

SECTION XIX.

Eleventh Voyage of the East India Company, in 1612, in the Salomon.[1]

We sailed from Gravesend on the 1st February, 1611, according to the computation of the church of England, or 1612 as reckoned by others. We were four ships in company, which were counted as three separate voyages, because directed to several parts of India: The James, which was reckoned the *ninth* voyage, the Dragon and Hosiander the *tenth*, and our ship, the Salomon, as the *eleventh*.

I would advise such as go from Saldanha bay with the wind at E. or S.E. to get to a considerable distance from the land before standing southwards, as otherwise the high lands at the Cape will take the wind from them; and if becalmed, one may be much troubled, as there is commonly in these parts a heavy sea coming from the west. Likewise, the current sets in for the shore, if the wind has been at N.N.W. or W. or S.S.W. And also the shore is so bold that no anchorage can be had.

The 18th October, we espied the land, being near *Celeber* in the island of Sumatra, in about 3° of south latitude. The 2d November, coming between Java and a ragged island to the westwards of the point of *Palimbangan*, we met a great tide running out so fast that we could hardly stem it with the aid of a stiff gale. When afterwards the gale slacked, we came to anchor, and I found the tide to run three ½ leagues in one watch. I noticed that this tide set outwards during the day, and inwards through the night. This day at noon the point of Palimbangan bore N.E. by E. three leagues off, and from thence to the road of Bantam is five leagues, S.S.E. ⅓ E. The latitude of Bantam is 6° 10′ S. and the long. 145° 2′ E.

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 486. This unimportant voyage is only preserved, for the sake of continuing the regular series of voyages which contributed to the establishment of the East India Company. We learn from Purchas that it was written by Ralph Wilson, one of the mates in the Salomon, who never mentions the name of his captain. This voyage, as given by Purchas, contains very little information, and is therefore here abridged, though not extending to two folio pages in the Pilgrims.—E.

2′ E. This however is rather too much easterly, as I think the true longitude of Bantam is 144° E. from Flores.[2]

The 7th March, at five p. m. while in lat. 20° 34′ S. we descried land nine leagues off, N.E. ½ N. The S.E. part of this island is somewhat high, but falleth down with a low point. The W. part is not very high, but flat and smooth towards the end, and falls right down. The south and west parts of this island is all surrounded with shoals and broken ground, and we did not see the other sides; yet it seemed as if it had good refreshments. The longitude of this island is 104° from Flores, but by my computation 107°.[3] In these long voyages, we do not rely altogether on our reckoning, but use our best diligence for discovering the true longitudes, which are of infinite importance to direct our course aright.

SECTION XX.

The Twelfth Voyage of the East India Company, in 1613, *by Captain Christopher Newport.*[1]

The full title of this voyage, as given in the Pilgrims, is as follows :—" A Journal of all principal Matters passed in the *Twelfth* Voyage to the East India, observed by me *Walter Payton*, in the good ship the *Expedition* : Whereof Mr *Christopher Newport* was captain, being set out *Anno* 1612. Written by the said *Walter Payton*." The date of the year of this voyage, according to our present mode of computation, was 1613, as formerly explained at large, the year being then computed to commence on the 25th March, instead of the 1st January.—E.

§ 1 *Ob-*

[2] The long. of Bantam is 106° E. from Greenwich. That in the text appears to have been *estimated* from the island of Flores, which is 31° 20′ W. from Greenwich, so that the longitude of Bantam ought to have been stated as 137° 20′ E. from Flores, making an error of excess in the text of seven or eight degrees.—E.

[3] No island is to be found in the latitude and longitude indicated in the text.—E.

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 488.

§ 1. *Observations at St Augustine, Mohelia, and divers Parts of Arabia.*

The 7th January, 1613, we sailed from Gravesend for India, in the good ship Expedition of London, about the burden of 260 tons, and carrying fifty-six persons; besides the Persian ambassador and his suite, of whom there were fifteen persons, whom we were ordered to transport to the kingdom of Persia, at the cost of the worshipful company. The names of the ambassador and his people were these. Sir Robert Sherley the ambassador, and his lady, named Teresha, a Circassian; Sir Thomas Powell, and his lady, called Tomasin, a Persian; a Persian woman, named Leylye; Mr Morgan Powell; Captain John Ward; Mr Francis Bubb, secretary; Mr John Barbar, apothecary; John Herriot, a musician; John Georgson, goldsmith, a Dutchman; Gabriel, an old Armenian; and three Persians, named Nazerbeg, Scanderbeg, and Molhter.

In the morning of the 26th April, we fell in with a part of the land of Ethiopia, [Southern Africa,] close adjoining to which is a small island, called *Conie island*, [Dassen island] all low land, and bordered by many dangerous rocks to seawards. It is in the lat. of 33° 30′ S. The wind falling short, we were constrained to anchor between that island and the main, where we had very good ground in nineteen or twenty fathoms. We sent our boat to the island, where we found Penguins, geese, and other fowls, and seals in great abundance; of all which we took as many as we pleased for our refreshment. By a carved board, we observed that the Hollanders had been there, who make great store of train-oil from the seals. They had left behind them the implements of their work, together with a great copper cauldron standing on a furnace, the cauldron being full of oil; all which we left as we found them.

Having spent two days here at anchor, and the wind coming favourable, we weighed and proceeded for the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived, by God's grace, at Saldanha on the 30th of April, where we found six ships at anchor. Two of these, the Hector and James, were English, and the other four Hollanders, all homeward bound. We here watered, and refreshed ourselves well with reasonable abundance of the country sheep and beeves, which were bought from the natives,

natives, and plenty of fresh fish, which we caught with our seyne. The 10th May the Pepper-corn arrived here, likewise homewards bound; and as she was but ill provided with necessaries, we supplied her from our scanty store as well as we could spare.

Being all ready to depart with the first fair wind, which happened on the 15th May, we then sailed altogether from the bay, taking leave according to the custom of the sea, and we directed our course for St Augustine. In our way we had sight of *Capo do Arecife*,[2] part of the main land of Africa, in lat. 33° 25′ S. on the 24th May, the compass there varying 6° 9′. The 15th June we got sight of the island of St Lawrence or Madagascar, and on the 17th came to anchor close beside port St Augustine, meaning to search the soundings and entrance into the bay before we went in, as there was no one in the ship well acquainted with it. Having done this, we went in next day, and came to anchor in ten fathoms, yet our ship rode in forty fathoms. We had here wood and water, and great abundance of fresh fish, which we caught in such quantities with the seyne as might have served for six ships companies, instead of our own. But we could get no cattle from the natives, who seemed to be afraid of us; for, though they came once to us, and promised to bring us cattle next day, they seemed to have said so as a cover for driving away their cattle, in which they were employed in the interim, and they came no more near us. Some days after, we marched into the woods with forty musketeers, to endeavour to discover some of the natives, that we might buy cattle; but we only found empty houses, made of canes, whence we could see the people had only gone away very recently, as their fires were still burning, and the scales of fish they had been broiling were lying about. We also saw the foot-marks of many cattle, which had been there not long before, and had to return empty handed.

The entry into the port of St Augustine resembles that of Dartmouth haven; and on going in, you must bring the wood, called Westminster-hall, to which it has some resemblance, to bear N.E. by E. and then steer due E. borrowing a little towards the south side of the bay, where your soundings

[2] The latitude in the text indicates Burtzenhook, near the mouth of the Groot river, this being probably the Dutch name, while that in the text is the Portuguese.—E.

ings will be thirteen, nine, eight, and seven fathoms, all good ground, till you be shut within the shoal. After this you have deep water till you come into the road, and then have seven, eight, and ten fathoms. But if you go too far behind the hill on the larboard hand, which resembles an old barn, you shall then have thirty and forty fathoms. St Augustine is in lat. 23° 30′ S. the var. being 15° 40′.[3]

We sailed from St Augustine on the 23d June, directing our course for the island of Mohelia, and on the 3d July we had sight of an island called Juan, nine or ten leagues E. by S. from Mohelia. We came also this day to anchor at Mohelia, between it and some broken land off its southern side. We had here great abundance of refreshments, and very cheap; for we bought five bullocks in exchange for one Levant sword, and had goats, hens, pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, plantains, oranges, lemons, and limes, for trifles worth little. Such bullocks as we had for money cost a dollar each, or ten pieces of 4½d.; at which rate we purchased forty-one beeves. The natives of this island are chiefly Moors [negroes], but there are Arabians, Turks, and others also among them; and they are much engaged in wars with the people of *Juan*, [Hinzuan or Johanna,] and Comoro islands in their neighbourhood. They told us that the king of the island died the day we arrived, being succeeded by his son, *Phanehomale*, who was only of tender years, and was to reign under the protection of the queen his mother. His brother-in-law, as chief man, accompanied by several other people of condition, came down to bid us welcome, and used us very kindly. Both he and many others of the islanders spoke tolerably good Portuguese, so that I had much conversation with them, and was informed of every thing I wished to know.

In this island they build barks, in which they trade along the coast of Melinda and Arabia, disposing of slaves and fruit, by which means they supply themselves with dollars, and with such articles as they need. I suspect also that they have some dealings with the Portuguese, but they would not let us know this, lest we might suspect them of treachery. They told me that we were welcome, and that the whole island was at our command to do us service; but, if we had been Portuguese, they would have put us all to the sword. In my opinion, however, it would be dangerous to repose too much

[3] Long. 44° 20′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

much confidence in them. The king's brother-in-law shewed me a letter of recommendation of the place, written in Dutch, and left there by a Hollander; and he requested of us to leave a letter to the same purport, certifying their honest and friendly dealings, that they might be able to show to others of our nation. To this we consented, and I gave them a writing, sealed by our captain, expressing the good entertainment we had received, and the prices of provisions; yet recommending to our countrymen, not to trust them any farther than might seem consistent with their own safety. They speak a kind of Moorish language, somewhat difficult to learn; so that I could only pick up the few words following, which may serve to ask for provisions and fruits, by such as do not understand Portuguese, or in speaking to any of the natives who have not that language.

Gumbey, a bullock.	*Demon*, lemons.	*Quename*, a pine-apple.
Buze, a goat.	*Mage*, water.	*Cartassa*, paper.
Coquo, a hen.	*Surra*, a kind of drink.	*Tudah*, oranges.
Sinzano, a needle.		*Arembo*, bracelets.
Seiavoye, cocoa-nuts.	*Soutan*, the king.	*Figo*, plantains.

This island of Mohelia is in lat. 12° 10′ S.[4] and has good anchorage in its road in forty fathoms. Having watered and refreshed ourselves sufficiently, we sailed from thence on the 10th of July, directing our course for the island of Socotora. The 19th we passed to the north of the equator; and on the 25th we had sight of land, which we supposed to have been Cape Guardafui, at the entrance into the Red Sea; and so, taking a departure for Socotora, we were unable to find it. We were therefore obliged to consider how we might shelter ourselves against the fury of the winter in these parts, and also to procure refreshments; wherefore we determined to sail for the islands of *Curia Muria*, which are in about the latitude of 18° N.[5] over-against the desert of *Arabia Felix*. In our way, the weather was continually so foggy, that we were

[4] Lat. 13° 35′ S. Long. 45° 30′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

[5] These islands are at the mouth of a bay of the same name on the oceanic coast of that portion of Arabia named Mahra, in long. 55° 30′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

were unable at any time to see half an English mile before us, such being usual in these seas in the months of July, August, and September. In all this time both the sun and stars were so continually obscured, that we were never able to get an observation, by which to regulate or correct our dead reckoning; but, God being our guide, we at length groped out the land by means of the lead. We could now clearly perceive the colour of the water to be changed to white, with many yellow grassy weeds floating on the surface; and heaving the lead continually as we advanced, we at length struck ground in forty-three fathoms. Proceeding nearer the land, our sounding lessened to twenty-two fathoms, when we anchored on good ground; and though we distinctly heard the rut of the shore at no great distance, we could not perceive the land till next day, when the weather was somewhat clearer. We then sent our skiff in shore, to see if any place could be discovered of more security for our ship to ride in; but, on account of the great sea that came rolling into the bay, the surge was so violent that they could not come near the shore, and had to return as they went; only that they had been able to descry some fair stone-houses by the sea-side, which proved to be *Doffar*, in Arabia Felix.

When God sent us a little clear weather, we could perceive a high cape on the western side of the bay, which we discovered from our skiff the second time it was sent, and could plainly see that it formed a very good road for all kinds of winds, except between the E. and S. by E. points. We were thankful to God for this discovery, and warped our ship to that road, with much toil to our men, as it was six or seven leagues from the place where we had anchored. On the 3d of August, having brought our ship to anchor in that road, we went ashore in the boat to a little village by the sea-side, called *Resoit*, inhabited mostly by Arabian fishermen, who entertained us kindly, and gave us all the information we desired respecting the country. The governor also of *Doffar* came down to us, whose name was *Mir Mahommed Madoffar*, who bade us kindly welcome; and presented us with three bullocks, and some sheep, goats, hens, sugar-canes, plantains, cocoa-nuts, and the like. In return we made him a present of a fine damasked fowling-piece, double lockt, which he greatly admired. He appeared to desire our friendship as much as we did his; and he gave us licence to land at all times when we were inclined. He also gave orders

ders to have a market established for us at the village of Resoit, that we might be supplied with every kind of provision that the country affords. Their cattle were both dear and lean, and fresh water so scarce, bad, and difficult to be had, that we were forced to hire the natives to bring it down to us in skins from a distance, paying them at the rate of twenty-four shillings for the fill of five pipes.

Before leaving this place, Mir Mahommed desired us to leave a writing of commendation in his favour, specifying the kind and good entertainment we had received. This was accordingly granted, and I wrote it upon parchment, beginning it in large letters, the purport being similar to that granted at Mohelia, and this also was signed by the captain. The governor also sent us three notes signed by himself, for the purpose of being given by us to other ships, if they should happen to come upon this part of the coast, as we had been constrained to do, by which he might know our ships from those of other nations, and give them good entertainment accordingly. Cape *Resoit* is in lat. 16° 38′ N. and has good anchorage in 5½ or 6 fathoms.

The 28th August, we set sail from thence, directing our course for the coast of Persia, coasting along the oceanic shore of Arabia; it being our chiefest object to set the lord ambassador on shore, as, by reason of the news we had received at the Cape of Good Hope, our expectations of trade at Surat, Dabul, and all other parts thereabouts, were frustrated. The 2d September, we sailed close beside an island on the coast of Arabia, called *Macyra,* in lat. 20° 30′ N. And on the 4th of that month we passed the eastermost point of Arabia, called Cape *Rassalgat,* in lat. 22° 34′ N.[6]

Note.—In explanation of the disappointment of trade at Surat, &c. there is the following marginal note in the Pilgrims, vol. I. p. 490.—"These news at the Cape were, Captain Hawkins coming away in disgust, as denied leave to trade; the English being often wronged by the Mogul, in frequent breach of promise, as already shewn; for which they forced a trade in the Red Sea on the Mogul subjects. Which afterwards procured the privileges granted to Captain Best, as already related, lest the Moguls should have the sea shut up to them, and all their trade stopt. They were the

[6] This Cape is in lat. 23° N. and long. 58° 45′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

the more induced to grant these privileges to the English, on seeing them able to withstand the Portuguese, whose marine force had held the Guzerat people under maritime subjection, and made them afraid to trade with the English."—*Purch.*

§ 2. *Proceedings on the Coast of Persia, and Treachery of the Baloches.*

Having crossed the gulf from Cape Rasalgat, on the 10th September we got sight of the coast of Persia, in the lat. of 25° 10′ N. When some seven leagues from the land, we sent our skiff ashore to make enquiry concerning the country, and to seek out some convenient place in which to land his lordship, having Sir Thomas Powell, with two of the ambassador's Persian attendants, and *Albertus*, our own linguist, that we might be able to converse with the natives. They came to a little village called *Tesseque*,[1] where they spoke with some camel-drivers and other country-people; from whom they learnt that the country was called *Getche Macquerona* [Mekran], and the inhabitants *Baloches*, all living under the government of a king, named *Melik Mirza*, whose chief residence was some five or six days journey from thence, at a port named *Guadal*. They were farther informed, that all the country of *Mekran* paid tribute yearly to the king of Persia. When informed of our purpose to land the ambassador, they told us that, by means of *Melik Mirza*, his lordship might have a safe conveyance in nine days to *Kermshir*, in the province of *Kerman;* and from thence might travel in eleven days more to *Ispahan* in Persia.

We then sailed along the coast, and on the 11th of the month we sent our boat ashore with Sir Thomas Powell, accompanied as before, to make farther enquiries, and to endeavour to hire a pilot to direct our course for Guadal, as we were unacquainted with the coast. They came to a place called *Pesseque*, about a day's journey from Tesseque, where they had similar accounts with the former, all commending the port of Guadal as the best place at which the ambassador could land. Wherefore, being unable to procure a pilot,

[1] Tize is laid down upon this part of the Persian coast, in lat. 25° 25′ N. and long. 60° 80′ E. from Greenwich: Perhaps the Tesseque of the text.—E.

lot, we resolved, with God's blessing, to sail to that place with all the speed we could. On the 13th, while on our way, we espied coming towards us from the eastwards, two great boats, called *teradas,* which were sailing along shore for Ormus. Whereupon, that we might procure a pilot from them, we manned our skiff sufficiently to bring them by force to our ship, if entreaties were unavailing, yet without meaning to offer them the smallest injury, or even to send them away dissatisfied.

When our skiff came up with them, instead of answering the hails of our men, they waved our skiff to leeward with a drawn sword; on which, thinking to fear them, and make them lower their sail, our men fired a random shot towards them, which they answered by firing another directly at our skiff, followed by half a hundred arrows, to which our men answered by plying all their muskets. But our skiff was unable to hold way with them, as they were under sail, and had therefore to return to the ship, with one man very dangerously wounded by an arrow in the breast, who afterwards recovered. As we in the ship saw the skiff returning without them, we hoisted out our long-boat, and sent her after the two *teradas,* we following with the ship as near the shore as we could with safety; for it was now of much importance that we should speak with them, on purpose to avoid their spreading scandalous reports of us in the country, which might have frustrated our chief hopes of landing the ambassador at *Guadal,* being the place we most depended upon, and being destitute of any other place for the purpose, should this fail, considering the unwelcome intelligence we had got concerning Guzerat at the Cape.

Our long boat, having fetched up with the *teradas,* drove them into a bay whence they could not escape; on which the native mariners sailed so far into the bay, that one of the teradas was cast away on the beach, and the other had nearly shared the same fate, but was saved by our men just without the surf. Most of the *balloches* leapt overboard, and several of them narrowly escaped drowning; while nine of them were brought by our men to our ship along with the *terada,* part of whom they had taken out of the water. There were originally twenty-six balloches in the two teradas, but all the rest escaped ashore by swimming through the surf. When these men came aboard our ship, they were found to belong to Guadal; and when told that we were sor-

ry for the loss of their other bark, as we meant them no harm, but only wished to speak with them, that we might learn the navigation to their port, they were glad to learn we had no evil intentions, thinking we had been as merciless as themselves, and acknowledged their loss proceeded from their own folly.

We then informed them that we were bound for Guadal, on purpose to land a Persian ambassador there, and that we earnestly entreated the master of the terada, whose name was *Noradin*, to pilot us to that place, for which we would satisfy him to his contentment. Knowing that he could not chuse, he consented to go with us, on condition we would permit the terada and his men to proceed to Muscat, whither they were originally bound; but we did not think this quite safe, lest they might communicate news of our arrival among the Portuguese, and thought it better to take the bark along with us to Guadal, to manifest our own good intentions. Noradin accordingly consented, between fear and good will, and was much made of by us to reassure his confidence. On the passage to Guadal, we had much conference with him and his men, both respecting the state of the country, the character of their king, and the means of the ambassador travelling from thence into Persia. Their answers and reports all confirmed what we had been already told on the coast, and gave us hopes of success. The terada was about fifteen tons burden, and her loading mostly consisted in the provisions of the country, as rice, wheat, dates, and the like. They had a Portuguese pass, which they shewed us, thinking at first we had been of that nation. I translated this, to show in what subjection the Portuguese keep all the natives of these countries, as without such a pass they are not suffered to navigate these seas, under penalty of losing their lives, ships, and goods.

Antonio Pereira de la Cerda, Captain of the Castle of Muscat, &c.

"Know all to whom these presents are shewn, that I have hereby given secure licence to this *terada*, of the burden of fifty *candies*, whereof is master Noradin, a Mahomedan *balloche*, dwelling in Guadal, of the age of fifty years, who carries for his defence four swords, three bucklers, five bows, with their arrows, three calivers, two lances, and twelve oars. And that in manner following: She may pass and sail from this

this castle of Muscat, to Soar, Dobar, Mustmacoraon, Sinde, Cache, Naguna, Diu, Chaul, and Cor. In going she carries goods of *Conga*, as raisins, dates, and such like; but not without dispatch from the custom-house of this castle, written on the back hereof. In this voyage she shall not carry any prohibited goods, viz. steel, iron, lead, tobacco, ginger, cinnamon of Ceylon, or other goods prohibited by his majesty's regulations. And conforming thereto, the said *terada* shall make her voyage without let or hindrance of any generals, captains, or any of the fleets or ships whatever of his majesty she may happen to meet with. This licence shall be in force for one whole year, in going and returning; and if expired, shall continue in force till the completion of her voyage.

Given at the Castle of Muscat, this 16*th November,* 1611.
Written by Antonio de Peitas, notary of the said factory, &c.

Sealed and signed by
ANTONIO PEREIRA."

The certificate on the back was thus:
"*Registered in the book of Certificates, folio xxxii, et sequ.*
Signed, ANT. PEITAS."

The 17th September, we sailed past some high rugged cliffs, close to which, as Noradin told us, was a good watering place, at a village named *Ivane,* fifteen leagues west from Guadal. That same evening we arrived at Guadal, and anchored for the night off the mouth of the port, whence about thirty boats came out next morning to fish, some of which came to speak with the *balloches* we had aboard. What conversation passed among them we did not understand, being in the *balloche* language. Betimes on the 18th, we cleared our pilot and his boat, and he departed well contented. Soon after, the ambassador sent Nazerbeg, one of his Persian attendants, on shore in our skiff, with a message to the governor concerning his landing and passing through that country into Persia. While on the way, our skiff was met by the governor's boat, coming off to our ship, and Nazerbeg was taken into that boat, which carried him to the shore, whence he was accompanied by many of the natives to the governor's tent. He here delivered his message in Persian, which these people understand as well as their own language,

guage, and was kindly entertained. The answer from the governor was to this effect: That, although this country of Mekran did not belong to the king of Persia, it yet owed love and duty thereto, having been long tributary to the king and his predecessors, and still was. He farther said, that the king of Mekran was the king of Persia's slave, with many other hollow compliments, and that the ambassador should be made as welcome as in Persia; all this only tending to allure his lordship ashore by treachery to his ruin, as appeared by the event.

With this answer Nazerbeg returned, being accompanied on board by about a dozen of the most ancient men of the balloches, to confirm the same. On coming aboard, these men saluted the ambassador most submissively, in the name of the governor of Guadal, and on their own behalf, some even offering to kiss his feet; and told his lordship that he was most fortunate in coming to their city at this time, as only the day before the viceroy had come down with a troop of men, to visit a saint, and therefore his lordship would be conducted with infinite safety through the country, and protected from the danger of rebels and thieves, who infested the country between Mekran and Persia, and might either go through Kerman or Segistan to Ispahan. They added, that the viceroy would supply his lordship with camels and horses, and every other requisite for the journey, and would gladly give him every other accommodation in his power. They said, moreover, that they were much rejoiced at having snch an opportunity of shewing their unfeigned love and duty towards the king of Persia, and that the ambassador should be dispatched on his journey from Guadal in two days, if he were so inclined. They told us, that our ship should be supplied with water, and every other necessary of which we were in want; and they gave us three bags of bruised dates, of about 300 pounds weight, with two boats, saying the fishing-boats were ordered to give us two fish a-piece daily, on account of their government, which they did accordingly.

By these shews of good-will, all men concurring in the same fair story, both now and formerly, we were thoroughly satisfied, and had no distrust that they meant not as well as they said. The lord ambassador, especially, was much rejoiced at the prospect of being thus enabled to reach Persia in twenty days, as they said; and we not less so, in bringing our

our long-desired hopes to a bearing. But God, from whom no secrets of the heart can be hidden, knew their treacherous intentions towards us; and had not his mercy exceeded his justice, we had been utterly destroyed, and it had never been known what became of us, our ship, or our goods.

Being quite satisfied with these fair promises, the ambassador got every thing in readiness, and in the morning of the 19th September, sent his money and all his baggage on shore with the *balloches* boats, which came aboard for the purpose. They also brought a message from the viceroy and governor, saying they had provided tents for his lordship and all his followers, close to their own, where they would be happy to receive him as soon as he pleased to land. Into this tent accordingly all the ambassador's goods were carried, and some of his followers were appointed by his orders to remain there in charge of them, till he should himself land, intending to have gone ashore the same day, about four in the afternoon, of which he sent word to the viceroy. In the mean time our boat went ashore with empty casks to bring off fresh water, and in her went the Persian followers of the ambassador, and three or four more of his people, to see the careful landing of his goods, and to accompany them to the tents.

While the ambassador's baggage was landing, some of the natives asked, if these were all the things the ambassador had to send ashore? To which it was answered, that these were all, except jewels and such like things, which were to come along with himself. Some other natives standing by, observed among themselves, That it was no matter, as these were enough for the soldiers. This was overheard and understood by Nazerbeg, who concealed it for the time, though it raised some suspicion in his mind, as he said afterwards: Yet so strongly was he prepossessed by the agreement of all that had passed before, that he could not bring himself to believe their intentions were bad. He listened, however, more attentively to all that was said afterwards among them, but could hear nothing that savoured of double-dealing.

A little while afterwards, Nazerbeg met with one *Haji Comul*,[7] whom God made an instrument to disclose the devilish project of the balloches to circumvent and destroy us, and

[7] In Purchas this person is named *Hoge* Comul; but we suspect it ought to be *Haji*, intimating that he had made the pilgrimage of Mecca and Medina.—E.

and who now revealed the particulars of their bloody designs. Nazerbeg was amazed, and even chid *Comul* for not having told this before the goods were landed. As the time appointed for the landing of the ambassador was at hand, Nazerbeg was fearful he might have come ashore before he could get to our ship to forewarn him. Wherefore, hastening to the shore, where, as God would have it, our skiff was still filling water, he told our men there was treachery plotting against us on shore, and entreated them to row him to the ship with all possible speed. He was therefore brought off immediately, yet hardly a moment too soon, as the ambassador and all his suite, together with our captain and all the principal officers among us, willing to grace the ambassador as far as we could for the honour of our country, were already in the waste, and ready to go on shore. When Nazerbeg had communicated his news, we were as ready to change our purpose as we had been before to go ashore. The purport of what he had learnt from *Haji Comul* was as follows :—

The viceroy and governor had agreed together to entice as many of us as they possibly could ashore, on purpose to cut all our throats; which done, they meant to have set upon the ship, and having taken her, to seize every thing she contained. They had made minute enquiry into our numbers, and had got a particular enumeration of the state and condition of every person in the ship, all of whom they intended to put to death without mercy, except the surgeon, the musicians, the women, and the boys. Their reverence for the king of Persia, of which they had so boasted, was all a mere pretence to deceive; for they were all rebels, and it was death to talk of the king of Persia in Guadal. Though we now understood their intended plot, for which God be praised, and were sufficiently put upon our guard to prevent its execution by arming ourselves, knowing that we were able to defend ourselves from injury on board, although they had great numbers of boats, and above 1500 men armed with muskets, besides others; yet were we at a loss how we might recover his lordship's goods, and his three men who were ashore along with them. But God, who had thus miraculously delivered us from their cruel treachery, opened likewise our understandings, so that we recovered all according to our wish, in the following manner :—

As the viceroy and his fellows expected the immediate landing

landing of the ambassador and followers, together with the captain and others of us, we sent Nazerbeg again ashore, with instructions what to do. He was to inform the viceroy that the ambassador was not very well, and had therefore deferred his landing till next morning, which was Monday the 20th September. He was also directed to request the viceroy and governor, to send two or three of their boats for him very early, to bring the women and others of his company ashore, as the ship's boats were too small; and to say, that the ambassador expected to be attended by some men of condition from the viceroy, to come in the boats, out of respect to the king of Persia, whose person he represented. This message, being well delivered, took the desired effect, and the viceroy readily promised to comply with every thing required. Having finished this part of his introductions, Nazerbeg was to repair to the tent where the baggage was lodged, and to fetch from one of the trunks, two bags of money containing £200 sterling, and some other things of value, if he could so contrive without being noticed, as it was wished to conceal the knowledge we had of the villainous intentions of these barbarians. Nazerbeg was also desired to use dispatch, and to desire the three servants of the ambassador to remain all night at the tents, with promise of being relieved next morning. All was done as directed, and not only was the money brought away, but a trunk also containing Lady Shirley's apparel. When the balloches enquired the reason of taking that trunk back to the ship, they were told it contained the lady's night-clothes, and that it was to be brought ashore again next day.

The ambassador having thus recovered his money, wished much to get back one other large trunk, containing things of value, and the three men which were ashore with his baggage, even if all the rest were lost. For this purpose, we filled, over night, a large chest and a night-stool, with billets of wood, rubbish, stones, and other useless matters, to make them heavy, binding them up carefully with mats and ropes to give them an air of importance. Nazerbeg was instructed to take these on shore, to be left in place of the large trunk which he was to bring away, under pretence that it belonged to one of the merchants, and had been landed by mistake. The three men at the tent were to accompany him back to the ship, with their musical instruments, and the *balloches*

were

were to be told they were wanted by the lord ambassador to accompany him with their music on his landing.

Every thing being thus properly arranged, we saw next morning early, the three boats coming off for the purpose of bringing his lordship on shore, according to promise. We then manned our skiff, and sent her ashore to put our plan into execution, by which we hoped to entrap the *balloches* in the snare they had laid for us. In the mean time, we received the people from the three boats into our ship, consisting of seven or eight persons of some condition, among whom was our friend *Haji Comul;* all the rest being slaves and fishermen. We kept them in discourse on various matters, to pass away time till our skiff could get back. During this conversation, one of them said that the viceroy earnestly desired we might bring our *slurbow*[8] ashore with us, as he wished much to see it, which we readily promised, to satisfy them. We soon after had the pleasure to see our skiff returning, having been completely successful, as it not only brought away the trunk and the three men, but also one of the chief men among the *balloches*, whom Nazerbeg enticed along with him. As soon as he came on board, he and the rest desired to see our gun-rooms, in which they had been told we had all our fire-works, of which they were in great dread, particularly of our *slurbow* and fire-arrows; and this answered exactly to our wishes, as we meant to have enticed them below, that we might disarm them of their long knives or daggers. When all these principal persons were down below in the gun-room, all our people being armed and in readiness, and dispersed in different parts of the ship, some on deck, some between decks, and others in the gun-room, to arrest and disarm the traitors; and when the concerted signal was given, this was instantly accomplished, to their great astonishment, yet without resistance.

We then laid open to them our knowledge of their murderous intentions, saying their lives were now in our hands, as they had themselves fallen into the pit they had dug for us; and, if we served them right, we should now cut them in pieces, as they meant to have done by us. Yet they stoutly denied the whole alleged plot. We detained six of the chiefest men among them, and two of their boats, sending

[8] From circumstances mentioned in the sequel, this seems to have been a species of cross-bow for discharging fire-arrows.—E.

ing all the rest a-shore, being all naked rascals, except one, by whom we sent a message to the viceroy and governor, That, unless he sent us back all the goods and baggage we had ashore, without abstracting even the smallest portion, we would carry off those we had now in our custody. When this message was delivered to the viceroy and governor, they sent back word by the same messenger, that, if we would release the *balloches*, all our goods should be sent to us, and at the same time making many hollow declarations that no evil had ever been intended against us. On receiving this message, and in sight of the messenger, all our prisoners were immediately put in irons; and two letters were wrote to the viceroy in Persian, one by us and the other by the prisoners, intimating in the most determined terms, that the prisoners would be all put to death, if the goods were not safely returned without delay, giving only two hours respite at the most, the sand-glass being set before them as the messenger left the ship, that he might be induced to make haste. By these sharp means, we constrained them to restore every thing in the most ample manner; and this being done, we released the men and boats, according to promise, and sent them away. One man named *Malin Simsadin*, whom we had learnt, from *Haji Comul*, was an experienced pilot for *Sinde* and *Cambay*, we detained for that purpose, promising to reward him according to his merits.

Thus, by God's assistance, to whom be endless praise for our deliverance, we happily extricated ourselves from this dangerous and intricate affair, which was entirely concluded by six p. m. of the 20th September. We set sail that same night with our new pilot and *Haji Comul*, which last remained along with us, as his life would have been in danger among that accursed crew, for revealing their diabolical plot. We now bent out course for Sinde, as willing to avoid all subsequent dangers which these blood-thirsty balloches might attempt to plot against us. In our way, we had much conversation with Comul, whom we much esteemed and respected for the excellent service he had done towards us. *Comul* was a native of Dabul in India, his father being a Persian of the sect of Ali, in which *Comul* was a churchman, or priest, having likewise some skill in medicine and surgery, in which capacity he had resided in the tent of the governor of Guadal, and owing to which circumstance he had overheard their infernal plot. He had obtained leave to come

come aboard our ship, under pretence of procuring certain ointments or balsams, which he alleged had been promised him by our surgeons. He said that, on hearing their murderous intentions, his heart yearned within him, to think we should be led like sheep to the slaughter by such bloody butchers, and that God willed him to reveal their plot to us. He farther told us, that to his knowledge, they had already betrayed three ships in the same manner; that they were all rebels against the king of Persia, refusing to pay the tribute which they and their ancestors had been accustomed to; and that the king of Persia had levied an army, which waited not far from Guadal, with the purpose to invade the country next winter.

This country of *Macquerona*, or Mekran, is on the main land of Asia, bordering upon the kingdom of Persia. The port of *Guadal* is nearly in the lat. of 25° N, the variation being 17° 15′ [lat. 24° 40′ N. long. 61° 50′ E.] It has good anchorage in four or five fathoms. At night of the 21st September, the day after leaving Guadal, our *balloche* pilot brought our ship in danger of running on a shoal, where we had to come suddenly to anchor till next morning. The 24th at night, while laying to, because not far from Cape Camelo, a Portuguese frigate, or bark, passed close beside us, which at first we suspected to have been an armed galley, for which cause we prepared for defence in case of need.

§ 3. *Arrival at Diul-ginde,*[1] *and landing of the Ambassador: Seeking Trade there, are crossed by the slanderous Portuguese: Go to Sumatra and Bantam; and thence Home to England.*

The 26th September, 1613, we came to anchor right before the mouth of the river *Sinde*, or Indus, by the directions of a pilot we had from one of the boats we found fishing at that place. We rode in very good ground, in a foot less five fathoms, the mouth of the river being E. by N. being in the latitude of 24° 38′ N.[2] That same day, the ambassador sent

[1] This singular name ought perhaps to have been Diul-Sinde, or Diul on the Indus, or Sinde river, to distinguish it from Diu in Guzerat.—E.

[2] The river Indus has many mouths, of which no less than *seventeen* are laid down in Arrowsmith's excellent map of Hindoostan, extending between the latitudes of 24° 45′ and 23° 15′ both N. and between the longitudes of 67° 12′ and 69° 12′ both east. That mouth where the Expedi-

sent two of his people, to confer with the governor about his coming ashore, and procuring a passage through that country into Persia. The governor, whose name was *Arah Manewardus,* who was of *Diul,*[3] was most willing to receive the ambassador, and to shew him every kindness, both in regard to his entertainment there, and his passage through his province or jurisdiction. To this intent, he sent a principal person aboard, attended by five or six more, to welcome his lordship with many compliments, assuring him of kind entertainment. Presently after there came boats from *Diul* for his accommodation, in which he and all his people and goods went ashore on the 29th September, all in as good health as when they embarked in our ship from England. At his departure we saluted him with eleven guns, and our captain entrusted him with a fine fowling-piece, having two locks, to present to the governor of Tatta, a great city, a day's journey from Diul,[4] both cities being in the dominions of the Great Mogul. We also now set ashore our treacherous *balloche* pilot, *Sim-sadin,* though he better merited to have been thrown into the sea, as he endeavoured twice to have cast us away; once by his own means, as formerly alluded to, and afterwards by giving devilish council to the pilot we had from the fisher boat at this place.

When the lord ambassador left us, we requested he would send us word how he found the country disposed, and whether we might have trade there; and for this purpose, we gave his lordship a note in writing of what we chiefly desired, which was to the following purport: "That our coming

tion now came to anchor, was probably that called the *Pitty* river, being the most north-western of the Delta, in lat. 24° 45′ N. and long. 67° 12′ E. from Greenwich; being the nearest on her way from Guadal, and that which most directly communicates with Tatta, the capital of the Delta of the Indus.—E.

[3] Such is the vague mode of expression in the Pilgrims; but it appears afterwards that he was governor of Diul, at which place Sir Robert Shirley and his suite were landed. It singularly happens, that Diul is omitted in all the maps we have been able to consult; but from the context, it appears to have been near the mouth of the Pitty river, mentioned in the preceding note. It is afterwards said to have been fifteen miles up the river, in which case it may possibly be a place otherwise called *Larry Bunder,* about twenty miles up the Pitty, which is the port of Tatta.—E.

[4] Tatta is not less than seventy-five English miles from the mouth of the Pitty, and consequently sixty from Diul.—E.

ming to this port was purposely to land his lordship; yet, as we had brought with us certain commodities and money, we were willing to make sales of such and so much of these as might suit, if we could obtain licence and protection for quiet trade; and, with the governor's permission, would settle a factory at this place, to which, though now but slenderly provided, we would afterwards bring such kinds and quantities of goods as might be most suitable for sale. The commodities we now had, were elephants and morse teeth, fine fowling-pieces, lead and tin in bars, and some Spanish dollars. If we could not be permitted to trade, we requested leave to provide ourselves with refreshments, and so to depart."

The 30th September, the ambassador had an audience of the governor concerning all his business, to whom he shewed the *firmaun* of the king of Persia, as also the pass of the king of Spain, thinking thereby to satisfy the jealousy of the Portuguese residents at that place, who reported, on pretended intelligence from Ormus, that Don Roberto Shirley was come from England with three ships to the Indies, on purpose to steal. They peremptorily refused to give credence to the Spanish pass, saying it was neither signed nor sealed by their king, in which they could not possibly be mistaken, knowing it so well, and therefore that it was assuredly forged. On this, the ambassador angrily said, that it was idle to shew them any king's hand-writing and seal, as they had no king, being merely a waste nation, forcibly reduced under subjection to the king of Spain, and mere slaves both to him and his natural subjects. Yet the Portuguese boldly stood to their former allegations, insisting that the ambassador had other two ships in the Indies. Then *Arah Manewardus* sharply reproved them for their unseemly contradictions of the Persian ambassador, and ordered them out of the room.

The ambassador then made a speech to the governor concerning our admittance to trade at his port, on which the governor expressed his readiness to do so, all inconveniences understood, and desired the ambassador to send for one or two of our merchants, that he might confer with them on the subject. Upon this the ambassador wrote to us on the 2d October, saying what he had done in our affairs, and sending us assurance for our safe going and returning. Being thereby in good hope of establishing trade at this place, if not a factory, and to make sale of the small quantity of goods we

we now had, Mr Joseph Salbank and I, by advice of the captain and others, made ourselves ready and went ashore that same morning in one of the country boats. Our ship lay about four or five miles from the mouth of the river, from whence we had fifteen miles to travel to *Diul*, where the ambassador was, so that it was late in the evening before we landed there.

In our way we met a Portuguese frigate or bark, bound for Ormus, on purpose to prevent any of their ships coming till we were gone. This bark went close past our ship, taking a careful review of her, and so departed. As soon as we were landed, three or four Portuguese came up to us, asking if we had brought any goods ashore, and such like questions; but we made them no reply, pretending not to understand their language, that we might the better understand them for our own advantage, if occasion served. There then came another Portuguese, who spoke Dutch very fluently, telling me many things respecting the country and people, tending to their ill conduct and character, thinking to dissuade us from endeavouring to have any trade there. Soon after, the officers of the customs came, and conducted us to the castle, but we could not have an audience of the governor that night, as it was already late. The officers, who were mostly banians, and spoke good Portuguese, searched every part about us for money, not even leaving our shoes unsearched; and perceiving that we were surprised at this, they prayed us to be content therewith, as it was the custom of the country. To this I replied, that though the Portuguese might give them cause for so bad a fashion, yet English merchants did not hide their money in their shoes like smugglers. Then the governor's servants came to us, and lighted us from the castle to the house in which the ambassador lodged, where we were made heartily welcome, and were lodged all the time we staid in Diul, and at no expence to us. Seeing us landed, and hearing we came to treat with the governor for settling trade at that place, the Portuguese spread many slanderous and malignant lies against our king, country, and nation, reporting that we were thieves, and not merchants, and that we derived our chief subsistence by robbing other nations on the sea.

In the morning of the 3d October, the governor sent word to the ambassador that he would see and converse with us in the afternoon. In the mean time, we had notice that the

Portuguese

Portuguese were using every effort with him and others to prevent our being entertained, both by offering him gratifications if he would refuse us, and by threatening to leave the place if we were received, pretending that they would not remain where thieves were admitted. Yet the governor sent for us, commanding four great horses, richly caparisoned, to be sent to the ambassador's house, for his lordship, Sir Thomas Powell, Mr Salbank, and me, and sent also a number of his servants to conduct us to the castle; all the ambassador's servants went likewise along with him, each carrying a halbert. In this manner we rode through some part of the city, the people in all the streets flocking out to see us, having heard talk of Englishmen, but never having seen any before, as we were the first who had ever been in that part of the country.

On coming to the castle, we were received in a very orderly manner, and led through several spacious rooms, where many soldiers were standing in ranks on each side, all cloathed from head to foot in white dresses. We were then conducted to a high turret, in which the governor and some others sat, who rose up at our entrance and saluted us, bidding us kindly welcome. We then all sat down round the room, on carpets spread on the floor, according to their fashion. The governor again bid us welcome, saying he was glad to see Englishmen in that country; but said, in regard to the trade we desired to have there, that the Portuguese would by no means consent to our having trade, and threatened to desert the place if we were received. Yet, if he could be assured of deriving greater benefit from our trade than he now had from that of the Portuguese, he should not care how soon they left him, as he thought well of our nation. In the mean time, however, as he farmed the customs of that port from the king, to whom he was bound to pay certain sums yearly for the same, whether they were actually received or not, he was under the necessity of being circumspect in conducting the business, lest he might incur the displeasure of the king, to his utter ruin. He then told us that the customs from the Portuguese trade, together with what arose from their letting out their ships to hire to the Guzerats and Banians, amounted to a *lack* of rupees yearly, which is £10,000 sterling.[5]

He

[5] A rupee is two shillings, or somewhat more, and a *lack* is 100,000.—*Purch.*

He then desired to know the kinds and quantities of the commodities we had brought, and what amount we had in money? To all which we gave him distinct answers, as nearly as we could remember; adding, that though we now brought but small store, we would engage to furnish his port at our next coming, which would be in about twenty-two months, with such commodities as were now brought by the Portuguese, and with such quantities of each kind as might be requisite to satisfy the demands of that port. He appeared to approve of this, and concluded by saying, as our present stock of commodities were so small, the Portuguese would only laugh at him and us if we were now admitted to trade, wherefore he wished us to defer all trade till our next coming; but that he was ready to give us a writing under his hand and seal to assure us of good entertainment at our next coming, provided we came fully prepared as we said, and on condition we should leave him a written engagement not to molest any of the ships or goods of the king of the Moguls, or his subjects. We agreed to all this, and requested he would allow us to sell those goods we now had; but which he would by no means consent to, for fear of offending the Portuguese, as stated before.

We then desired that we might have leave to provide our ship with water, and other necessary refreshments, for our money, after which we should depart as soon as possible. To this he said, that as soon as we sent him the writing he desired, he would send us the one he had promised, and would give orders to his officers to see our wants supplied; but desired that the Portuguese might know nothing of all this. Seeing no remedy, we then desired to know what kinds of commodities he wished us to bring, and also what were the commodities his country could afford in return. We were accordingly informed, that the commodities in request in Sinde were broad-cloths of various prices, and light gay colours, as stammels, reds, greens, sky-blues, indigo-blues, azures, &c. also elephants teeth, iron, steel, lead, tin, spices, and money. The commodities to be had there were, indigo of Lahore, indigo of *Cherques*, calicoes of all sorts, pintadoes, or painted chintzes of all sorts, all kinds of Guzerat and Cambay commodities, with many kinds of drugs. We then took our leave, and returned to the ambassador's house, whence I sent him a letter, according to his desire, signed by Mr Salbanke and me, on which he sent us another,

ther, in the Persian language, which is written backwards, much like the Hebrew, and which was interpreted to us by the ambassador, in English, as follows:

"WHEREAS there has arrived at this port of Diul, an English ship called the Expedition, of which is captain, Christopher Newport, and merchants, Joseph Salbank and Walter Peyton, and has landed here Don Robert Shirley, ambassador of the king of Persia, who has desired us to grant them trade at this port under my government, which I willingly would have granted, but not having brought merchandize in sufficient quantity to begin trade, and the Portuguese, from whom I reap benefit, refusing their consent, threatening to go away if I receive the English nation, by which I should be left destitute of all trade, whence arises those sums I have yearly to pay to the king, and in default whereof I should incur his majesty's displeasure, to my utter ruin. Yet, from the love I bear to the king of Persia, by whose ambassador I am solicited, and from affection for the English, together with the faithful performance of the writing left with me under their hands and seals by the two merchants before named, I hereby promise the English nation, under my hand and seal, if they will come like themselves, so fitted that I may derive more advantage from them than from the Portuguese, that I will infallibly grant them trade here, with such reasonable privileges as we may agree upon."

Given at Diul, this 3d of October, 1613.

ARAH MANEWARDUS.

Having received this writing on the 4th October, together with orders from the governor to his officers for our being furnished with water and refreshments, we made haste to return to our ships. A little before we went away, the ambassador fell into discourse with us about procuring a *firmaun* from the Great Mogul, for which purpose he wished Mr Salbank to accompany him to Agra, the principal residence of that sovereign, affirming that he would procure that grant of trade for us in a short time, for which he alleged there was now a favourable opportunity, both because he had other business to transact at the court of the Mogul, and in consequence of the willingness of *Manewardus* to admit us to trade at his port. He alleged likewise that we might never have so favourable an opportunity, and assured us that he would

therein

therein shew himself a true-hearted Englishman, whatever the company of merchants might think of him; and that Mr Salbank should be an evidence of his earnest endeavours to serve the merchants in procuring this *firmaun*, not only for Diul, but for other parts of the Mogul dominions, and should also carry the grant with him over-land to England. All this seemed reasonable, and as Mr Salbank had been before in these parts, he was very willing to go, provided it met with the approbation of the captain and me, and the other gentlemen in the ship; for which purpose the ambassador wrote a letter to our captain, to urge his consent, which we carried with us.

We left Diul that same day about four in the afternoon, and on going to the river side to take boat, many of the natives flocked about to look at us. We were likewise joined by about a dozen Portuguese, who began to talk with us in Dutch, as before, asking many frivolous questions. I now answered them in their own language, on purpose that the Banians, who were present, might understand what I said; telling them that they were a shameless and lying people to spread so many slanderous and false reports of our nation, while they knew their own to be much inferior to ours in many respects, and that their scandalous conduct proceeded merely from malignant policy to prevent us from participating with them in the trade of India. To this I added, that if they did not restrain themselves within due peaceful bounds, amending their behaviour both in words and actions, they should be all driven out of India, and a more honest and loyal nation substituted in their place. Then one of the principal men among them stepped forwards, and made answer, that they had already too many enemies, and had no need of more; but that they had substantial reasons for speaking of us as they had done, as not long since one of their ships had been taken near Surat, and, as they supposed, by an English ship. To which I answered, that this was more like to have been done by the Hollanders. They then became more civil, and finally wished that we might trade in all parts of India with them, and they with us, like friends and neighbours, and that our kings might enter into some agreement to that effect. They then kindly took leave of us, and we departed.

We got back to our ship on the 6th, when it was agreed that Mr Salbank should accompany the ambassador to Agra, as

as proposed. For which purpose he got himself in readiness, meaning to have gone ashore next day. In the mean time, the captain, the purser, and his man, went on shore to buy fresh victuals and necessaries to take with us to sea; but, on coming to the city, they were presently ordered away by the governor, and an express order issued by proclamation, that none of the natives should hereafter bring any of the English ashore, on pain of death. We were much astonished at this sudden alteration of affairs, for which we could not divine any cause: but, on the 9th, finding we could get nothing done here, nor any farther intercourse, we set sail, directing our course for Sumatra. All the time we were here in Sinde, we had not the smallest intimation of trade having been settled at Surat, for if we had, we might have taken a different course.

We came to anchor in the road of Priaman on the 20th November, going in between the two northermost little islands, and anchored close by the northermost of these, in five fathoms. We immediately began to bargain for pepper, the price of which we beat down from twenty-two dollars, as first asked, to seventeen dollars the bahar, at which price we got two bahars, which were brought to us on board; but the governor would not allow us, although we made him a present of a musket, to hire a house, or to buy pepper ashore, unless we would consent to bestow presents on some twenty of the officers and merchants of the place. On the 22d, we received a letter from Captain Christen, of the Hosiander, then at Tecoo, earnestly advising us to come there immediately, as we could not fail to get as much pepper as we wished at that place, and in a short time; and, as we were not acquainted with the place, Captain Chrisen sent Richard Hall, one of his master's mates, to pilot us through among the dangerous shoals that lay about the roads of Tecoo. Accordingly we went to that place, and anchored in four fathoms, Richard Hall returning on board the Hosiander, where he died that same night, being ill of the flux.

Before our arrival, the natives had offered their pepper to Captain Christen at twelve and thirteen dollars the bahar, taking payment in Surat commodities; but they now demanded twenty-two dollars in ready money, refusing to barter with them any longer for goods. They also demanded at this place as many presents as had been required at Priaman; beside which, they insisted upon having seventy-two dollars for

for anchorage duty. Being now in a worse situation than before, and having no time to waste in delays, we determined to come to short terms with them; wherefore we told them roundly, that we would on no account submit to their unreasonable demands, even though we might not get a single *cattee* of pepper. For this purpose I drew out a letter from our captain, which he signed and sealed, addressed to the head governor, stating that he had not used our nation so well as we had reason to expect, both in unreasonable demands of presents, which were not usually given upon compulsion, but rather from good-will, or in reward of good behaviour, and likewise by their improper delay in implementing their promises, so very unlike mercantile dealings; since our ships have at various times remained at their port for three, four, and even five months, depending on their promises of having full lading, which might as well have been accomplished in one month, in so far as respected the small quantity of pepper they had to dispose of. This letter was translated by the interpreter in the Hosiander, an Indian, named Johen, who perfectly understood their language.

The governor, in consequence of this remonstrance, gave orders that we might purchase pepper from any one who was inclined to sell; but sent us a message, wishing that one of us might come on shore, that the pepper might be there weighed. But still doubting that they meant to teaze us with delay, we sent back word that we could not remain so long as it would require for weighing the pepper ashore, and therefore if they would bring it to us on board, we would pay them eighteen dollars a bahar for their pepper, together with two dollars as custom to the governor, making exactly twenty dollars. As they still put off time, we set sail, as if meaning to have gone away, on which the governor sent another messenger, who spoke Portuguese tolerably, entreating us to come again to anchor, and we should have as much pepper as we could take in. We did so accordingly, and they brought pepper off to us in proas as fast as we could conveniently weigh it, and continued to do so till we had got about 200 bahars. They then began to grow slack in their proceedings, on which, fearing to lose the monsoon by spending too much time at this place, we weighed and proceeded for Bantam.

We left Tecoo on the 8th December, three of our men remaining in the Hosiander, which needed their assistance, and

and proceeded towards Bantam, mostly keeping in sight of Sumatra. At our entrance into the straits of Sunda, on the 16th of that month, we met the Dragon on her homeward voyage, by which ship we sent letters to England. Next day, the 17th, we anchored in Bantam roads, and went immediately ashore to provide our lodging, and by the 29th our whole cargo was completed.

We set sail from Bantam on the 2d January, 1614, for England, not having hitherto lost a single man by sickness during our whole voyage, for which we were thankful to God. This same day, as we were going out by way of Pulo Panian, we met General Saris in the Clove, then returning from Japan; and we came to anchor, that we might have his letters for England, together with four chests. We likewise spared him two of our hands, of which he was in great need; one being a youth, named Mortimer Prittie, and the other a carpenter's mate, named Thomas Valens, as he had not a single carpenter alive in his ship.

Having settled all these matters with the Clove, we resumed our voyage for England on the 4th January, and came to anchor in Saldanha bay on the 21st March, where we got a sufficient supply of beeves and sheep from the natives, with abundance of fish, caught in our own seine. We left that place on the 9th April, with prosperous winds, which continued favourable till we were three degrees north of the equator, which we crossed the 11th May. When in lat. 00° 22′ N. many of our men began to fall sick, some of them of the scurvy, and with swelled legs. On the 10th July, 1614, by the blessing of God, we came to anchor in the Downs.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION OF THE EARLY VOYAGES OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY TO INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the immediately preceding chapter, we have given a series of the first twelve voyages fitted out by the English East India Company, in the prosecution of their exclusive trade to India, as preserved by Samuel Purchas; and we now mean, chiefly from the same source, to continue the series for a few years longer. At the close of the last voyage of the foregoing chapter, Purchas informs us, that "The order of reckoning must be now altered, because the voyages of the company were for the future set forth by means of a *joint stock*, instead of by particular ships, each upon a separate subscription, having separate stocks and factories; the whole proceedings being, in the sequel, at the general risk of, and accountable to the entire society or company of adventurers." He farther adds, "That the whole of these joint-stock voyages had not come into his hands; but that such as he had been able to procure, and were meet for publication, he had inserted in his Collection."

The learned historiographer of the East India Company[1] gives rather a different account of the former series of separate or unconnected voyages, than that which we have taken from Purchas, terming the last voyage in our former chapter only the *ninth*, while Purchas denominates it the *twelfth*.

This difference, which is not at all material, may have arisen from Purchas having considered some of the ships belonging to *single* adventurers or subscriptions, which made separate voyages or parts of voyages, as *separate* adventures. We come now to a new era in the mode of conducting the English exclusive trade to India, of the motives for which the Annals give the following account.[2]

"The

[1] Ann. of the Hon. E. I. Co. I. 162. [2] Id. I. 165.

"The inconveniences which had been experienced from separate classes of adventurers, partners in the East India Company, fitting out equipments on their own particular portions of stock, induced the directors, or *committees*, to resolve, in 1612, that, in future, the trade should be carried on by a joint stock only; and, on the basis of this resolution, the sum of £429,000 was subscribed: and, though portions of this joint stock were applied to the equipment of four voyages, the general instructions to the commanders were given in the name, and by the authority, of the governor, deputy-governor, and committees of the company of merchants in London trading to the East Indies, who explained that the whole was a joint concern, and that the commanders were to be responsible to the company for their conduct, both in the sale and purchase of commodities in the East Indies, and for their general conduct, in extending the commerce, within the limits of the company. The transition, therefore, from trading on *separate adventures*, which has been described as an imitation of the Dutch, to trading on a *joint stock*, arose out of the good sense of the English nation, which, from experience, had discovered the evil consequences of internal opposition, and had determined to proceed on a system better calculated to promote the general interest of the East India Company.

"Notwithstanding this resolution, the proportions of this aggregate sum were applied to what has been termed the *tenth*, *eleventh*, *twelfth*, and *thirteenth* voyages, in the following manner: In 1613, the *tenth* voyage was undertaken, the stock of which was estimated at £18,810 in money, and £12,446 in goods, the fleet consisting of *eight* vessels. In 1614, the stock for the *eleventh* voyage was £13,942 in money, and £23,000 in goods, the fleet being *eight* ships. In 1615, the stock for the *twelfth* voyage was £26,660 in money, and £26,065 in goods, with *six* ships. In 1616, the stock for the *thirteenth* voyage was £52,087 in money, and £16,506 in goods, the fleet containing *seven* ships. The purchase, repair, and equipment of vessels during these four voyages amounted to £272,544, which, with the specified stock and cargoes, accounts for the disbursement of the £429,000, the sum subscribed on the *joint stock* in 1613.[3]

"The

[3] The enumerated particulars amount to £462,060, and exceed the subscribed joint stock by £33,060.—E.

"The profits on this joint stock are stated to have amounted, on the first two voyages, to £120 per cent. on the original subscription; but they were subsequently much diminished, by the difficulties which the English trade to the East Indies began to experience, from the opposition of the Dutch in the Spice Islands; so that, at the conclusion of this first joint stock, in 1617, the average profits of the four voyages did not exceed £87 : 10s. per. cent on the original subscription, nothwithstanding the cargo of one of the vessels (the New-year's Gift) cost only 40,000 rials of eight, and the sale produce, in England, amounted to £80,000 sterling."

It is not the purpose of this Collection to enlarge on the history of the East India Company, any farther than by giving relations of its early voyages, so far as these have come down to us in the Pilgrims of Purchas, their only published record; and we now therefore proceed with such of these voyages as are contained in that curious collection, and seem to be worth including in this work.—E.

Section I.

Voyage of Captain Nicholas Downton to India, in 1614.[1]

The ships employed on this voyage, the *second* set forth by the *joint* stock of the East India Company, were the New-year's Gift admiral, of 650 tons, on board of which Captain Downton sailed as general or chief commander; the Hector of 500 tons, vice-admiral; the Merchant's Hope, of 300 tons; and the Salomon of 200 tons. We have thus only *four* ships enumerated by Purchas, as employed in the *second* voyage of the new joint stock, instead of *eight* mentioned in the *Annals*, as before stated in the introduction to the present chapter. In this voyage, Mr William Edwards was lieutenant, or next in command under Captain Downton, being likewise Cape merchant, and commander of the Hector. Mr Nicholas Ensworth was Cape merchant, and commander of the Merchant's Hope. Mr Thomas Elkington, Cape merchant, and commander of the Salomon. Mr Peter Rogers minister; Martin Pring, Arthur Spaight, Matthew Molineux,

[1] Purch. Pilg. I. 500.—Extracted from the journal of Captain Downton.

neux, and Hugh Bennet, masters of the four ships, assisted by sundry mates.—*Purch.*

§ 1. *Incidents at Saldanha, Socotora, and Swally; with an Account of Disagreements between the Moguls and Portuguese, and between the Nabob and the English.*

We sailed from England on the 1st March, 1614, and arrived in the road of Saldanha, or Table Bay, on Wednesday the 15th June, being saluted on our arrival by a great storm. While every person was busy in mooring the ship, John Barter, who had lost his reason in consequence of a long fever, was suddenly missing, and was supposed to have made away with himself. The 16th we erected our tents, and placed a guard for their defence. We landed half our casks on the 17th, to be overhauled and seasoned; and this day *Choree*, the Saldanian or Hottentot, presented me a young steer. The 18th we landed more of our beer casks, to be washed, repaired, and seasoned. This day, *Choree* departed into the interior, carrying with him his copper armour, javelins, and all things belonging to him, promising to be back the third day after, but he never returned.

The 29th I sent George Downton ashore, to take observations of the latitude and variation, in consideration of the great difference in the variations, as observed in this and my former voyage in the Pepper-corn. We made the latitude exactly 34° S. and the variation 1° 45′ W. by an azimuth, whereas most of the former variations at this place were easterly. We this night took down our tents, and brought every thing on board, making our ships ready to depart next day, which we did accordingly.

We came to anchor in the bay of St Augustine in Madagascar on the 6th August, when the inhabitants abandoned the place, so that we could have no intercourse with them, but we afterwards got some refreshments from them. We here cut down some straight timber for various uses. We set sail on the 12th August, and anchored in Delisa bay in Socotora on the 9th September. Next day we went ashore to wait upon the king, who was ready with his attendants to receive me, and gave me an account of the existing war in India, where the Mogul and the kings of the Deccan had united to drive the Portuguese from the country, owing to their having captured a ship coming from Juddah in the Red Sea,

Sea, in which were three millions of treasure. He also informed me of two great fights which Captain Best had with the Portuguese, and of other news in these parts. I here procured such refreshments as the place could furnish, and bought 2722 pounds of aloes from the king.

Leaving Delisa on the 14th September, we got sight of the Deccan coast near Dabul on the 2d October, where we found great hindrance to our navigation, till we learnt by experience to anchor during the ebb tide, and continue our course with the tide of flood. Continuing this procedure, we anchored in the evening of the 14th, two and a half miles short of the bar of Surat; when presently a fleet of fourteen frigates or barks came to anchor near us, which we discovered by their lights, as it was quite dark. But as they could easily see us, by the lights at our ports, that we were in readiness for them, they durst not come any nearer, so that we rode quietly all night. Early of the 15th, we weighed with the land-wind, and coming somewhat near the frigates, they also weighed and stood to the southwards. We held on our course past the bar, towards South Swally, where we soon after arrived, though much opposed by contrary winds.

Soon after we were anchored, I sent Molineux in his pinnace, and Mr Spooner with Samuel Squire in my *gellywatte*,[1] to take the soundings within the sands. In a channel where we found only five feet at low water in our former voyage, Mr Molineux had now three fathoms; and Mr Spooner had now seven or eight feet, where our boats could not pass at all formerly. Seeing some people on the shore in the afternoon, whom I supposed might be some of our merchants from Surat, I sent my pinnace to them; but they were some of the people belonging to *Coge Nozan*, sent to discover what nation we were of. From them I got farther information respecting the wars with the Portuguese, being told that the Moguls were besieging Damaun and Diu, Mocrib or Mucrob Khan being the general of the Mogul forces against Damaun;' and I also learnt to my sorrow, that Mucrob Khan was governor and viceroy, as it may be called, not only over Surat, but all the country round, as, from former experience, I considered him to be a great enemy of our nation, and a friend to the Portuguese. From these people likewise, I heard

[1] From this singular term, what is now called the *jollyboat* has probably derived its name.—E.

heard of the health of Mr Aldworth and the rest of our factory, and wrote to hasten his presence, sending my letters by the servants of Coge Nozan.

I sent my purser on shore in the pinnace, early of the 16th, to purchase such necessaries as I thought might easily have been got; but he returned about ten o'clock a. m. without buying any thing for our purpose, bringing with him Mr Aldword, the chief merchant of our factory at Surat, along with whom was one Richard Steel, who had come over-land to Surat from Aleppo.[2] Mr Aldworth endeavoured to persuade me that Mucrob Khan was our friend, and that we had now an excellent opportunity to obtain good trade and satisfactory privileges while the Moguls were engaged in war with the Portuguese; and as both the Nabob and all the natives were rejoiced at hearing of our arrival, they would assuredly give us a most favourable reception. Pleased with these hopeful circumstances, I yet still wished some other person here in command instead of Mucrob Khan, of whom I remained doubtful, and that we should have no free trade from him, but in his accustomed manner, which I believed to have been of his own accord to cross us, and not as so constrained by direction of his king; and the event turned out accordingly, though we were wise behind the hand, as will appear in the sequel. Even the name he bore ought to have opened our eyes as to his influence with the Great Mogul: as *Mocrub* signifies as much as *his own bowels*, *Khan* meaning *great lord*. Yet I was deluded to believe that his favour with the king was tottering, and that he might easily be brought into disgrace, by complaint of any thing done contrary to the will or humour of the king; so that we were too bold, and injured our business when we found him opposing us, as we thought unreasonably. On enquiring into the state of our business, and the health of our factory, Mr Aldworth informed me that Paul Canning and several others had died; that Thomas Kerridge had long since been agent in his room at the court of the Mogul, and that the factory at Surat now only contained himself and William Bidulph.

In the morning of the 17th, I called a côuncil to advise upon

[2] Mr Richard Stell, or Steel, had gone to Aleppo, to recover a debt from a merchant of that city, who had fled to India; and, following him through Persia, Mr Steel had arrived at Surat. On his report, the factors at Surat made an experiment to open a trade with Persia, which will form the subject of a future section of this chapter.—E.

upon the best manner of conducting our affairs here, and to consider who might be the best person to send to Agraas resident. Then entering upon the six interrogatories, inserted in the second article of our commission, I required Mr Aldworth to give direct answers to every question.—1. In what favour was Paul Canning with the emperor and his council, and how did he conduct himself at court in the business entrusted to him? He answered, That on his first arrival at court, he was well respected by the emperor, till the jesuits made known that he was a merchant, and not sent immediately from our king; after which he was neglected, as he himself complained: and, as for his carriage and behaviour there, so far as he knew, it was sufficiently good.—3. Then demanding, whether it were needful to maintain a resident at court? Mr Aldworth answered, That it was certainly necessary, as the emperor required that one of our nation should reside there; and therefore, that the person ought to be a man of good respect, for preventing and counteracting any injuries that might be offered by the jesuits, our determined adversaries; as he might also be extremely useful in promoting and directing the purchase and sale of various commodities.—6. Being questioned as to the expences of a resident at court? he said, according to the estimate of Paul Canning, it might be about £300 per annum; but, some time afterwards, his estimate was found to extend to five, six, and seven hundred pounds a year.—Being afterwards questioned, Whether he thought it fit that Mr Edwards should proceed to court under the designation of a merchant, according to the strict letter of the company's commission? his opinion was, by the experience of the late Mr Canning, that such a resident would not be at all respected by the king.

In the morning of the 24th, Coge Nozan came down to the water side, and rested in my tent till I landed. I repaired to him, accompanied by all our merchants, and attended by a strong guard, armed with halberts, muskets, and pikes, having a coach to carry me from the landing place to the tent. On alighting from my coach, Coge Nozan came immediately to meet me. Before entering on business, he was told that a present for the Nabob was to be delivered to him, which was brought in. This consisted of a case containing six knives, two pair of knives, six sword-blades, six Spanish pikes, one case of combs, one mirror, one picture of Mars

Mars and Venus, one ditto of the Judgment of Paris, two Muscovy hides, and one gilded case of bottles filled with strong rich cordials. I then made the following present to himself: Six knives in single sheaths, four sword-blades, two pikes, one comb-case, a mirror, a picture of Moses, and a case of bottles, in consideration of the promise made by the nabob to our people, that whatever Coge Nozan agreed to, he the nabob would perform.

I then moved for the enlargement of our privileges, and lessening of our customs, especially at Baroach, and that we might have a daily bazar or market at the water side, where we might purchase beef for our people, according to the *firmaun* already granted by the Mogul, and because other flesh did not answer for them. He answered, that the nabob would shew us every favour in his power, if we would assist him against the Portuguese; that the customs of Baroach were out of his power to regulate, as the king had already farmed these to another person at a stipulated rent; and that we should have a regular market, but that bullocks and cows could not be allowed, as the king had granted a firmaun to the Banians, in consideration of a very large sum of money, that these might not be slaughtered. In fine, I found he had no power to grant us any thing; yet, willing to leave me somewhat contented, he proposed that I should send some of our merchants along with him to the nabob, where our business might be farther discussed.

I accordingly sent along with him, Mr Aldworth, Mr Ensworth, Mr Dodsworth, Mr Mitford, and some others. Two or three days afterwards, they had access to the nabob, to whom they explained our desires, as before expressed. He then desired to know whether we would go with our ships to fight for him against Damaun, in which case, he said, we might count upon his favour? To this it was answered, that we could not on any account do this, as our king and the king of Spain were in peace. He then asked if we would remove our ships to the bar of Surat, and fight there against the Portuguese ships, if they came to injure the subjects of the Mogul? This likewise was represented to be contrary to the peace between our kings. On which he said, since we would do nothing for his service, he would do nothing for us. Several of the merchants of Surat endeavoured to persuade our merchants, that I ought to give way to the reasonable request of the nabob, and might still do

do what I thought proper; as, notwithstanding of our ships riding at the bar, the Portuguese frigates could go in and out on each side of me, owing to their light draught of water. To this I answered, that the proposal was utterly unfit for me to listen to; as whatever I promised I must perform, though at the expence of my own life and of all under my command, and that I could not possibly lend myself to fight against the Portuguese on any account whatever, unless they first attacked me, as it was absolutely contrary to my commission from my own sovereign. I added, that, if the Portuguese provoked me by any aggression, I would not be withheld from fighting them for all the wealth of the nabob: But he made small account of this distinction, and, seeing that we refused to fulfil his wishes, he opposed us in all our proceedings as far as he could, so that we nearly lost all our former hopes of trading at this place. In this dilemma, I made enquiry respecting *Gengomar* and *Castellata,* and also of *Gogo:*[3] but could get poor encouragement to change for better dealing, so that we remained long perplexed how to act, and returned to our business at the ships.

The 27th, in the morning, when Nicholas Ufflet went ashore, he found all the people belonging to Swally had gone away from the water-side in the night, as also all those who used to stay beside the tents, in consequence of an order from the nabob; and was farther informed that our merchants were detained at Surat, having been stopped by force when attempting to cross the bridge, and had even been beaten by the guard set there by the nabob. The gunner's boy and his companion, formerly supposed to have run away, and who were in company at the time with our merchants, being on their return to the ships, were also well beaten, and detained with the rest. The 31st we began to take in fresh water, to be ready for departing, as our stay here seemed so very uncertain. This day, Thomas Smith, the master's boy, had most of the outer part of one of his thighs bitten off by a great fish, while swimming about the ship. The ravenous fish drew him under water, yet he came up again and swam to the ship, and got up to the bend, where

[3] Gogo is on the west shore of the gulf of Cambay. In an after passage of this voyage, what is here called Gengomar *and* Castellata, is called Guigomar *or* Castelletto, which may possibly refer to Jumbosier, on a river of the same name, about sixty miles north from Surat. Castelletto must have been a name imposed by the Portuguese.—E.

where he fainted. Being brought into the gun-room, the surgeon endeavoured to do what he could for his recovery; but he had lost so much blood that he never recovered out of the swoon, and shortly died.

In the evening of the 2d November, Mr Aldworth and Mr Elkington came down from Surat, where they left Mr Ensworth very sick. They reported to me their proceedings with the nabob, as formerly stated; but said they were now reconciled, and that he had made fair promises of future respect, with a free trade through all the country under his government. I do not attribute his severe proceedings hitherto to any hatred or ill-will to our nation, but to his fears lest we might unite with the Portuguese against him, owing to my refusing to assist him against Damaun. These his doubts and fears were increased by a knavish device of the subtle and lying jesuits; who, taking advantage of my refusal to fight against the Portuguese without cause, at Damaun or elsewhere, pretended with the nabob that they had a letter from the viceroy, saying, That he and his friends the English meant to join their forces and come against Surat. This devilish device gave much hindrance to our business, by occasioning continual doubt in the nabob's mind of our friendly intentions; and unfortunately likewise, Mr Aldworth had strengthened these doubts and fears, though ignorant of the lying inventions of the jesuits; for, thinking to mollify their rigour, he rashly advised them to beware, lest their ill usage might force us to join with the Portuguese against them. We likewise believed that the order of the nabob, forbidding the people to trade with us on board, proceeded entirely from his desire to thwart us: But we afterwards learnt, by letter from Thomas Kerridge, that Mucrob Khan, and all other governors of sea-ports, had express orders from the Mogul, not to allow any trade with us till they had first chosen and purchased, for the king's use, all kinds of strange and unusual things we might have to dispose of.

On the 3d I called a council to deliberate concerning our business, and especially how far we might proceed in aid of the natives against the Portuguese, for which purpose we carefully examined our commission and instructions. We also arranged the appointments of the merchants for their several places of employment, both such as were to remain in the factory at Surat, and those who were to proceed on

the voyage. This day likewise, sixty bales of indigo, and eleven packs of cotton-yarn, came aboard from Surat, being goods that belonged to the *twelfth* voyage. It was my desire to have been ashore among our merchants, that I might assist in arranging our business at Surat; and this the rather because of the turbulent, head-strong, and haughty spirit of —————[1], who was ever striving to sway every thing his own way, thwarting others who aimed at the common good, and whose better discretion led them to more humility. But such was the uncertain state of our business, partly owing to the nabob and his people, and partly to the Portuguese, who I heard were arming against us; and besides, because I understood that the nabob proposed to demand restitution for the goods taken by Sir Henry Middleton in the Red Sea, at under rates, as they say, though I know they had goods for goods even to the value of a halfpenny. On all these accounts, therefore, I thought it best to keep nearest my principal charge, referring all things on shore to the merchants of my council, in most of whom I had great confidence.

The 22d November, I finished my letters for Persia; being one for the company, to be forwarded over land, one for Sir Robert Shirley, and one of instructions for Richard Steel. The 23d, *Lacandus*, the Banian, came down to us, with news of discontent and hard speeches that had passed between the nabob and our merchants, but who were now again reconciled. This was occasioned by Mr Edwards refusing to let him see the presents, which he was at last obliged to consent to. All these merchants wrote me at this time separately, that the viceroy was certainly arming against us. At this time Mr Ensworth and Timothy Wood died within an hour of each other. John Orwicke, Robert Young, and Esay But, were now dispatched to provide such cloths and cotton-yarns as we had formerly agreed on. The 25th Mr Edwards wrote me of the coming of three great men, bringing seven firmauns from the Great Mogul; in whose presence the nabob bestowed upon him 850 *mahmudies*, ten fine *basties*, thirty *top-seels*, and thirty *allizaes*; at the same time he gave ten *top-seels* to Mr Elkington and Mr Dodsworth, a cloak to Mr Aldworth and another to Mr Elkington,

[1] This name is left blank in the Pilgrims, probably because Purchas, a contemporary, did not wish to give offence.—E.

Elkington, Mr Dodsworth having had one before. He likewise promised free trade to all places under his command, and abundant refreshments for our people in the ships.

The 27th, John Crowther came from Surat, to inform me he had been appointed by the chief merchants at Surat to accompany Mr Steel into Persia; and had therefore come to take leave of me, and to fetch away his things from the ship. This day also Mr Edwards wrote to me, by Edmund Espinol, to send him fifty elephants teeth, indifferently chosen as to size, as a banian merchant was in treaty for them all, if they could agree on terms. The 6th December, the nabob seemed ashamed that he had not shewn me the smallest respect since my arrival, and, being desirous to excuse himself, he this day entreated Mr Edwards to go on board along with the great banian who had bought our ivory, and Lacandas, the banian merchant of the junk belonging to the king of *Cushan*.[6] He chose this last, on account of his former familiarity with our people, and commissioned him to buy sword-blades, knives, and mirrors. By them he sent me a present, consisting of two *corge* of coarse *bastas*, ten fine *bastas*, ten *top-seels*, ten *cuttonies*, and three quilts, together with a message, certifying that the nabob proposed to come down to visit me in a day or two at the most. At their going ashore, I gave them a salute of five guns.

They told me, that the nabob had certain intelligence from Goa, that the viceroy was fitting out all the force he could muster to come against us; and expressed a wish, on the part of the nabob, that I would convoy one or two of his ships for two or three days sail from the coast, which were bound for the Red Sea. To this I answered, that I could not do this; as, if once off the coast, the wind was entirely adverse for our return: But, if he would further our dispatch, so that we might be ready in any convenient time, I would do any thing reasonable that he could desire. The 9th, the nabob's son came to the shore, but would not venture on board, wherefore I went ashore to him. He had a horse ready for me on landing to fetch me, and desired me to sit down beside him, which I did. He then commanded some horsemen, who accompanied him, to amuse me, by shewing their warlike evolutions on the sands, chasing each other

[6] Kessem, on the coast of Arabia Felix, is probably here meant.—E.

other after the fashion of the Deccan, whence they were; and at his desire I caused eleven guns to be fired, to do him honour. Though he refused to drink any wine at this interview, he sent for it after his departure, as also for a fowling-piece he had seen in the hands of one of our people, both which I sent him, together with a bowl from which to drink the wine.

§ 2. *Account of the Forces of the Portuguese, their hostile Attempts, and Fight with the English, in which they are disgracefully repulsed.*

On the 16th of December, 1613, Mr Elkington wrote me, That the nabob had told him the Portuguese frigates had burnt Gogo, with many *gonges* or villages in its vicinity, together with ten large ships, of which the *Rehemee* was one, and an hundred and twenty small vessels. He said likewise, that the nabob was much displeased with me for not having fired upon the Portuguese vessels, as they passed our anchorage, which circumstance had renewed his suspicions of our friendly intelligence with the Portuguese; and, although Mr Elkington had said every thing he could to explain the reason of our conduct, as stated formerly, he could not satisfy the nabob of its propriety. The 23d two boats came off to us for lead; and on the same day we saw twenty-two Portuguese frigates, which came to anchor in the night between us and the mouth of the river, where they continued most part of next day.

The 24th, in the morning, we saw four boats coming down the river towards us; but, on seeing the Portuguese frigates, they immediately turned back, and were chased up the river by two of the frigates. Finding they could not get up with the boats, the Portuguese landed and set fire to two or three poor cottages, and carried off two or three cattle, and then returned to their squadron at the mouth of the river. In the afternoon, they all went up the river in company. In the morning early of the 25th, we saw five or six frigates under sail. An hour or two after, we saw a boat standing towards us, which was presently chased by two frigates, on which the men in the small boat ran her a-ground and forsook her; but as the frigates could not float near where the boat was, and the tide was ebbing fast, they departed without farther harm. The 26th in the morning, I sent the

Hope a good way to the northward from the rest of our fleet, to see whether the Portuguese would assail her.

Early in the morning of the 27th, the Portuguese frigates came and made a bravado before our ship, and then before the Salomon, which was next us; and from thence went directly against the Hope, which rode a great way from us, in which manœuvre they had all their men close stowed below, and not one to be seen. The master of the Hope hailed them twice, but they would give no answer; on which they let fly at them from the bow-chases of the Hope, which only could be brought to bear, and by which they were forced with some loss to stand away. The master of the Hope was satisfied, if he had not shot at them, that they would have attempted to board, or to have set his ship on fire, as they had the advantage of both wind and tide, and were so directly a-head of his ship that he could hardly get any of his guns to bear upon them, while the rest of our ships could not have come up to his rescue. In the afternoon, I sent the Salomon to keep company with the Hope; and, going to the northwards of her, she made several shots at the frigates, but we did not perceive that any harm was done. I therefore ordered a gun to be fired, as a warning to desist, on which the Salomon stood in again and came to anchor.

In the morning of the 28th, I went in the pinnace aboard the Hope and Salomon, to enquire the reason of their firing. And the Portuguese, seeing our boats pass to and fro, removed in the afternoon, and anchored a little way without us, obviously for the purpose of cutting off our intercourse. In the meantime, the boat which had been chased ashore on the 25th, came aboard the Gift, bringing some letters from Mr Elkington, which our master sent to me, as I was then in the Hope. Having answered Mr Elkington's letter, I sent back the *gelliwat* to the Gift, with directions to go thence to Surat in the night. But, as the *gelliwat* [galivat] returned, she was chased by the frigates; which perceiving, I waved her to return, but she held on her way, not observing my signal. The frigates held her so close in chase, that they got within shot of her, and even fired one gun; and had not the Gift slipped one cable and veered another, and plied her ordnance at the Portuguese, they had surely taken or sunk the *gelliwat*. This forced the Portuguese to give over the chase, not without damage. Late at night, on the tide of ebb, I made the Hope and Salomon set sail and come near the other two ships, and then returned on board the Gift.

Perceiving on the 29th, that my continuing off the bar of Surat was quite unavailing, as the Portuguese frigates could pass and repass to and from the river, by going across the sands, where there was not water to float my ships; and that no boats could come to us to fetch away our goods, for fear of the frigates, neither could we have any intercourse with our friends ashore, to know what passed; I therefore set sail for Swally roads, where I arrived next day, having very little wind.

On the 14th January, 1614, we heard of many frigates being arrived, which rode at the bar of Surat all next day till night; and, leaving that place after dark, they came and rode within shot of us till next morning, when they weighed and stood back to the southwards. While they remained at anchor, supposing they might be the Mallabars, which the nabob had formerly promised to send me, I put forth a flag of truce, and sent Mr Spooner, one of our master's mates, towards them, directing him to keep a watchful eye to our signals, which we should make if we saw any reason of suspicion. Seeing our gallivat draw near, and no sign of friendship in answer to ours, I hoisted my flag and fired a shot to recall our boat, which immediately came back. At this time, our sentinel at the mast-head descried another fleet of frigates, which afterwards assembled at the bar of Surat, and went all into the river. By this I was satisfied they were all Portuguese, and was glad our men and boat had escaped their hands. Thinking these frigates were forerunners of a greater force, I ordered the decks to be cleared, all our guns thrown loose, and every thing to be in readiness for action, both for the great guns and small arms, and to fit up barricades for close quasters. In the night of the 17th, all the frigates came out of the river, and in the morning were all at the point of the bar.

The 18th, Maugie, the banian captain formerly mentioned, accompanied by another great man, who was son to *Clych Khan*, came to the water side to speak with me, to whom I went ashore. Not long after, word was brought from on board, that they had descried a fleet of ships far off, which looked very big, but which we could not see from the shore, owing to its being very low. Taking leave of my visitors, I returned aboard, and made every thing be put in readiness, which was done immediately. Towards night, we made them out to be six galleons, with three smaller ships, besides

besides the sixty frigates which were here before. Two gallies belonging to this armament were not yet come up. The tide being spent, they came to anchor till next day. The 19th, they plied up to the entrance of our new channel, where they came to anchor, and where they were joined by the two gallies. One of their great ships, being too forward, came too near the sands and grounded, but was soon got off again.

On this occasion, Mucrob Khan, the nabob of Surat, sent the sabandar and several others of the principal men of Surat, with a great present of provisions to the Portuguese, and to endeavour to enter into terms of peace; but though great policy was used on both sides, they broke off without coming to any terms. This was done by the nabob to my great mortification, for he and all the country despaired of my being able to resist such disproportionate force, and he was therefore willing before hand to conciliate the viceroy by presents; considering, if I were once overthrown, his own turn would come next, either to endure a severe assault, or to make such a peace as the enemy chose to dictate. Peace was certainly most desirable for the viceroy, that he might restore trade with the Moguls. Yet, seeing the tractableness of the nabob, and his apparent earnestness for peace, the viceroy made light of it for the present, expecting to bring it to bear with great advantage after he had overthrown us, which he made no doubt easily to accomplish. When this was performed, he expected to receive great presents, and great submission from the Moguls to the dictates of the conqueror. But it pleased God, who beheld the injustice of his attempt, to turn the event contrary to the expectations both of the viceroy and the nabob. After failing in all his attempts against me, and finding he could not even gain a *boat's thole* from me in all the time he spent here, with loss and disgrace, the viceroy was fain to revive the former despised proffer of peace with the nabob: While the nabob on the other hand, confirmed by the experience of a month, and seeing that the viceroy, after all his boastful threatenings, and with so vast an armament, was unable to prevail against our four merchant ships, or even to remove our small force one foot from their place, gave for answer, that he would not make peace with the viceroy. Thus was the viceroy frustrated in both his hopes, of an easy victory over us, and an advantageous peace

peace with the Moguls. After this digression, I now return to our proceedings.

When we formerly heard of the force which the viceroy was fitting out against us, we had no conception it would be so formidable as it now appeared, and therefore deemed it expedient to consult how, by God's help, we might best resist. The odds and advantages on their side, made me calculate every thing that made against me. Being far out-numbered by his forces, which I esteemed the principal ships and means belonging to the Portuguese in India, and having all the people of greatest rank and valour, I considered it might be too hazardous for us to put out into deep water, as by their numbers they would be able to intercept and overcharge me, and to force me irrecoverably aground, on one side or other. Such were my apparent disadvantages in going out to sea; while I knew, on the other hand, that their numerous smaller vessels might much annoy us with fire-works, or put us otherwise into great hazard, in the place where we now rode at anchor, where I was hopeful their great ships could not or durst not come, owing to the shoal water. Though my numbers were considerably lessened by sickness and deaths, all my people, from the highest to the lowest, seemed quite courageous, yet ignorant both of our danger and how it was to be prevented; but their brave spirit gave me great hope. Yet my anxiety was not small, how I might best act in maintaining the honour of my country, and not neglect the valuable property entrusted to my care by my friends and employers; as not only was the present charge to be put in hazard, but all hopes also of future benefits, if I were now overthrown; as the enemy, if he now got the mastery, would be able to make peace with the Moguls on his own terms, to the expulsion of our nation for ever.

Besides these considerations, I leave to such parents as are tender for the safety of their dutiful and obedient children, to imagine how great was my anxiety for the safety of the people under my command. So great was my cares all this time, that I had little time for conversation, or even almost to shew myself sensible of the approaching dangers. Whenever I could get free from others, I very earnestly craved the aid and direction of the almighty and ever merciful God, who had often delivered me before from manifold dangers, praying that he would so direct me that

I might

I might omit nothing having a tendency to the safety of my charge, and our defence against the enemy. I had strong confidence that the Almighty would grant my request, and yet was often led to doubt, through my manifold and grievous offences. I resolved at length what to do, by God's assistance, providing the masters of the ships would agree to second me. Being satisfied, if we should receive a defeat while at anchor, our disgrace would be great, and our enemies could in that case be little injured by us; while by setting sail, the viceroy, in his greediness and pride, might do himself some wrong upon the sands, by which he might cripple his own force, and thereby open a way for our getting out through the rest. Yet this plan seemed only fit for ultimate necessity, considering that much of our goods were now on their way, and others were expected from day to day; and, if once out, unless it pleased God to make us the conquerors, so as to drive the viceroy clean away, I should on no account be able to return to my anchorage, where only I could get in my lading. Considering also that the viceroy would hold his honour in such high estimation, that he would rather die than give way; and besides, that my people would be tired and half spent with labour, before going to fight, by heaving at the capstan to get up our anchors, setting the sails, and so forth, which in this hot country makes them both weary and faint, to the great diminution of their courage; while the viceroy and his soldiers being troubled with no labour, which among them is done by slaves and inferior mariners, would come fresh into the battle. Likewise, even supposing the viceroy to lose many men in the fight, he could be again supplied from the nearest towns belonging to the Portuguese, by means of his frigates; whereas we could not have a single man replaced, whatever number we might have slain or disabled.

Having none of our merchants aboard, as they were all employed in the country, or with Mr Elkington in our factory at Surat, I sent for all the masters, on the night of this Thursday the 19th January, desiring them and some of the mates to come to supper with me on board the Gift. I then made them a speech on our present situation, desiring every one to give his opinion freely, how we might best proceed in our present straits. I declared to them my confidence in God, notwithstanding all the force of these bragging Portuguese, that their injurious attempts would not prevail against us,

us, who had been careful not to wrong them in the Indies. I represented also to them, the jealousy entertained of us by the nabob and other chief men of the country, because we had refrained from firing at the saucy bragging frigates.

I found all the masters willing and tractable to my heart's desire. We had some few discourses about our provident mooring, as also about removing a little lower down. I then proposed my plan to them, desiring to have their free opinion. I represented that our ships were now in as good condition for battle as we could make them, yet our danger by night, if we continued where we were, was not small, however provident we might be. Wherefore, I thought it fit in the morning at low water, to send one ship to ride as far down as we could have water for all our ships at the lowest ebb, at which time none of the enemies ships could come to annoy her. This, as I thought, might induce the viceroy to make some attempt at high water, when our other three ships might bear down against the stream, the springs being now at the highest, when we should see what efforts the viceroy might make, and might attend to the same and act accordingly, in the hope that the viceroy might commit some error to the weakening of his own force and our advantage. And if such should happen, it would then be proper for us to put out to sea, in the darkness of the following night, when the viceroy would not be in condition to make sail to hinder us. Or, if we saw reason, we might make sail daily on the flood, working to and again, which would somewhat dismay the Portuguese, and encourage our own men. My proposal was unanimously agreed to, as the best way of proceeding; and finding Mr Molineux quite willing to fall down with the Hope at low water next morning, this was directed accordingly.

In the morning of the 20th, at low water, the Hope went down to induce the enemy to make some attempt against her when the tide rose, and then we in the other ships stood after her. The viceroy, and all the worthy knights about him, thinking I was about to flee, hastened as soon as the flood would permit to stop the passage, and prevent our getting out. We all came to anchor short of the Hope, yet not so as to leave her destitute of our help, but rather doubting of sufficient depth for our ships at low water so far down. On coming to anchor, I went down into my cabin, meaning to have given our friends ashore notice of

of my purposes, that they might know it proceeded from no rashness, but in good discretion to wait upon advantages to the prejudice of our enemies. But presently I had notice, that three of the Portuguese ships and most of their frigates were coming stem on before the wind upon the Hope, followed by all the galleons.

We endeavoured to weigh our anchor, but having no time for that, we cut our cables, and made sail for the rescue of the Hope. Before we could get sufficiently near, the enemies ships were close aboard of her, and had entered their men, boarding her with great appearance of resolution. But they had no quiet abode there, nor could they rest in their own ships, neither could they cast them loose from the Hope, so greatly were they annoyed by our great guns and small arms. At length, their principal officers being slain, the rest in great numbers leapt into the sea, whence many of them were taken up by their frigates. But, before quitting their ships, they set them on fire, thinking to have burnt the Hope along with them. But, praised be the Lord of Hosts, they were burnt without harm to the Hope; for, so soon as the fire had well kindled, the flaming ships were cast loose and drifted on the sands, where they continued burning till quenched by the flowing tide. So long as day-light lasted, we continued exchanging shots from all our ships with the galleons, they being on the outside of a spit of sand, and we on the inside. They did us little injury in our hulls, but much to our ropes and sails overhead. In this conflict, besides those who were wounded, we had five men slain. By a great mischance, the main-top-sail, top-mast, and shrouds got afire, communicated from the main-top, in consequence of the fire-works lodged there taking fire, the man being slain who had the charge there. All these were burnt quite away, together with a great part of the main-mast; and this misfortune prevented us from going out into deep water to try our fortune with the viceroy in close fight. We were likewise put to our shifts, not knowing by what means we might get the mast replaced.

The 21st I got the anchor weighed, which we had been obliged to cut from the day before. On the 22d, I was informed that many great men, accompanied by a Portuguese friar, and escorted by five or six hundred horse, had come down to Swally, meaning to send the friar next day, with three or four principal Moors, to negociate a peace with the viceroy.

viceroy. But the nabob sent me word, that he sought for no such thing, and was resolved to conclude no peace, unless we were included. He also granted me what timber we might need, of which we availed ourselves, and promised to supply us with provisions. The Portuguese remaining quiet on the 25th, the *muccadam* of Swally came to me, saying that the before-mentioned friar had sent to entice him to poison the well whence we had our water, which he would not consent to, and had therefore put some live tortoises into it, that these might shew by their deaths, if poison should be put therein by the Portuguese. At night, part of the 120 bales of indigo we had purchased came to the water side, and was presently got aboard. This day *Isaac Beg* sent me a present of fruit from his own garden; and this day likewise the rest of the timber for repairing the Hope's mast was brought down to us.

The 27th, I sent all our boats to sound the *Swash* at low water, being chiefly on purpose to keep the Portuguese in ignorance of my real intentions. They sent one galley and five frigates, thinking to have cut off our boats; but in this they failed, as in every thing else they attempted against us. The 28th, the nabob sent great store of provisions to the viceroy, as goats, bread, plantains, and the like, together with a banquet of sweetmeats. Coge Nozan sent me a present of five bullocks. Several of our men died about this time of fluxes and other diseases. The 31st, we received aboard from Cambay, fifty bales of indigo. In the afternoon, one *Coge Arson Ali* came aboard, and presented me with several goats, a large supply of bread, roast-meat, plantains, sugar, and other such things. Along with him came an old acquaintance of mine, a Persian, who said there were news from Damaun, that the Portuguese had sent there 350 men to be buried; and we computed, that there could not be less than 100 more, killed and burnt in their ships, besides those who were drowned. They also told me, that not only were the Portuguese opposed here in India, but also by the Persians at Ormus, and that the Malays were in arms against them at Malacca. They likewise assured me, that the negociations between Mucrob Khan and the viceroy were entirely at an end, and that no peace would take place between them.

I had long wished to see this man, who, till now, could never get leave of the nabob, without which no one dared

use

use that freedom. This jealousy of the nabob proceeded, as he said, from a great charge enjoined by the king to procure for his use all curious things of value, and he is fearful lest any of these should pass through other hands, to his disgrace, which forces him to employ strange and severe means to prevent this happening. Day being nearly spent, I sent them ashore, making them a present, and giving money to all their people, having first shewn them how far some of our great guns could throw a ball. They then took their leave and departed.

§ 3. *Supplies received by the Portuguese, who vainly endeavour to use Fire-boats. They seek Peace, which is refused, and depart. Interview between the Nabob and Captain Downton, and Departure of the English.*

On the 3d February, 1615, there arrived at the water-side twenty-four bales of indigo, seven packs of white, seven of black, and four of blue *bastas*, six packs of cotton yarn, three of *candikens*, and one pack of *crecany*, all of which were brought immediately on board. This day also the supplies for the viceroy came in sight, being two ships of burden, two junks, and eight or ten of the country boats. The nabob sent me a message by *Lacandas*, that these were not for the purpose of fighting, but were full of combustibles, meant to be set on fire, and allowed to drift with the tide upon our ships in the night. I was glad of this information, and took immediate measures to prevent the consequences of such an attempt, as well as to defend ourselves from the smaller vessels. The spring-tides were now near the highest, and were consequently fittest for their attacks, so that I expected them every tide; and to let them see I was ready for their reception, and how little I cared for them, I directed the setting and clearing our watch, mornings and evenings, to be announced by a volley of shot from every ship, pointing the best piece in my ship at the prow of the viceroy's ship, to try his temper, and to daunt the courage of his people. It pleased God this morning, when I had least leisure for mourning, to call my only son, George Downton, to his mercy, who was buried next morning ashore, and the volleys intended to insult the viceroy, served also to honour his obsequies.

This morning also, while expecting an assault from the Portuguese,

Portuguese, I was visited by one *Mousa Attale*, a Malabar captain, together with his troop, from whom I got a description of the principal ports and harbours of his country, expressing my anxious desire to become acquainted with them, and to have league and intercourse between them and the English, with mutual trade and friendship. He seemed willing to encourage this proposal, and requested letters to that effect from me, which their ships might shew to my countrymen when they happened to meet, which I gave him, as also a letter for his king, requesting kind usage for my countrymen if any of their ships should come into his harbours. After some conference, he departed, and I presented him with a sword-blade, and three or four knives.[1] This day the master of the Hope represented that he had several men killed in the former engagement, and many hurt, bruised, and disabled from service, on which I sent him three men from my ship, four from the Hector, and four from the Salomon.

The 5th I had letters from Mr Aldworth, informing of his arrival at Baroach with his companions, and saying that he had been set upon by 200 Rajput thieves, nine *coss* from Baroach, the day before, the thieves being armed with pikes, matchlocks, and bows and arrows; but, after some skirmishing, they fled, three of them being slain, and more wounded. In this affair Humphrey Elkington was shot through the thigh with an arrow, one of the horsemen sent by Surder Khan to guard our people was killed, and Mr Aldworth's horse sore wounded. The nabob sent me word that the viceroy proposed to assault me this day, and therefore sent Coge Nozan to guard the land. Nozan came accordingly to the water side, and sent his son, *Mamud Iehad*, to visit me on board, accompanied by a chief named *Kemagee*, the son of *Leckdarsee*, *rajput* chieftain of *Guigomar* or *Castelietto*,[2] who had for a long time maintained war with the Moguls and Portuguese. These chiefs entreated permission to see and partake in the fight, and as no assault was made that day, they remained all night on board. The *rajput* chief went ashore next morning, but the other remained on board two or three days, and seeing the enemy would do nothing, he went likewise ashore.

On

[1] These knives, so often mentioned as presents in India, were probably daggers.—E.

[2] On a former occasion supposed to have been Jumbosier.—E.

On the forenoon of the 8th, we received more indigo aboard, and in the afternoon all the Portuguese frigates, with the two junks, and two gallies, came driving up with the flood, as if for some attempt against us, either by fire, which I most doubted, or otherwise. We therefore got under weigh and advanced to meet them, upon which they all made off as fast as they could, and we came again to anchor. This was merely a device, to make us believe their fire-boats were to come against us from the south, and that we might have no suspicion of their coming from the northwards; wherefore they again assembled all their junks, frigates, and galleys next night, a little without the sands, to call our attention from the northern quarter. But I was aware of that being the place of greatest danger; and though I commanded a careful outlook to be kept both ways, I especially enjoined to be watchful in the north quarter, as it fell out accordingly. A little within the night, between us and a great light to the westwards, upon the island of Gogo, we could discern them creeping up to the north upon the flood; and then, about ten o'clock at night, when very dark, and before the moon rose, upon the last quarter of the ebb tide, there came down towards us two fire-boats, towed by two frigates, which we happily descried before they came nigh, and plied them heartily both with great guns and small arms. By this we soon beat off the frigates, which set the fire-boats adrift, and made sail from us.

One of the fire-boats drifted clear of the Gift, Hector, and Salomon, but got athwart the cable of the Hope, and presently blew up; but, blessed be God, the Hope received no harm, having cut her cable and got clear. The other fire-boat came up likewise on the quarter of the Hope, all in flames, but did no harm, as she drifted past with the ebb. She came up again with the tide of flood, and was like to have got foul of us; but our boats towed her ashore continually burning. The former one floated likewise back with the flood, but sank near us in the morning. This day I had a letter from Thomas Kerridge, specifying that Nicholas Whittington had gone distracted, and expressing some doubts of Richard Steel.

The 10th, at night, about the same time as before, two other fire-boats came against us, towed by four or five frigates, bearing directly on the Hector. Immediately on perceiving them, the Gift and Hector let drive at them with great

great guns and small arms, so that the frigates threw them adrift, firing them sooner than they otherwise would. The burning boats floated toward the Hector, but having a stiff breeze, drifted past to leewards. Within half an hour after, we perceived many boats drifting towards the Hector, against which we again let drive, forcing the frigates to abandon them in such a hurry that they only set two of them on fire, there being four of them chained together. Fortunately we had a stiff gale, and by edging up to windward, they all floated clear to leeward. While passing, our gunner made a shot at one of the boats that was unfired, which struck her and set her on fire. The vehemence of the flames reached the fourth boat, and set her likewise on fire; so they all drifted ashore in flames, hard by our landing-place. My pinnace took three of the actors in a small canoe, in which they thought to have escaped. Two of these men were brought aboard my ship, the third being left in the Hector. Besides these, our *gelliwat* picked up another, which she brought with her. Thus did God disappoint all the malicious practices of our enemy.

Seeing himself foiled in all his injurious attempts, the viceroy set sail on the 11th, and fell down to the bar of Surat, where he anchored. Being suspicious that he meant to attempt taking Surat, I resolved, in that case, to have gone with my ships to set upon his fleet, which must have constrained him to desist from his enterprise against Surat, as I was desirous to assist in defending a place where we had so great a stock, and so many of our merchants. But the viceroy durst not trust me so far as to unman his ships, lest I should come against him. In the night he sent all his frigates into the river, and sent some person to propose peace, but received a flat denial. The 12th, the nabob sent *Lacandas* to inform me that five or six frigates had gone to the northwards, having four or five fire-boats, which they meant to let drive upon us in the night, and therefore wished me to keep a good look-out. I acknowledged his kindness, and was glad of his care, though needing no such admonition, as I was equally suspicious of their practices when out of sight as when they rode near us. The nabob had this intelligence from the jesuits, with whom he kept on fair terms, for his better security, if he should have been put to the worst. As the frigates, or other vessels in the offing, could not well discern the place where our ships rode during the darkness of the

the night, by reason of the shadow of the shore, they had lights made for them ashore for guiding them where to find us during their hellish incendiary plans. Having observed this light, night after night, always in the same place, and seeing it as before on the night of the 13th, I sent William Gurdin ashore with twenty men, armed with muskets and pikes, directing them to endeavour to surround this fire-blazer, supposing him to be some traitor inhabiting the neighbourhood. But, on coming near, the fire was presently put out, and was again seen at another place, quite contrary to the direction of their pursuit; and so going up and down for a long time, they gave it over, esteeming it some delusion of the devil. This night the viceroy set sail from the bar of Surat, leaving about twenty of his frigates in the river to keep in check the Malabar frigates which were there for the defence of the town.

The 14th, the nabob sent a great man, who, in token of friendship, was called his brother, to visit me. This person gave as his opinion that the viceroy was gone with all his fleet to Goa, leaving some frigates to keep possession of the river, and others to return to Diu and Ormus. But my own opinion is, that the viceroy has only gone somewhere to refresh his people, and to reinforce his ships, against our putting to sea, when no sands will be in the way of his greatest ships coming against me. He also told me that the king had sent down forces for the purpose of conquering Damaun and all the sea coast. He said likewise, that they were more willing to give entertainment and trade to our nation than the Portuguese, which I thought very reasonable, as the Portuguese had always been injurious, and had done many vile things against them. Yet, unless we continue able to resist the Portuguese, they will soon unsay that speech for their own ease. When he had viewed our ship, with our ordnance and defensive preparations, we sent him and his train on shore in our boats, in all courtesy.

We now set seriously to work in clearing and loading the Hope for England, having hitherto taken in our goods confusedly and by hasty snatches, some into one ship, and some into others, not deeming it proper to hazard all in one bottom while exposed to so much danger from the Portuguese. I had resolved to send home the Hope, not that I esteemed her burden the fittest for the goods we had provided, but because of the many impediments and disabilities of that ship,

as

as daily complained of by the master and carpenter; in particular, that her stern-post within the rudder was unsheathed, a strange and dangerous neglect and unaccountable oversight, on which account it was fitting she should soonest return; besides, we were in danger of losing our quicksilver which was in her, and lay on her keel and bilges.

The 18th, the nabob sent to me Cage Arson Ali, the sabandar, and other merchants of Surat, requesting me to remain for fifteen days, which I would in no sort consent to. They then importuned me to stop for ten days, which likewise I refused, shewing them how prejudicial so long delay might be to my voyage. The cause of their request was, lest the viceroy might come with all his forces against Surat after my departure. Seeing them discontented at my denial, and loth to give displeasure to the nabob, which might be prejudicial to our affairs afterwards, and considering that it would require six days of the ten before we could get the Hope ready, I at last consented to their request, to their great satisfaction. At night on the 22d I had a letter from Surat, informing me that the nabob meant to visit me next day, and accordingly two elephants and six camels came down in the morning of the 23d, bringing his tents and other matters for his reception. The 24th, Mr Aldworth came down with the rest of the merchants to finish all business with me previous to our departure.

In the morning of the 25th, the nabob came down with a great train, with six other elephants, and was two hours at the water side before I knew of his arrival. When told, I was sorry for the neglect, and sent Mr Aldworth, Mr Elkington, and Mr Dodsworth ashore to compliment him, and to keep him in discourse till I could go on shore, which I did soon after. I proposed to have gone to him as a son to his father, in my doublet and hose, without arms or any great train, according to custom, to shew the trust and confidence I reposed in him; but my friends persuaded me to the contrary, insisting that I should go well appointed, and attended by a sufficient guard, to which I consented, though I afterwards repented that I had not followed my own way. I went accordingly ashore with about 140 men, part pikes, and part firelocks, who gave me a volley of small arms as I entered the nabob's tent. The nabob received me with much kindness, seeming much pleased at my coming ashore to him. We sat for some time under a very fair tent, open on all

all sides, and surrounded by many people, both his attendants and mine.

At length he brought me into a more private room, near adjoining, having only along with him Ali Khan, a great Persian captain, with Henie the Banian as his interpreter; while I was accompanied by Messrs. Aldworth, Elkington, and Dodsworth. We there conferred about the state of his country, and about our affairs. At last I invited him to go on board to view our ship, to which he readily consented. He then presented me with his own sword, with many complimentary speeches, saying it was the custom of his country to honour with arms such captains as had deserved well. This sword, as he said, was made in his own house, the hilt being of massy gold. In return, I presented to him my own arms, being sword and dagger, together with my girdle and hangers, by me much esteemed, and making a much finer shew than his, though of less value. We came forth together from the private tent, and I walked down to the shore to wait for his coming, whither he sent me a present of ten *cuttonee* quilts and twenty *topseels*.

Soon after the nabob came to the shore, and we took boat together, going on board my ship. Having shewn our ordnance, and the manner of pointing the guns, and explained all our other preparations for defence, I presented him with a very handsome gilt cup and cover, some fair knives, a rundlet of Muscadine wine, and some other toys. Desiring to see some of our ordnance shot off, and how far they could carry their balls on the water, I caused three guns to be fired. He would then have taken leave, but I accompanied him ashore, and ordered him to be saluted at his departure with eleven guns. When we parted at the water side, the nabob gave me four baskets of grapes. He likewise gave among the gunners and trumpeters 200 mahmoodies, and 500 among the ship's company, together with 100 *books* of white *bastas*, worth two mahmoodies each. Thus, after some compliments, we took leave of each other and parted. While rowing up along shore for my better getting on board, as the tide ran very swiftly, *Lacandas* came running towards the boat, bearing a message from the nabob to ask if he should erect a tomb over the grave of my son. I returned my hearty thanks for the kind offer, desiring Lacandas to say that I had already begun to do so. The nabob then went away to Surat, and

and not long after his tent was taken down and went after him, with all the rest of his carriages.

The 26th, the nabob's son and son-in-law, a very ingenious young man, came to visit me, upon whom I bestowed some knives and other things, such as I had left, which could not be much, as I had every now and then some great man or other to visit me, to all of whom I had to give something. The 27th, the three sons of Ali Khan came to visit me, the eldest of whom, named Guger Khan, presented me with two antilopes, a male and a female, of which I was very glad, having endeavoured before ineffectually to send some home to Sir Thomas Smith. After viewing all our ship, with our ordnance and warlike preparations for defence, I gave him four Spanish pikes, and some other things of my own, and saluted him with eleven guns at his departure.

In the afternoon of the 3d March, upon the tide of ebb, and having a light gale from the north, sufficient to give steerage-way to our ships, we hastened to get up our anchors, meaning to set sail in the prosecution of our voyage, though our friends, the Malabars, who had desired to go with us, made no attempt to come out. At this time we saw another fleet of Portuguese frigates standing in from the westwards, and being willing to do my best to hinder them from going into the river of Surat, were it only to shew our good-will to the country people, we shot at the nearest of them, though without hope of doing them any hurt, as there was room for them to pass on either side of us, beyond reach of our shot. I was willing also to shew our friends on land, as also to those who I made no doubt would go down the coast to give notice to the galleons of our coming, that we shot at their frigates going into Surat, that they might also expect that we cared little for their greater strength.

In our passage this night we had various flaws of inconstant winds, which obliged us to come to anchor for some time. As the wind became afterwards steady, though faint, we again made sail, continuing our course S. by E. along shore. At day-light next morning we began to descry, between us and the shore, the Portuguese galleons and two gallies; all of which made sail on perceiving us, following with a light breeze, while we stood somewhat out of our course with all our sails, partly to gain time to prepare ourselves perfectly for battle, and partly to give rest to my people, who had taken much fatigue the night before, as also to draw

the enemy farther from the coast, and from having the convenience of fresh supplies. Ere long, the tide of flood obliged us to anchor, not having sufficient wind to stem the current. The enemy, resting his hopes on the wind, kept longer under sail, to his great disadvantage. But as I did not consider this at the time as an error in them, I was in great doubt lest they might intend going against Surat with all their force, now that we were at sea, and there work their wills upon our friends and goods, which I could only prevent by following them. Yet the season was now so far advanced that I doubted, even with our best haste, we should hardly get off the coast before the foul weather set in; and this gave me hope that the viceroy would not expose himself to the danger of the approaching winter. While considering these things, the tide of flood was spent, and it was time for us to use the ebb, when, to my great satisfaction, I saw the viceroy and his whole fleet standing towards us, with a fresh breeze. We likewise made sail, and stood our course before him all that ebb, and so spent that night to the best advantage, partly at anchor, and partly under sail, according as wind and tide served.

In the morning of the 5th, the enemy had gained very little way upon us. We spent this day, as before, in riding or sailing, as the tide answered. This night the viceroy gained much ground upon us, and by this time we had got a good way from the coast, and had advanced well to the southwards, so that I was now satisfied the Portuguese forces could not this year give any annoyance to Surat. I considered that my purposes in these parts, both by the authority of my king, and to fulfil the designs of my employers, were, in merchant ships, fitted indeed for defence, to seek honest commerce, without striving to injure any; wherefore I held it fit for me to proceed soberly and discreetly, neither basely to flee from the enemy, nor to tempt danger by proudly seeking it, if it might be honourably avoided. The viceroy was quite differently situated. He had been sent by his master with the principal ships of all India, and all the gallants and braggarts of these parts, not only to disturb and intercept the peaceable trade of the English with the subjects of the Mogul, but to take and burn them in the harbours of that great king. The viceroy was furnished with abundance of all things the country could afford, and only wanted an upright cause. He found what he was in search of,—four poor merchant

chant ships, having few men, many being dead, and more sick; and these bragadocios, measuring our hearts by their own, thought we could never stand against what they esteemed so superior a force; and, seeing their intent, I baited my hook, which the fish presently ran after.

The Hope, being heavily laden, was in tow of the Hector, and being sternmost, three of the Portuguese ships, and thirty or forty of their frigates, as I had expected, boarded her with the flower of all their chivalry. But, by the hand of God, and to their great amazement, they received such a blow that few of them escaped, and these by extraordinary chance, and three of their ships were burnt.[3] Thus it pleased God to baffle this their first assault. Ever after, though they beleaguered us round about for many days together, with all sorts of ships, our people still in action, and sadly worn out with continual labour, even shifting goods from ship to ship in that time, yet did they never gain from us even the value of *a louse* in all that time, except our bullets, which we most willingly gave them roundly, their fire-boats always failing, and nothing prospering in all their efforts. For many days together I sent the viceroy a defiance once every twenty-four hours, which must needs lie heavy on the stomach of so courageous a gentleman. Craving pardon for this digression, I now proceed with my narrative.

The 6th, in the morning, I sent for my master, letting him know that I proposed, when the viceroy should come up near us, to cast about and charge him suddenly, that we might strike unexpected terror in his people, who now bragged us, seeing us flee before them. To this end I went on board all the ships, giving them directions how to act, and gave orders to the Hector, by means of her pinnace and mine, to take in an hundred bales of goods from the Hope, to lighten her, and even staid to see it done. By this time it was mid-day, when my ship struck sail for my better getting on board; at which, the viceroy thinking it staid for him in contempt, as we imagined, he and his consorts bore up with the shore, and gave up all hope of mending their fortunes by following us any farther; which course I very well liked, as there is nothing under his foot to make amends for the loss of the worst man's finger in all our ships. Besides,

[3] I strongly suspect this to be a mere recapitulation of what happened in Swally roads, as already related, as this second attack on the Hope by the Portuguese is entirely omitted by Elkington and Dodsworth.—E.

sides, I wished for no occasion of fighting unless for the honour of my king and country, as I would rather save the life of one of my poorest sailors than kill a thousand enemies.

Having now finished with the viceroy, I set myself to write letters for the dispatch of the Hope, yet still thinking to have stood in for the bar of Goa to endeavour to have left some compliments there for the viceroy at his return. This was my earnest desire, but we were so long delayed in dispatching the Hope, that by the time we had finished, we were far beyond Goa.

"The rest of this journal is wanting, as he is also wanting who should have finished it. But, alas! this is the imperfection of man's best perfections; death lying in ambush to entrap those whom by open force he could not devour. He dying in this voyage, and following his son, hath left this glorious act, *memoriæ sacrum*, the memorable epitaph of his worth, savouring of a true heroic disposition, piety and valour being in him seasoned by gravity and modesty."—*Purch.*

SECTION II.

Relations by Mr Elkington and Mr Dodsworth, in Supplement to the former Voyage.[1]

"Since writing the voyage of Captain Downton, I have obtained the journal of Captain Elkington, in which the reader may proceed with this worthy captain to Bantam, and thence to his grave; this history succeeding the former, as its author did in command."—*Purch.*

In employing the journals of Mr Elkington and Mr Dodsworth, to continue the account of the voyage set forth under the command of Captain Downton, only so much of both are here inserted as answers that purpose, to avoid prolix repetition of circumstances, already sufficiently related. The journal of Elkington breaks off abruptly, like that of Downton, and probably from the same cause; as we learn from Purchas, in the preceding notice, that Elkington died at Bantam.

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 514.

tam. The journal of Dodsworth entirely relates to the voyage of the Hope to England, after parting company with the other two ships, except that it mentions several incidents of the transactions previous to the departure of that ship, most of which are here omitted, as already sufficiently explained. —E.

§ 1. *Continuation of the Voyage from Surat to Bantam, by Captain Thomas Elkington.*

On the 4th March, 1615, we descried the Portuguese fleet, which immediately gave us chace, which it continued all that day and the next. On the 6th, the general came aboard us, wishing us to make ready, as he proposed to turn suddenly round and give an onset upon the enemy: But, about noon that day, the Portuguese bore up and stood for the coast, and in three hours after we lost sight of them. At night of the 10th, the Hope departed from us. The 15th we saw three water-spouts at no great distance; one of them, which was very large, continued for the space of half an hour. The 19th we doubled Cape Comorin.

The 10th May, the wind and current both against us, the general went to a green island, to the north of the salt hill, where we came to anchor in twenty fathoms on good sand. We here sought fresh water, but found none. There were plenty of hogs and pigs on this island, where likewise we gathered abundance of cocoa-nuts. All about this island is good anchorage, within a stone's throw of the shore, in twelve fathoms. The pinnace brought water from another island, about four leagues off, but it was brackish.[1] The 2d June we came to anchor in Bantam road.

The 3d July we weighed mace, and received silk towards furnishing the Salomon for Masulipatam, to which place we agreed to send the following merchants: George Chancie, Ralph Preston, Humphry Elkington, Timothy Mallory, George Savage, and Robert Savage. The 8th we loaded porcelain into the Salomon. This day we had news by a junk from the Moluccas, that the Thomasine was there; and that

[1] So vaguely is this journal expressed, or rather so miserably abbreviated by Purchas, that there are no indications by which to guess even where this island lay, except that it was on the way between Cape Comorin and Bantam.—E.

that there were twelve sail of Hollanders at Ternate, who endeavoured to prevent all others from trading. The 11th our old house very narrowly escaped burning, in consequence of a fire very near. The 20th, Mr Jordan had letters from Mr Ball at Macasser, complaining of violent ill usage from the Hollanders, who had driven him from thence, and stating that they proposed coming with all their force to take possession of Bantam, and to place the king of *Motran* in the government. The 21st Mr Bennet set sail in the Salomon. The 25th, the Advice and Attendance arrived from England, after a voyage of eight months. They met the Globe and James at the Cape, to which ships they spared eighteen men. These ships departed for England on the 17th July, and the Advice and her consort on the 18th, meeting a ship near the Cape, which we suppose might be either the Samaritan or the Hope, bound for England.

The 5th of August I went aboard to visit the general, Captain Nicholas Downton, who was then very ill, and we got word of his death next day.[2] Mr Evans the preacher, and Mr Hambdon, followed him on the 8th, as we supposed by taking laudanum, as they were both well a little before. On the 11th the Advice was sent to Japan, having a complement of twenty-two Englishmen, together with five blacks, and Fernando the Spaniard. The Concord returned on the 14th from Succadanea in Borneo and Macasser. That night we had a prodigious tempest of rain, with thunder and lightning, and the mosque of Bantam was split in two by a thunderbolt, on which occasion the chief priest was nearly slain, which the king and people took for a bad omen, and therefore determined to make peace with Jacatra. The 16th the boat belonging to the Thomasine came to Bantam, with twenty-two English and five blacks, bringing intelligence of that ship having been lost on certain flats the night before, twenty-two leagues from Macasser, owing to the carelessness of Wilson the master, while all the people were asleep, he only being at the helm. They saved all the money, which they brought along with them; and as Mr Bailey told us that his wrecked crew had compelled him to pay them their wages, we caused them to restore the money.

On the 19th, the Hollanders clapped three blacks into the bilboes,

[2] By order in the box, Mr Elkington succeeded in the command.—*Purch.*

bilboes, whom Mr Bailey had brought with him from Celoar, pretending they were caught climbing over the rails of their house, and also, as they were brought from a place under their protection, they refused to give us them back. We are in various ways most vilely abused by these Hollanders, neither do I see any means to right ourselves, unless we go to war with them; for we believe this matter to have been done on purpose, and these blacks enticed by them to it, as if taken by force. I was much offended with Mr Bailey for his conduct in taking away these blacks, as the means of making us hated as man-stealers, in places where we used to be well received, which the Hollanders will take care to blaze abroad to our disgrace.

In the night of the 13th September, the watch discovered a fire in the thatch over the house in which Mr Jordan lodged, which was soon extinguished; but we could plainly perceive it had been done apurpose, as we found the cane by which it had been kindled sticking in the thatch, for which we suspected a Spaniard named Francisco, who had appostatized and turned Javan. The 2d October, Sophonee Cossock, a merchant, came in a small pinnace from Puloway, accompanied by an *Orancay*, to confer on trade with that place. The 22d, I went ashore, accompanied by Mr Pring and Mr Bailey, to confer with the Dutch general, concerning certain idle complaints made by them against our mariners. I found him and the president of their factory very impatient, calling us insolent English, threatening that our pride would have a fall, with many other disgraceful and opprobrious words.[3] Such was the entertainment we received from that boorish general, named Garrat Reynes, in his own house. He had formerly shewn the like or worse to Mr Ball, on going aboard his ship at Banda: And four of our men, who took passage with him from thence to *Cambello*, were brought all the way in the bilboes, for no cause.

I went ashore on the 3d November, when Captain Jordan called together the merchants, and sent for the *orancay* of Banda, whose letter he got translated; the purport of which was, that, in regard to the ancient friendship between them and the English, especially with Captain Keeling, and provoked by the cruelty and injustice of the Hollanders, their earnest

[3] Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes? It was Dutch policy to cry *rogue* first.—*Purch.*

earnest desire was to trade only with the English for the spices of Puloway, Puleron, and Nera, on condition that the English would supply them with provisions, ordnance, and ammunition, and help them to recover the castle of Nera, desiring that some person might be sent to Banda, to confer with the orancays. To this we answered, That we could not give them assistance to recover the castle of Nera, without orders from England, and that at present we had no ordnance to spare; but would willingly supply them with provisions, and every thing else in our power, till we had farther orders from England, and would trade with them for spices, for which purpose we proposed to send a ship, and a person to confer with the *orancays*, and particularly to know how we might have security, and whether they would grant us permission to build a fort for that purpose.

The 23d five Hollanders anchored in the outer road, four of which came last from the Mauritius, having been nineteen months on the voyage from Holland. At that island they found that General Butt had been cast away with three ships, two being totally lost, the men and goods of the third being saved. A fourth, which was in company, went home under jury-masts, along with a pinnace that came there by chance. One of these ships that was at the Mauritius came away before the rest, and they found her driving up and down off the mouth of the straits, having lost 160 men, and having only eight remaining. The 25th, by letters from Priaman, we had notice of the death of Mr Ozewicke and Samuel Negus.

§ 2. *Brief Observations by Mr Edward Dodsworth, who returned to England in the Hope.*

The 16th October, 1614, while in the bay of Surat, Mr Aldworth and Mr Steel came on board, and next day Mr Aldworth was examined, according to the company's commission and instructions,[1] concerning the behaviour of Paul Canning to the king, and the king's conduct towards him. To which he answered, That his behaviour was right, and the king's entertainment of him satisfactory, till the jesuits insinuated he was only a merchant, and not sent immediately

[1] This commission had six questions, of which I only insert what is fit for the public eye.—*Purch.*

ly by the king of England. After this he was neglected, and died since.[2] Also, that he thought it fit that some one of our nation of good respect should remain at court, to procure redress of any wrongs that might be offered; to which function Mr Edwards was chosen to go to Agra, as the person most answerable to the company's instructions, on which occasion some question was made, whether it would be proper he should proceed in the character of a merchant, according to the strict letter of the instructions, which Mr Aldworth conceived would procure him disrespect with the king; and, after some contest, some way was given to Mr Edwards in this affair, lest they should disagree in their proceedings, especially as it had been reported by some already, that he was a messenger from the king of Britain.

After much opposition to our desire of trade, there came a *firmaun* from the king on the 24th November, which, according to custom, the nabob met in state two miles from the city, attended by 600 horse. Next day we were kindly entertained, and the nabob gave Mr Edwards 850 mahmoudies, thirty pieces of *topseels*, ten of fine calicoes, and other things. The money being to bear the charges of carrying up the present to the king, who was not willing we should incur any expence on that account, and the stuffs as a gratification to those who carried them up. To the merchants also he gave fifteen pieces of *topseels*, five to each, with his *chop* or licence for our departure, and promises of kind usage, all this being done in presence of those who brought the *firmaun*. The 30th, Mr Edwards and we set out for *Amadavar* [Ahmedabad.]

The 2d of December we reached Broach, whence the governor sent a guard of horse with us to *Demylode*, and there we had a new escort of horse and foot to *Charmondo*;[3] whence we departed on the 7th with twenty-five soldiers, all notorious thieves, as we afterwards found. With these we went ten *coss*, when we pitched our tents in a plain, barricading ourselves as usual with our carts. While at supper, we had nearly been assaulted by fifty horse, who passed close by us,

[2] It has been said on a former occasion, that he died of poison, given, as was thought, by the jesuits.—*Purch.*

[3] On this part of the indicated route, between Broach and Brodrah, no stations are to be found in our best maps resembling these two names, unless Simlode may have been corrupted into Demylode by typographical error.—E.

us, but they found us well provided for our defence, and it appeared that the charge we carried was well known in all the country through which we travelled. The 8th we came to *Brodera*, [Brodrah] and made a present to the governor, who received it very kindly, and particularly requested to see our mastiff dog. Brodrah stands in a plain, which seemed fertile, and is well watered, a thing rather uncommon in those parts. We departed thence with an escort of 100 horse and foot, voluntarily offered from respect for the king's present, yet were they a considerable charge to us. We came next to *Arras*,[4] a town mostly inhabited by banians, and where their superstition of not killing any thing occasioned us to have very bad fare. On the 13th we came to Ahmedabad, whence we gave a commission to Richard Steel and John Crowther to proceed on their journey to Persia; and hence Mr Edwards departed from us for Agra.

All this time, the merchants at Ahmedabad, being in hopes of peace with the Portuguese, held up the price of their indigos, on which we resolved to proceed for *Sarques* [Sarkess,] to make trial with the country people who are the makers of that commodity. We did so on the 7th, and found plenty of employment, packing in four days no less than 400 bales: after which Mr Edwards returned to Ahmedabad, where he found the merchants greatly more tractable. *Sarkess* is a town of no great size, three coss from Ahmedabad, its territory being considered the best soil in all these parts for the production of indigo. All of the dealers in this commodity are apt to put tricks upon us, by mingling or otherwise. At Sarkess there are two of the most ancient monuments that are to be found in all that country; one being the tomb of a saint or prophet who was buried there, to which many pilgrims resort from great distances; and the other is the sepulchres of their ancient kings. To the north of the town, is the place where *Khan-Khana* first put the Guzerates to flight, who were the original inhabitants of the country, all the rest of the kingdom being shortly after reduced under the subjection of Akbar, father to the present Great Mogul. This field of victory is strongly walled round with brick, about a mile and half in circuit, all planted within with fruit-trees,

[4] No such name is now to be found in the road between Brodrah and Ahmedabad, neither is it of much importance in any view, as the route is so vaguely indicated in the text.—E.

trees, and delightfully watered; having a costly house called by a name signifying *Victory;* in which Khan-Khana resided for some time, but he now resides at Burhanpoor.

The 24th of December we had leave from the governor of Ahmedabad to depart; but hearing that several persons had been robbed and murdered that night close by the city, order was given for us to wait till a sufficient guard could be provided for us. The 26th we departed, having with us forty carts, loaded with indigo and other goods, and came on the 27th to *Mundeves,*[5] where the gates were shut upon us by order of *Sarder Khan.* This put us in much doubt, and we procured a person to speak with the governor, who told him of letters he had received from Mucrob Khan, nabob of Surat, informing of the gallant action of our general at Swally and the safety of Surat from the Portuguese, through the bravery of the English. It was therefore agreed that we should not depart without a sufficient guard, which was to be ready for us next day. We did not however depart till the 29th; and, at Brodrah, the men belonging to Sarder Khan procured more soldiers to assist them, as there were several companies of rajputs lying in the way to intercept us, and many robberies and murders were committed daily in that part of the country.

On the 2d of February, while passing through a narrow lane inclosed on both sides with hedges, we were assaulted by above 300 rajputs, where we could not hurt them, as they did our caffila or caravan by their arrows and shot. We therefore made all the haste we could to gain the plain, while they in the mean time cut off two of our carriages. Having got to the open ground we made a stand; but the rajputs betook themselves again to their hedges, to look after their prey, lest one thief should rob another. Many of our party were hurt on this occasion, among which was Humphrey Elkington. Next day we got to Baroach, and on the 5th to Surat, where we returned thanks to Mucrob Khan for the care he had taken of our safety.

Hearing of an assault to be made next day on our ships by the Portuguese, we got his leave to go down to Swally and went aboard, but the Portuguese deceived our expectation. On occasion of the last attempt of the Portuguese to set

[5] This name also is so corrupted as not to have any resemblance in the modern geography of Hindoostan.—E.

set our ships on fire, by means of four fire-boats chained together, four of them were taken in smaller boats, which captives confessed that this was the last attempt of the viceroy for this year, as he was now under the necessity of returning to Goa, for want of water and provisions. One of these captives, taken in Swally roads, and carried aboard the New-year's Gift, emitted the following declaration:—

Examination of Domingo Francisco, on the 20th of February, 1615.

"He saith, that he was born in Lisbon, being the son of a mariner, and served under Nunna d'Acunha in the sea-fight against Captain Best, in one of the four galleons. He afterwards went to Macao on the coast of China, and returned thence to Goa; where, after remaining ten months, he was ordered on board a galleon called the St Antonio, in this expedition for the road of Swally, where he was made prisoner on the 8th of this month. The purpose of the viceroy, *Don Jeronimo de Savedo,* in this expedition, as the examinant says, was to destroy the English at Surat. The viceroy's ship was called the All-saints, of 800 tons, with 300 men, and twenty-eight cannon. Michael de Souza was captain of the St Bennet of 700 tons, 150 men, and twenty guns. John Cayatho of the St Lawrence, of 600 tons, 160 men, and 18 guns. Francisco Henriques of the St Christopher, of 600 tons, 155 men, and 18 guns. Francisco de Mirande of the St Jeronymo, of 500 tons, 180 men, and 16 guns. Gaspar de Meall of the St Antonio, of 400 tons, 140 men, and 14 guns. These were the galleons: The ships were, the St Peter of 200 tons Captain Francisco Cavaco, 150 men and eight guns; the St Paul of 200 tons, Captain Don Juan de Mascarenha, 150 men and eight guns; a pinnace of 120 tons, Captain Andrea de Quellio, eighty men and four guns. Lewis de Bruto was captain of one galley, and Diego de Suro of the other, each having fifty men. There were sixty barks or frigates, each having twenty soldiers, and rowing eighteen oars of a side. The reinforcement which joined afterwards, consisted of two ships of 200 tons each, two India junks, and eight small boats, which were employed to endeavour to set us on fire. In the viceroy's ship, the ordnance were all of brass, those in the other galleons being half brass and half iron:" Against all which the Almighty protected us, blessed be his name for ever.

On

On the 11th March, 1615, we parted from the general, he and the other two ships being bound for Acheen and Bantam, and we in the Hope for England. On the 12th we passed by the north end of the Maldives, where we found many shoals and islands most falsely laid down in the charts, as if purposely to render the navigation of these seas more dangerous. We arrived on the 17th of June in Saldanha bay, where we found a fleet of four English ships bound for Surat, under the command of Captain Keeling; which fleet, after consultation held with us, and receiving intelligence of the state of affairs there, departed on its voyage. On the 20th I met with *Crosse* and his company, left there for discovery,[6] and entreated some of them to acquaint *Coree* with my arrival. These were set upon by the savages and wounded, wherefore I delivered four muskets to Crosse at his earnest request; after which he procured Coree to come down with his whole family, and we afterwards got some cattle. He told me that there was discord among the savages, through which the mountaineers had come down and robbed them. We departed on the 26th June, leaving our long-boat with Crosse, together with powder, shot, and provisions.

In the latitude of 29° N. we fell in with a Dutch ship from the Mauritius, having gone there to cut timber, which seemed a bastard ebony. Contrary to their expectation, they found there the lamentable wreck of four ships come from Bantam and the Moluccas, which had gone to pieces on the rocks. The goods and men of two of these were totally lost, most of the goods of the third were saved, with part of which this ship was laden. The fourth was driven out to sea in a storm, and returned under jury-masts. The master of this ship promised to keep us company, but finding us a hindrance, he left us after ten days, without so much as a farewell or offering to carry a letter, which I imputed to their inbred boorish disposition. Ill weather followed, and we were much weakened; yet, I thank God, we lost none till my arrival in Ireland off the river of Limerick on the 27th October, 1615; where also we had to endure a storm, till we hired a Scottish bark, detained by contrary winds, to pilot us into harbour. There also, a remainder of Captain M. his

[6] Of Crosse and his company of condemned persons, set on shore at the Cape of Good Hope, see afterwards in Peyton's voyage.—*Purch.*

his ungodly crew, who had lately obtained their pardon, put me in great fear; till Sir Henry Foliat secured us by a supply of men, and I sent off letters for London.

SECTION III.

Journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther, from Ajmeer in India, to Ispahan in Persia, in the Years 1615 *and* 1616.[1]

Having been detained at Agimere[2] from February, Mr Edwards received a letter on the 17th March, 1615, from the Great Mogul, of which he delivered a copy, together with his other letters, to Richard Steel, promising to procure the king's firmaun for our safety and furtherance, and to send it after us to Agra, where he directed us to wait for its reception. We went that night two coss to *Mandill.*[3] We had four servants, two horses, and a camel. The 18th we went twelve coss to *Bander Sandree,* [Bunder-Sanory,] a small *aldea.*[4] The 19th, ten coss to *Mosobade,* [Morabad.] The 20th to *Pipelo,* [Peped,] thirteen coss. The 21st to a town called *Chadfoole,* [Gohd ?] seven coss. The 22d to *Lalscotte,* thirteen coss. The 23d to *Mogolserai,* twelve coss. The 24th to *Hindone,* fourteen coss. The 25th to *Bramobad,* twelve coss. The 26th to *Futtipoor,* twelve coss. This has been a fair city, which was built by Akbar, and contains a goodly palace belonging to the king. It is walled round in a handsome manner, and has many spacious gardens and sumptuous

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 519.—In the title of this article in the Pilgrims, Agimere, or Azmere, as it is there called, is said to have been the residence of the Great Mogul at the commencement of this journey, and Spahan, or Ispahan, the royal seat of the kings of Persia.—E.

[2] This place, named Azmeer in the Pilgrims, is known in modern geography under the name of Ajmeer, or Agimere.—E.

[3] A coss, or course, as it is uniformly denominated in the Pilgrims, is stated on the margin by Purchas, to be equal to a mile and a half, and in some places two English miles. As more precisely determined in modern geography, the Hindoostanee coss is equal to 1 4-7th English miles, and the Rajput coss to 2 1-6th miles nearly. It would overload this article to attempt critically following all the stations in the present journal, in which the names of places are often so corrupt as to be unintelligible. Such corrections of the text as can be ventured upon are included within brackets.—E.

[4] This is a Spanish or Portuguese term, signifying country village.—E.

sumptuous pleasure houses; but is now falling to ruin, and much ground within the walls is now sown with corn, the king having carried off much of the best stone to his new city of Agra. The 27th we went twelve coss to Agra. In the English house there, we found one Richard Barber, an apothecary, who came over with Sir Robert Shirley, and had been sent here by Mr Kerridge to take care of Nicholas Whithington.

Within two days journey of Agra, we passed by the country and city of *Biana*, where the finest indigo is made, the best being then worth thirty-six rupees the maund at Agra, but much cheaper in the country. Finding the promised firmaun came not, and the hot season of the year fast approaching, we departed on the 3d April in the prosecution of our journey, leaving directions with Richard Barber to send it after us. We came that night to a serai called Boutta, six coss. The 4th to the town of *Matra*, fourteen coss, where we lay in a fair *serai*,[5] and there we received the firmaun. The 5th we went twelve coss to a serai called *Chatta*, [Chautra.] The 6th to a serai built by Azam Khan, nine coss. The 7th to a serai built by Sheic Ferreede, called *Pulwall*, eleven coss. The 8th to a serai built by the same person, ten coss. The 9th to *Dillee*, [Delhi,] nine coss. This being a great and ancient city, formerly the seat of the kings, where many of them are interred. At this time, many of the great men have their gardens and pleasure houses here, and are here buried, so that it is beautified with many fine buildings. The inhabitants, who are mostly Banians or Hindoos, are poor and beggarly, through the long absence of the court.

The 10th we went ten coss from Delhi to *Bunira*. The 11th to *Cullvower*, twelve coss. The 12th to *Pampette*, [Paniput,] twelve coss. This is a small handsome city, where they manufacture various sorts of girdles and sashes, and great quantities of cotton-cloth, and have abundance of handicrafts The 13th to *Carnaul*, twelve coss. The 14th to *Tanisera*, [Tahnessir,] fourteen coss. The 15th to *Shavade*, [Shahabad,] ten coss. The 16th to *Mogol-Sera*, or *Gaugur*, fifteen coss. The 17th to *Sinan*,[6] fourteen coss, which is an ancient

[5] These are fair buildings for the accommodation of travellers, many of which were erected by great men.—*Purch.*

[6] This is probably Sirhind, which is directly in the route, but so disguised in the text as to defy emendation.—E.

ancient city, where they manufacture great store of cottons. The 18th to *Duratia,* fifteen coss. The 19th to *Pullower,* [Bullolepoor,] eleven coss. We this day passed in a boat over a great river called *Sietmege,*[7] which is very broad, but full of shoals, and runs westward to join the Sinde, or Indus. The 20th we came to a small town called *Nicodar,* eleven coss. The 21st to *Sultanpoor,* an old town having a river which comes from the north, over which is a bridge of six arches. At this place great store of cotton goods are made. Four coss beyond this place we passed another small river. The 22d to *Chiurmul,*[8] eleven coss. We were this day boated across a river as broad as the Thames at Gravesend, called *Vian,* which runs westwards to join the Sinde. On its banks Allom Khan, ambassador from the Great Mogul to the king of Persia, had pitched his camp, which looked like a little city. The 23d we went to *Khan Khanum Serai,* seventeen coss, and the 24th we reached Lahore, seven coss.

All the country between Agra and Lahore is exceedingly well cultivated, being the best of India, and abounds in all things. It yields great store of powdered sugar, [raw sugar] the best being worth two $\frac{1}{2}$ to two $\frac{3}{4}$ rupees the great *maund* of forty pounds. The whole road is planted on both sides with trees, most of which bear a species of mulberry. In the night, this road is dangerously infested with thieves, but is quite secure in the day. Every five or six coss, there are serais, built by the king or some great man, which add greatly to the beauty of the road, are very convenient for the accommodation of travellers, and serve to perpetuate the memory of their founders. In these the traveller may have a chamber for his own use, a place in which to tie up his horse, and can be furnished with provender; but in many of them very little accommodation can be had, by reason of the banians, as when once any person has taken up his lodging, no other may dispossess him. At day-break the gates of these serais are opened, and then all the travellers prepare to depart; but no person is allowed to go away sooner, for fear of robbers. This

[5] This is clearly the Sutuluge, or Setlege, called likewise the Beyah-Kussoor, and Chato dehr, being the easternmost of the Punjab or five-rivers, which form the Indus. It was called Hesudrus by the ancients.—E.

[6] From the river mentioned in the text as passed on this day's journey, this may have been what is now called Gundwall, a little beyond the river Beyah, which is here 100 yards broad.—E.

This made the journey very oppressive to us, as within two hours after the sun rose we were hardly able to endure the heat.

Lahore is a great and goodly city, being one of the fairest and ancientest in India. It stands on the river Indus or Sinde;[7] and from this place came the most valuable of the Portuguese trade when they were at peace with the Moguls, as it formed the centre of all their traffic in Hindoostan. They here embarked their goods, which were carried down the river to Tatta, and were thence transported by sea to Ormus and Persia; and such native merchants as chose to go that way between India and Persia, paid them freight. They had also a great trade up this river, in pepper and other spices, with which they furnished that part of India. At this time, the merchants of India assemble at Lahore, where they invest a great part of their money in commodities, and, joining in caravans, they pass over the mountains of Candahar into Persia; by which way it is computed there now pass yearly twelve or fourteen thousand camel loads, whereas formerly there did not go in this way above three thousand, all the rest going by way of Ormus. These merchants are put to great expences between Lahore and Ispahan, besides being exposed to great cold in winter and fervent heat in summer, and to bad and dangerous roads, usually spending six or seven months in the journey, and they estimate the charges of each camel's load at 120 or 130 rupees. In this way Persia is furnished with spiceries, which are brought all the way from Masulipatam by land. We remained in Lahore from the 24th of April to the 13th of May, refreshing both ourselves and our horses, and providing servants and necessaries for the journey. We also procured here recommendatory letters from an ambassador to the king of Persia.

We left Lahore on the 13th May, proposing to overtake a caravan which set out two months before, and went that day eleven c. to a small town named *Chacksunder*. The 14th to *Non-serai*, fifteen c. The 15th to *Mutteray*, eight c. The 16th to *Quemal khan*, nineteen c. The 17th to *Herpae*, sixteen c. The 18th to *Alicasava*, twelve c. The 19th *Trumba*,

 twelve

[7] Lahore is upon the Ravey, the second of the five rivers forming the Indus, counting from the east, and was the Hydroates of the ancients. The Indus proper, or Nilab, is considerably farther west.—E.

twelve c. and this day we overtook a small caravan that left Lahore eight days before us. The 20th to *Sedousehall,* fourteen c. The 21st to *Callixechebaut,* fifteen c. The 22d to *Multan,*[8] twelve c. This is a great and ancient city, having the river Indus at the distance of three coss. All caravans must remain here ten or twelve days, before leave can be procured from the governor to proceed, on purpose that the city may benefit by their stay. It yields white plain cotton cloth and diaper. We remained five days, and were then glad to get leave to depart, by means of a present.

We passed the river on the 28th, and went twenty c. to a small village named *Pettoallee.* The 29th we passed another great river by a boat, and came that same night to a small river called *Lacca,* where we found the caravan we wished to overtake.[9] We presented the caravan *basha* with a mirror and knife, when he directed us to pitch our tent near his own, that we might be more immediately under his protection. This caravan had been here ten days, and remained till the 2d of June, waiting for an escort of cavalry to convoy them to *Chatcza,*[10] a small fort in the mountains, having received information that a former caravan had been injured by the mountaineers. The 2d June we resumed our journey, and travelled twelve c. entering into the mountains, where we were much distressed for want of fresh water, what water we met with being brackish. The 3d and 4th we travelled all night, climbing high mountains, and following water-courses with various turnings and windings, insomuch that in travelling twelve coss our direct course did not exceed six c. The 5th we again followed the bed of a water-course or river, full of large pebbles, travelling eight c. The 6th we rested. The

7th

[8] In the whole of this itinerary, from Lahore to Multan or Mooltan, down the Ravey river, not a single name in the text, except the two extremities, bears the smallest resemblance to any of those in modern geography.—E.

[9] The great river passed on the 29th must have been the Sinde, Indus, or Nilab, and from the circumstance of falling in next day with the *Lacca* or Lucca, Pettoallee in the text may possibly be what is named *Joghiwallah,* on the east side of the Indus, almost opposite the mouth of the Lacca.—E.

[10] Chatzan, a town or fortress in Sewee, or the country of the Balloges; to the west of a ridge of rocky mountains, described as consisting of hard black stone, which skirt the western side of the vale of the Indus, and on the north join the mountains of Wulli in Candahar. Chatzan is in lat. 31° 8′ N. and long 69° 42′ W. from Greenwich.—E.

7th we went four c. still along the water-course, the 8th eight c. the 9th twelve c. and the 10th three c. when we came to *Chatcza*, [Chatzan] a small fort with mud walls, inclosed with a ditch, where the Mogul keeps a garrison of eighty or 100 horse, to scour the road from thieves, yet these are as great thieves as any, where they find an opportunity. The captain of this castle exacted two *abacees* for each camel in the caravan, though nothing was legally due, as he and his troops have their pay from the king. In the whole of our way, from the river Lacca to Chatzan, we found no sustenance for man or beast, except in some places a little grass, so that we had to make provision at Lacca, hiring a bullock to carry barley for our horses. The *Agwans* or *Afgans*, as the people of the mountains are called, came down to us every day at our resting place, rather to look out what they might steal, than to buy as they pretended.

Having made provision for three days at Chatzan, we went thence on the 12th June, and travelled fourteen c. The 13th ten c. The 14th ten c. This day the mountaineers brought down to us sheep, goats, meal, butter, and barley, in abundance, sufficient both for us and our cattle, all of which they sold at reasonable prices; and from this time forwards, they did the same every day, sometimes also bringing felts and striped carpets for sale. The 15th we went six c. the 16th four c. the 17th ten c. the 18th nine c. the 19th nine c. when we came to a small town of the Afgans called *Duckee*, [Dooky], where the Mogul keeps a garrison in a small square mud fort, the walls of which are of a good height. This fort is a mile from the town. We stopt here three days, as the caravan could not agree with the captain of the fort, who demanded a duty on every camel, and at last an *abacee* and a half was paid for each camel. The 23d we went six c. the 24th we passed a place called *Secotah*, or the three castles, because of three villages standing near each other on the side of a hill, forming a triangle. We this day went eight c. The 25th we rested, on account of bad weather. The 26th we went ten c. The 27th fourteen c. This day we passed through the *durues* or gates of the mountains, being narrow straits, with very high rocks on both sides, whence with stones a few men might stop the passage of a multitude, and where many caravans have been accordingly cut off. We this night, where we lodged, suffered much insolence from the Afgans; and next day, as we passed a small village called

ed *Coasta*, they exacted from us two ½ *abacees* for each camel. The 28th we went five c. the 29th, passing a village called *Abdun*, eight c. the 30th six c. The 1st July in seven c. we came to a place called *Pesinga* [Pusheng or Kooshinge], where there is a small fort like that at *Dooky*, in which is a garrison for securing the way. At this place the captain exacted half an *abacee* for each camel. The 3d we left the caravan and went forwards six c. The 4th we passed over a mighty mountain, and descended into the plains beyond, having travelled that day fourteen c. The 5th we went twenty c. and were much distressed to get grain for our cattle. The 6th, in like distress both for them and ourselves, we went twelve c. and on the 7th, after eight c. we got to the city of Candahar.

These mountains of Candahar are inhabited by a fierce people, called *Agwans* or *Potans*, [Afgans or Patans] who are very strong of body, somewhat fairer than the natives of Hindoostan, and are much addicted to robbery, insomuch, that they often cut off whole caravans. At present they have become more civil, partly from fear of the Mogul, and partly from experiencing the advantages of trade, by selling their grain, sheep, and goats, of which they have great store, and by purchasing coarse cotton goods and other necessaries. Still, however, if they find any one straggling or lagging behind, they are very apt to make them slaves, selling them into the mountains, and houghing them to prevent their running away, after which they are set to grind grain in hand-mills, or to other servile employments. The chief city, called likewise Candahar, is very ancient, and was in old times inhabited by Banians. At this place the governor of the whole country resides, who has a garrison of twelve or fifteen thousand horse, maintained there by the Great Mogul, in regard of the neighbourhood of the Persians towards the north. To the west, the city is environed by steep and craggy rocks, and to the south and east by a strong wall. In consequence of the frequent passage of caravans, it has been considerably increased of late, so that the suburbs are larger than the city. Within the last two years, in consequence of the Persian trade by way of Ormus being stopped, through war with the Portuguese, all the caravans between Persia and India must necessarily pass through this place; and here they hire camels to go into India, and at their return for Persia have to do the same. They cannot return without leave

leave of the governor, who causes them to stop a month here, or at the least fifteen or twenty days; owing to which, it is inhabited by many lewd people, as all such places of resort commonly are.

Victuals for man and beast are to be had in great abundance at Candahar, yet are very dear owing to the great concourse of trade, occasioned by the meeting at this place of many merchants of India, Persia, and Turkey, who often conclude their exchanges of commodities here. At this place the caravans going for India usually unite together, for greater strength and security in passing through the mountains of Candahar; and those that come here from India generally break into smaller companies, because in many parts of the route through Persia, a greater number would not find provisions, as all Persia, from hence to Ispahan, is extremely barren, so that sometimes not a green thing is to be seen in two or three days travel; and even water is scarce, and that which is to be got is often brackish, or stinking and abominable. We remained at this city for fourteen days, partly to procure company for our farther journey, and partly for refreshment after the fatigues and heats of our late journey, especially on account of John Crowther, who was so weak that he at one time doubted being able to proceed any farther.

We joined ourselves to three Armenians and a dozen Persian merchants, along with whom we left the city of Candahar on the 23d July, and went ten c. to a village called *Seriabe*.[11] The 24th we came in twelve c. to *Deabage*, a small *dea* or village. The 25th in eight c. to *Cashecunna*, a small castle in which the Mogul has a garrison, being the utmost boundary of his dominions westwards, and confining with Persia. The 26th we travelled seventeen c. and lodged in the open fields by the side of a river. The 27th, after four c. we came to a castle called *Greece*, the first belonging to the king of Persia. Here we delivered to the governor the letter we had got from the Persian ambassador at Lahore, and presented him a mirror and three knives. He would take nothing for our camels, while the others had to pay five *abacees* for each camel. He promised to give us a safe conduct

[11] We here lose the almost infallible guide of Arrowsmith's excellent map of Hindoostan, and are reduced to much inferior helps in following the route through Persia.—E.

duct under an escort of horse to the next governor, but we saw none; neither were we sorry for the omission, for he was little better than a rebel, and all his people were thieves.

The 28th we departed at night, going two *parasangs*, and lodged at a *dea* or village called *Malgee*. A *farcing* or parasang is equal to two Indian cosses and a half.[12] The 29th we went ten p. and lodged in the open fields, where we could get nothing but water. The 30th we went five p. to a small castle named *Gazikhan*. The 31st other five p. to an old ruined fort, where we could get nothing but water, and that was stinking. The 1st August we proceeded other five p. to an old fort called *Dilaram*, where we paid an *abacee* and a half for each camel. We staid here one day to rest our cattle, which was termed making *mochoane;* and on the 3d we went seven p. to an old castle called *Bacon*. The 4th four p. and lodged in the open fields, where we found nothing but water. The 5th four p. and the 6th five p. to *Farra*.[13]

Farra is a small town, surrounded by a high wall of bricks dried in the sun, as are all the castles and most of the buildings in this country, and is of a square form, about a mile in circuit. It has a handsome bazar or market-place, vaulted over head to keep out the rain, and in which all kinds of necessaries and commodities are sold. It is situated in a fertile soil, having plenty of water, without which nothing can be raised in this country; and it is wonderful to see with what labour and ingenious industry they bring water to every spot of good ground, which is but seldom to be found here, often carrying it three or four miles in trenches under ground. At this town, all merchants going into Persia must remain for seven, eight, or ten days; and here the king's treasurer sees all their packs weighed, estimating the value of their commodities at so much the maund, as he thinks fit, and exacts a duty of three per cent. ad valorem on that estimate. On their way into Persia, merchants are used with much favour, lest they should make complaints to the king, who will have merchants kindly treated; but on their return into India, they are treated with extreme rigour, being searched to the very skin for money, as it is death to transport any gold or silver

[12] In a side-note, Purchas says a parasang consists of sixty furlongs. This is a most egregious error, as the parasang or farsang is exactly equal to 2.78 English miles, or twenty-two two-5ths furlongs.—E.

[13] Farra, the capital of a district of the same name in the north of Segistan, is in lat. 32° 40′ N. long. 62° 40′ E.—E.

silver coin from Persia, except that of the reigning king. They likewise look narrowly for horses and slaves, neither of which are allowed to be taken out of the country.

We remained here two days waiting for certain Armenians, with whom we travelled the rest of the journey, leaving our former companions. The 9th of August we went only one parasang to a river. The 10th we travelled seven p. and lodged in the open fields. The 11th, four p. to a small village, where we had plenty of provisions. The 12th, four p. where we had to dig for water. The 13th, eight p. and the 14th five p. to a village named *Draw*, [Durra,] where we remained a day, as it is the custom of those who travel with camels to rest once in four or five days. The 16th, we advanced three p. The 17th, four p. The 18th, five p. to *Zaide-basha*, [Sarbishe,] where abundance of carpets are to be had. The 19th we came to a village named *Mude*, [Moti,] where also are carpets. The 20th, five p. to *Birchen*, [Berdjan,] where are manufactured great quantities of fine felts, and carpets of camels hair, which are sold at the rates of from two to five abacees the *maund*. At this place we rested a day. The 22d, we went to *Dea-zaide*, [Descaden,] where all the inhabitants pretend to be very religious, and sell their carpets, of which they have great abundance, at a cheap rate. The 23d, three p. The 24th, five p. to *Choore*, [Cors or Corra,] an old ruined town. The 25th, three p. The 26th, seven p. when we had brackish stinking water. The 27th we came to *Dehuge*, [Teuke,] where is a considerable stream of hot water, which becomes cool and pleasant after standing some time in any vessel. The 28th we went seven p. to *Dea-curma*.

The 29th we went five p. to *Tobaz*,[13] where we had to pay half an abacee for each camel. At this place all caravans take four or five days rest, the better to enable them to pass the adjoining salt desert, which extends four long days journey, and in which many miscarry. We found here a small caravan of an hundred camels, which set off the next day after our arrival. Here, and in the former village, there is great store of dates; and 3000 maunds of the finest silk in Persia

[13] Tabaskili, or Tobas Kileke, in Cohestan, is probably the place here meant, in which case the route appears to have passed from Farra by the south of the inland sea or lake of Durrah, but which is not noticed by our travellers. Our conjectural amendments of the names of places on the route are placed within brackets.—E.

Persia are made here yearly, and is carried to *Yades*, [Yezd,] a fair city, where likewise they make much raw silk, and where it is manufactured into taffaties, satins, and damasks. The king does not allow the exportation of raw silk, especially into Turkey; but the Portuguese used to carry it to Portugal. *Yades*, [Yezd,] is about twelve days journey from Ispahan, and is twelve p. out of the way from the Indian route to the capital.

The 30th of August we advanced nine p. into the desert, and lay on the ground, having to send our beasts three miles out of the way for water, which was very salt. The 31st, after travelling ten p. we came to water which was not at all brackish. The 1st September we went five p. and had to send two miles for water. The 2d we went nine p. to a small castle, where we procured a small quantity of provisions. The 3d, five p. and lay in the fields, having to send far for water. The 4th, ten p. to *Seagan*. The 5th, four p. The 6th, ten p. to a castle called *Irabad*, [Hirabad,] where we paid half an *abacee* for each camel. The 7th, six p. The 8th, eight p. to *Ardecan*, where we rested till the 10th, when we went four p. to *Sellef*. The 11th, three p. to a small castle named *Agea Gaurume*. The 12th, nine p. to a spring in the fields. The 13th, three p. to *Beavas*. The 14th, four p. to *Goolabad*, whence Richard Steel rode on to Ispahan, without waiting for the caravan. The 15th we came to *Morea Shahabad*, five p. The 16th, to *Coopa*, five p. The 17th, to *Dea Sabs*, five p. The 18th, four p. and lay in the fields. And on the 19th, after three p. we came to *Ispahan*.

Richard Steel reached this city on the 15th, at noon, and found Sir Robert Shirley already provided with his dispatches from the king of Persia as ambassador to the king of Spain. Sir Robert, attended by his lady, a bare-footed friar as his chaplain, together with fifty-five Portuguese prisoners, and his own followers, were preparing in all haste to go to Ormus, and to embark thence for Lisbon. The purpose is, that seeing the Portuguese not able to stand, the Spaniards may be brought in.[14] Six friars remain as hostages for his safe return to Ispahan, as otherwise the king has vowed to cut them all in pieces, which he is likely enough to do, having put his own son to death, and committed a thousand other severities.

On

[14] The meaning of this passage is quite obscure in the Pilgrims, and the editor does not presume upon clearing the obscurity.—E.

On his arrival at Ispahan, Richard Steel delivered his letters to Sir Robert,[15] who durst hardly read them, except now and then, as by stealth, fearing lest the Portuguese should know of them. He afterwards said it was now too late to engage in the business of our nation, and seemed much dissatisfied with the company, and with the merchants and mariners who brought him out. But at length he said he was a true-hearted Englishman, and promised to effect our desires. On the 19th, the friars being absent, he carried both of us to the master of the ceremonies, or *Maimondare*, and took us along with him to the Grand Vizier, *Sarek Hogea*, who immediately called his scribes or secretaries, and made draughts of what we desired: namely, three *firmauns*, one of which John Crowther has to carry to Surat, one for Richard Steel to carry to England, and the third to be sent to the governor of *Jasques*, all sealed with the great seal of the king. The same day that these firmauns were procured, being the last of September, Sir Robert Shirley set out for Shiras in great pomp, and very honourably attended.

Copy of the Firmaun granted by the King of Persia.

"Firmaun or command given unto all our subjects, from the highest to the lowest, and directed to the *Souf-basha*, or constable of our country, kindly to receive and entertain the *English Franks*[16] or nation, when any of their ships may arrive at Jasques, or any other of the ports in our kingdom, to conduct them and their merchandize to what place or places they may desire, and to see them safely defended upon our coasts from any other Franks whomsoever. This I will and command you to do, as you shall answer in the contrary. Given at our royal city, this 12th of *Ramassan*, in the year of our *Tareag*, 1024. [October, 1615.]"

The chief commodities of Persia are raw silks, of which it yields, according to the king's books, 7700 *batmans* yearly. Rhubarb grows in Chorassan, where also worm-seed grows.

[15] Of the landing of Sir Robert Shirley, see Peyton's first voyage before; and of the rest of his journey see the second voyage of Peyton, in the sequel.—*Purch.*

[16] Frank is a name given in the East to all western Christians, ever since the expedition to the Holy Land, because the French were the chief nation on that occasion, and because the French council at Clermont was the cause of that event.—*Purch.*

Carpets of all sorts, some of silk and gold, silk and silver, half silk, half cotton, &c. The silver monies of Persia are the *abacee*, *mahamoody*, *shakee*, and *biftee*, the rest being of copper, like the *tangas* and *pisos* of India. The *abacee* weighs two *meticals*, the *mahmoody* is half an abacee, and the *shahee* is half a *mahamoody*. In the dollar or rial of eight there are thirteen shahees.[17] In a shahee there are two *biftees* and a half, or ten cashbegs, one *biftee* being four *cashbegs*, or two *tangs*. The weights differ in different places; two *mahans* of Tauris being only one of Ispahan, and so of the *batman*. The measure of length, for silks and other stuffs, is the same with the pike of Aleppo, which we judge to be twenty-seven English inches.

John Crowther returned into India, and Richard Steel went to England by way of Turkey, by the following route. Leaving Ispahan on the 2d December, 1615, he went five p. to a serail. The 3d, eight p. to another serail. The 4th, six p. to a village. The 5th, seven p. to *Dreag*. The 6th, seven p. to a serail. The 7th, eight p. to *Golpigan*, [Chulpaigan.] The 8th, seven p. to *Curouan*. The 9th, seven p. to *Showgot*. The 10th, six p. to *Saro*, [Sari.] The 11th, eight p. to *Dissabad*. The 12th, twelve p. to a fair town called *Tossarkhan*, where he rested some days, because the country was covered deep with snow. The 15th, six p. to *Kindaner*. The 16th, eight p. to *Sano*. The 17th to *Shar nuovo*, where I was stopped by the *daiga*; but on shewing him letters from the vizier, he bade me depart in the name of God and of Ali. The 18th we passed a bridge where all travellers have to give an account of themselves, and to pay a tax of two *shakees* for each camel. The 19th we came to *Kassam-Khan*, the last place under the Persian government, and made a present to the governor, that he might give me a guard to protect me from the Turkomans, which he not only did, but gave me a licence to procure provisions free at his villages without payment, which yet I did not avail myself of.

The 21st of December I began to pass over a range of high mountains which separate the two empires of Persia and Turkey, which are very dangerous; and, on the 22d, at the

[17] Assuming the Spanish dollar at 4s. 6d. sterling, the shahee ought therefore to be worth about 4d. 1-6, the mahamoody, 8d. 1-3, and the abacee, 1s. 4d. 2-3.—E.

the end of eight p. I arrived at a village. The 23d, after travelling seven p. I lay under a rock. The 24th I came to *Mando*, eight p. a town belonging to the Turks. The 25th, eight p. to *Emomester*. The 26th, eight p. to *Boroh*, passed over a river in a boat, and came that night to Bagdat. I was here strictly examined and searched for letters, which I hid under my saddle; but observing one trying there also, I gave him a sign, on which he desisted, and followed me to my lodging for his expected reward. I fared better than an old Spaniard, only a fortnight before, who was imprisoned in chains in the castle, and his letters read by a Maltese renegado. I found here a Portuguese, who had arrived from Ormus only two days before me. The pacha made us wait here twenty days for a sabandar of his.

The 16th of January, 1616, we passed the river Tigris, and lay on the skirt of the desert. The 17th we travelled five *agatzas*, being leagues or parasangs. The 18th we came to the Euphrates at *Tulquy*, where merchandize disembarked for Bagdat, after paying a duty of five per cent. passes to the Tigris, and thence to the Persian gulf. After a tedious journey, partly by the river Euphrates, and partly through the desert, and then by sea, he arrived at Marseilles, in France, on the 15th April, and on the 10th May at Dover.

Section IV.

Voyage of Captain Walter Peyton to India, in 1615.[1]

This voyage seems to have been under the command of Captain Newport, who sailed as general in the Lion; but is called, in the Pilgrims, The *Second* Voyage of Captain Peyton to the East Indies, because the former voyage of Newport was written by Peyton, who, though he occasionally mentions the general, never once names him. In this voyage Peyton sailed in the Expedition; the fleet consisting of three other ships, the Dragon, Lion, and Pepper-corn. The journal appears to have been abbreviated by Purchas, as he tells us it was *gathered out of his larger journal.* This voyage is chiefly remarkable as introductory to the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, contained in the subsequent section, as

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 528.

as Sir Thomas and his suite embarked in this fleet. Instead of giving the remarks of Sir Thomas Roe in his own journal, so far as they apply to the voyage between England and Surat, these have been added in the text of the present voyage, distinguishing those observations by T. R. the initials of his name, and placing them all in separate paragraphs.

We learn by a subsequent article in the Pilgrims, I. 603, That Captain William Keeling was general, or chief commander of this fleet, and sailed in the Dragon, Robert Bonner master. The other two ships were the Pepper-corn, Captain Christopher Harris, and the Expedition, Captain William Peyton.—E.

§ 1. *Occurrences during the Voyage from England to Surat.*

We sailed from Gravesend on the 24th January, 1615, and on the 2d February Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from his majesty to the Great Mogul, repaired on board the Lion, with fifteen attendants. At the same time, Mr Humphry Boughton embarked in the Pepper-corn, being recommended by the king to the company for a passage to India. We carried out in the fleet eleven Japanese, who were brought to England in the Clove, divided proportionally among the ships; likewise fourteen Guzerates, brought home in the Dragon, together with nineteen condemned persons from Newgate, to be left for the discovery of unknown places, the company having obtained their pardons from the king for this purpose. On the 20th, some of the Dragon's men, among whom were the *Newgate birds*, attempted to run away with the pinnace, but were prevented: Yet next night one of these condemned men, and two of the crew of the Pepper-corn, carried away her pinnace. Two of my men conspired to carry away my boat that same night, but were discovered.

The 23d February we set sail from the Downs, and on the 6th March we lost sight of the Lizard. The 26th we saw land, supposed to be the western part of Fuerteventura, but it proved to be part of Barbary. One of the points of land at the mouth of the river *Marhequena*, we found to be laid down wrong, a whole degree more northerly than it ought to be; as likewise cape Bajadore is misplaced a whole degree, which we found by experience, escaping great danger caused by that error in our charts. The 26th of April we got into the trade wind; and on the 10th May, being by estimation

timation 620 leagues west of the Cape of Good Hope, we saw many *pintadoes*, *mangareludas*, and other fowls.

The 5th June we came to anchor in Saldanha bay, having only buried three or four men since leaving England, out of our whole fleet, and had now about thirty sick, for whom we erected five tents ashore. *Corey*[2] came down and welcomed us after his manner, by whose means the savages were not so fearful or thievish as at other times. They brought us cattle in great abundance, which we bought for shreds of copper. Corey shewed his house and his wife and children to some of our people, his dwelling being at a town or *craal* of about an hundred houses, five English miles from the landing place. Most of these savages can say *Sir Thomas Smith's English ships*, which they often repeat with much pride. Their wives and children came often down to see us, whom we gratified with bugles, or such trifles; and two or three of them expressed a desire to go with us to England, seeing that Corey had sped so well, and returned so rich, with his copper suit, which he preserves at his house with much care. Corey also proposed to return with us, accompanied by one of his sons, when our ships are homeward-bound. On the east side of the *Table* mountain there is another village of ten small houses, built round like bee-hives, and covered with mats woven of bent grass.

" The land at the Cape of Good Hope, near Saldanha bay, [Table bay] is fertile, but divided by high and inaccessible rocky mountains, covered with snow, the river Dulce falling into the bay on the east side. The natives are the most barbarous people in the world, eating carrion, wearing the guts of sheep about their necks, and rubbing their heads, the hair on which is curled like the negroes, with the dung of beasts and other dirt. They have no clothing, except skins wrapped about their shoulders, wearing the fleshy side next them in summer, and the hairy side in winter. Their houses are only made of mats, rounded at the top like an oven, and open on one side, which they turn as the wind changes, having no door to keep out the weather. They have left off their former custom of stealing, but are quite ignorant of God, and seem to have no religion. The air and water here are both excellent, and the country is very healthy.

[2] Corey, or Coree, was a savage, or Hottentot chief, who had been in England.—*Purch.*

thy. The country abounds in cattle, sheep, antilopes, baboons, pheasants, partridges, larks, wild-geese, ducks, and many other kinds of fowls. On the Penguin isle [Dassen or Robber's island,] there is a bird called penguin, which walks upright, having no feathers on its wings, which hang down like sleeves faced with white. These birds cannot fly, but walk about in flocks, being a kind of mixture, or intermediate link, between beast, bird, and fish, yet mostly bird. The commodities here are cattle and *ningin* roots; and I believe there is a rock yielding quicksilver.[3] The Table mountain is 11,853 feet high.[4] The bay is full of whales and seals, and is in lat. 33° 45′ S."—T. R.

On the 16th of June, after a consultation, we set ashore ten of our condemned persons to remain at the Cape. These were John Crosse, Henry Cocket, Clerke, Brand, Booth, Hunyard, Brigs, Pets, Metcalf, and Skilligall. These men agreed that Crosse should be their chief, and we gave them weapons for their defence against men and wild beasts, together with provisions and clothes. The natives at this place are especially desirous of brass, and care not much for copper, chiefly wishing to have pieces of a foot square. They care little for iron hoops. We caught seven or eight hundred fishes in the river, at one haul of our seyne. The country people brought us for sale a root called *Ningin*,[5] of which we bought a handful for a small piece of copper an inch and half long. Our men got some of this, but not so good, this not being the season when it is ripe; for, when in full perfection, it is as tender and sweet as anise-seeds.

We sailed from Saldanha on the 20th June, and on the the 21st we had sight of land in 34° 28′ S. being the land to the west of cape *de Arecife*, laid down 28′ more northwardly than it ought in the charts of *Daniel*. On the 6th July we ought

[3] Ningin, or Ginseng, is mentioned afterwards. The quicksilver rock has not been found.—E.

[4] This height is probably an exaggeration, or was measured up its slope or talus, not ascertained perpendicularly.—E.

[5] A medicinal root, much prized at Japan, somewhat like a *skerrit*.—*Purch.* Probably that named Ginseng, in high repute in China and Japan for its fancied restorative and provocative powers, like the mandrake of holy writ, but deservedly despised in the Materia Medica of Europe. Its whole virtues lay in some supposed resemblance to the human figure, founded on the childish doctrine of signatures; whence, at one time, every thing yellow was considered specific against jaundice, with many other and similar absurd notions.—E.

ought to have seen the coast of Madagascar, by most of our computations, and according to Daniel's charts, upon Mercator's projection, which proved false by seventy leagues in distance of longitude between the coast of Ethiopia at cape Bona Speranza and the isle of St Lawrence, as is evident from the charts projected *in plano* by *Tottens*. The 22d all the four ships anchored at *Mohelia*, where we had water from wells dug a little above high-water mark, eight or nine feet deep, close by the roots of trees. *Doman* is the chief town of this island, where the sultan resides, to whom we gave a double-locked piece and a sword. For very little money we were plentifully supplied with provisions, as poultry, goats, bullocks, lemons, oranges, limes, tamarinds, cocoa-nuts, pines, sugar-canes, and other fruits. Among the inhabitants of this island there are Arabs, Turks, and Moors, many of whom speak tolerable Portuguese. From them I had a curious account of the current at this place, which they said ran alternately fifteen days westerly, fifteen days easterly, and fifteen days not at all; and which I partly observed to be true: For, at our first coming, the current set westerly, and on the 28th it set easterly, and so continued during our stay, which was six days, but we went away before trial could be perfectly made of this report.

I learned here that the king of *Juanni* [Joanna or Hinzuan] was sovereign of this island, but entrusted its government to the sultan, who resides here. The 29th, a vessel arrived at *Doman* from *Gangamora*, in the island of Madagascar, and I was desired by the general to examine what were its commodities, which I found to consist of rice, and a kind of cloth manufactured of the barks of trees, which makes very cool garments. I enquired from the pilot, who spoke good Portuguese, respecting Captain Rowles and the other Englishmen who were betrayed on that island. He knew nothing of all this, but said that two or three years before, an English boy was at Gangamora along with the Portuguese, whom he now thought dead, but knew not how he came there. This town of *Doman* contains about an hundred houses, strongly built of stone and lime, and its inhabitants are orderly and civil. They carry on trade with the coasts of Melinda, Magadoxa, Mombaza, Arabia, and Madagascar, carrying slaves taken in their wars, which they sell for nine or ten dollars each, and which are sold afterwards in Portugal for 100 dollars a-head. At Mombaza and Maga-

doxa,

doxa, they have considerable trade in elephants teeth and drugs; and it was therefore agreed to advise the honourable company of this, that they might consider of sending a pinnace yearly to make trial of this trade. In Mohelia, we bought two or three bullocks for a bar of iron of between twenty and twenty-five pounds weight. We bought in all 200 head of cattle, and forty goats, besides poultry, fruits, &c.

"*Malalia* [Mohelia] is one of the Commora islands, the other three being *Angazesia*, [Comoro] *Juanny*, [Joanna or Hinzuan] and Mayotta, stretching almost east and west from each other. *Angazesia* [Comoro] bears N. by W. from Mohelia, and is the highest land I ever saw. It is inhabited by Moors trading with the main and the other three eastern islands, bartering their cattle and fruits for calicoes and other cloths for garments. It is governed by ten petty kings, and has abundance of cattle, goats, oranges, and lemons. The people are reckoned false and treacherous. *Hinzuan* lies east from Mohelia and Mayotta. All these three islands are well stored with refreshments, but chiefly Mohelia, and next to it Hinzuan. Here lived an old woman who was sultaness of all these islands, and under her there were three deputies in Mohelia, who were all her sons. The sultan in whose quarter we anchored is so absolute, that none of his people dared to sell a single cocoa-nut without his leave. Four boats were sent to his town to desire this liberty, which was granted. Captain Newport went ashore with forty men, and found the governor sitting on a mat, under the side of a junk which was then building, and attended by fifty men. He was dressed in a mantle of blue and red calico, wrapped about him to his knees, his legs and feet bare, and his head covered by a close cap of checquer work. Being presented with a gun and sword, he returned four cows, and proclaimed liberty for the people to trade with us. He gave the English cocoa-nuts to eat, while he chewed betel and areka-nut, tempered with lime of burnt oister shells. It has a hot biting taste, voids rheum, cools the head, and is all their physic. It makes those giddy who are not accustomed to its use, producing red spittles, and in time colours the teeth black, which they esteem handsome, and they use this continually. From the governor they were conducted to the carpenter's house, who was a chief man in the town. His house was built of stone and lime, low and little, plaistered with white

white lime, roofed with rafters, which were covered with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, the outsides wattled with canes.

"Their houses are kept clean and neat, with good household stuff, having gardens inclosed with canes, in which they grow tobacco and plantains. For dinner, a board was set upon tressels, on which was spread a fine new mat, and stone benches stood around, on which the guests sat. First, water was brought to each in a cocoa-shell, and poured into a wooden platter, and the rinds of cocoa-nuts were used instead of towels. There was then set before the company boiled rice, roasted plantains, quarters of hens, and pieces of goat's flesh broiled. After grace said, they fell to their meat, using bread made of cocoa-nut kernels, beaten up with honey, and fried. The drink was palamito wine, and the milk of the cocoa-nuts. Those who went to see the sultan, named *Amir Adell*, found all things much in the same manner, only that his behaviour was more light, and he made haste to get drunk with some wine carried to him by the English. The people of these islands are strict Mahomedans, and very jealous of letting their women or mosques be seen. For, on some of the English coming near a village, they shut them up, and threatened to kill them if they came nearer. Many of them speak and write Arabic, and some few of them Portuguese, as they trade with Mosambique in junks of forty tons burden, built, caulked, and rigged all out of the cocoa-nut tree. Here we bought oxen and cows, fat but small, Arabian sheep, hens, oranges, lemons, and limes in abundance, paying for them in calicoes, hollands, sword-blades, dollars, glasses, and other trifles."—T. R.

We sailed from Mohelia on the 2d August, and on the 17th got sight of cape Guardafui, where the natives seemed afraid of us. The 20th we anchored in the road of *Galencia* in Socotora, where the fierceness of the wind raised the sea into a continual surf all round about us, and by the spray, blown about us like continual rain, our masts, yards, and tackle were made white all over by the salt, like so much hoar-frost. The 23d we anchored at *Tamara*, the town where the king resides, and on the 24th at *Delisha*. They here demanded thirty dollars for the quintal of aloes, which made us buy the less. The *Faiking* told us that Captain Downton had bought 100 quintals, and it was still so liquid, either from newness, or because of the heat, that it was ready to run out of the skins. The quintal of this place, as tried

by our beam, weighed 103 ½ pounds English. Aloes is made from the leaves of a plant resembling our sempervivum, or house-leek, the roots and stalk being cut away, the rest strongly pressed, and the juice boiled up to a certain height, after which it is put into earthen pots, closely stopped for eight months, and is then put into skins for sale. The north part of Socotora is in 12° 30′, and the body in 120° 25′.[6] It is fourteen leagues from this island to *Abdul Curia*, and as much more from thence to cape *Guardafui*. Such as mean to sail for Socotora, should touch at that cape, and sail from thence next morning a little before day-break, to lose no part of the day-light, the nights here being dark and obscure, with fogs and boisterous winds, during the months of August and September. On getting into *Abdul Curia*, they may anchor on the west side in seven or eight fathoms, under the low land; or, if they cannot get to anchor, should keep close hauled in the night to the southward, lest the wind and northerly current put them too much to leeward before day. Notwithstanding the monsoon, the winds do not blow steadily, being sometimes S. by W. and S.S.W. but seldom to the east of south.

"Socotora is an island not far from the mouth of the Red Sea, being the *Dioscuria* or *Disoscordia* of the ancients, in lat. 13° 20′ N. It was governed when we were there by a sultan, named Amir Ben-said, son of the king of Fartaque, in Arabia Felix, which lies between the latitudes of 15° and 18° N. on the coast of Arabia. This king was in peace with the Turks, on condition of assisting them with 5000 men when required, and then these troops to be paid and maintained by the Turks, to whom he paid no other acknowledgement. Near to the sea about Dofar, there is another petty Arab sovereign, whom he of Fartaque dare not meddle with, because he is under the protection of the Grand Signior.

"The sultan of Socotora came down to meet us at the shore, accompanied by 300 men, and had a tent set up for his accommodation. He was on horseback, as were two of his principal attendants, and a third on a camel, the people running before and behind him shouting. He had two companies of guards, one composed of his own subjects, and the other

[6] These two numbers unquestionably relate to the longitude and latitude respectively, though strangely expressed. The true lat. is 13° 20′ N. and long. 53° E. from Greenwich.—E.

other consisting of twelve hired Guzerates, some armed with Turkish bows, some with pistols, and some with muskets, but all having good swords. He had also a few kettle-drums, and one trumpet. He received the general in a courteous manner, and was so absolute, that no person could sell any thing except himself. His people sat about him very respectfully; his clothes were of Surat cloths, made in the Arabian fashion, with a cassock of red and white wrought velvet, and a robe of which the ground was cloth of gold. He wore a handsome turban, but his legs and feet were bare.

"Every night these people all stand or kneel towards the setting sun, the *zerife* throwing water on their heads, being all Mahomedans. The king's town, named Tamara, is built of stone and lime, all whited over, the houses built with battlements and pinnacles, and all flat-roofed. At a distance it looks well, but within is very poor. Mr Boughton had leave to see the king's house, and found it such as might serve an ordinary gentleman in England. The lower rooms were used as warehouses and wardrobe, a few changes of robes hanging about the walls, and along with them were some twenty-five books of their law, religion, history, and saints lives. No person could be permitted to go up stairs to see his three wives, or the other women; but the ordinary sort might be seen in the town, their ears all full of silver rings. In the mosque the priest was seen at service. Mr Boughton had for his dinner three hens, with rice, his drink being water, and a black liquor called *cahu*, [coffee] drank as hot as could be endured.

"On a hill, a mile from Tamara, there is a square castle, but we could not get leave to see it. The inhabitants are of four sorts. The first are Arabs, who have come in by means of conquest, who dare not speak in presence of the sultan without leave, and kissing his hand. The second sort are slaves, who kiss his foot when they come into his presence, do all his work, and make his aloes. The third sort are the old inhabitants of the country, called Bedouins, though I think these are not the oldest of all, whom I suppose to have been those commonly called Jacobite Christians: For, on Mr Boughton going into a church of theirs, which the Arabs had forced them to abandon, he found some images and a crucifix, which he took away. The Mahomedans would not say much about these people, lest other Christians might relieve or support them. These Bedouins, having

ving had wars with the Arabs, live apart from them in the mountains. The fourth kind of people, or original natives, are very savage, poor, lean, naked, and wear their hair long. They eat nothing but roots, ride about on buffaloes, conversing only among themselves, being afraid of all others, having no houses, and live more like wild beasts than men, and these we conjecture to have been the original natives of the place.

"The island is very mountainous and barren, having some beeves, goats, and sheep, a few dates and oranges, a little rice, and nothing else for the food of man. All its commodities consist of aloes, the inspisated juice of a plant having a leaf like our house-leek. The only manufacture is a very poor kind of cloth, used only by slaves. The king had some dragon's blood, and some Lahore indigo, as also a few civet cats and civet. The dead are all buried in tombs, and the monuments of their saints are held in much veneration. The chief of these was one *Sidy Hachun*,[7] buried at Tamara, who was slain about an hundred years before we were there, and who, as they pretend, still appears to them, and warns them of approaching dangers. They hold him in wonderful veneration, and impute high winds to his influence."—T. R.

The 31st of August we sailed from Socotora. The 10th September we had quails, herons, and other land-birds blown from the land, and unable to return. The 14th we had sight of Diu, and the 16th of Damaun, both inhabited by the Portuguese, and strongly fortified. On the 18th we passed the bar of Surat, and came to anchor in the road of Swally. Next day we sent a messenger on shore, and our boat returned the same night, bringing off Mr William Bidulph, who told us of all the affairs of the country, and that *Zulphecar Khan*[8] was now governor of Surat. At this place we bought sheep for half a dollar each, and got twenty hens for a dollar. On the 22d Mr Barker and other merchants were sent to Surat to provide furniture for a house to accommodate the lord ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe. They were searched most narrowly, even their pockets, and the most secret parts of their dress, according to the base manner of this country,

[7] Sidy, or Seid, signifies a descendant or relative of Mahomet, and Hachem, a prophet.—E.

[8] In the Pilgrims this person is named Zulpher-Car-Chan, but we believe the orthography in the text is more correct.—E.

country, in which a man has to pay custom for a single dollar in his purse, or a good knife in his pocket; and if one has any thing rare, it is sure to be taken away by the governor, under pretence of purchase.

The lord ambassador landed on the 25th, accompanied by our general, all the captains and merchants, and eighty men under arms, part pikes, and part muskets. Forty-eight guns were fired off from the ships, which were all dressed out with colours and streamers, flags and pendants. On landing, he was received in a splendid tent by the chief men of Surat, who welcomed him to India. There was much to do about their barbarous search, which they would have executed on all his attendants, which he strenuously resisted, and at length he and three or four of his principal followers were exempted, while the rest were only slightly handled for fashion-sake. A great deal passed on this occasion between the governor and the ambassador, about these rude and barbarous exactions, Sir Thomas justly contending for the honour and immunity of an ambassador from an independent king; while they insisted to make no difference between him and others of similar rank in those parts, and of our own likewise, who had formerly assumed the name of ambassadors. Their barbarous usage not only perplexed him there, and detained him long till an order came from court, but gave him much plague all the time he remained in the country, as will appear afterwards from his own journal. They could not easily be persuaded to allow of any difference between him and Mr Edwards, who had been considered by them in the same light with Sir Thomas.

Mr Barwick's man, who had been inveigled to run away by a deserter from Captain Best who had turned Mahomedan, was brought back from Surat on the 1st of October. Others afterwards ran away to Damaun, and wrote to their comrades to induce them to do the same. The 2d, two Hollanders came on board, who had travelled by land from Petapulli, on the Coromandel coast. On the 10th, the governor's brother came on board, making many fair speeches, and had a present given him. The governor impudently urged us to give him presents, though he had already received three, but found fault with them, and even named what he would have given him, being beggar and chooser both at once. We had this day news of Mr Aldworth's death; and on the 5th November we received intelligence of the lord ambassador

ambassador having fallen sick at Burhanpoor, and that Mr Boughton was dead.

The most current coin at Surat is rials of eight, or Spanish dollars, of which the old with the plain cross passes for five mahmoodies each. The new dollars, having flower-de-luces at the ends of the cross, if not light, are worth four ¾ mahmoodies. The *mahmoody* is a coarse silver coin, containing thirty *pice*, and twelve *drams* make a *pice*. The English shilling, if full weight, will yield thirty ½ pice. Larines are worth much the same with mahmoodies.[9] There are sundry kinds of rupees, some of which are worth half a dollar, and others less, by which one may be easily deceived. The trade at Surat is conducted by brokers, who are very subtle, and deceive both buyer and seller, if not carefully looked after. In weights, each city of India differs from another. The commodities are infinite, indigos being the chief, those of Lahore the best, and those from Sarkess inferior. Great quantities of cloths made of cotton, as white and coloured calicoes, containing fourteen yards the book or piece, from 100 to 200 mahmoodies each. Pintadoes, chintzes, chadors, sashes, girdles, cannakens, trekannies, serrabafs, aleias, patollas, sellas, quilts, carpets, green ginger, suckets or confections, lignum aloes, opium, sal amoniac, and abundance of other drugs. Vendible commodities are knives, mirrors, pictures, and such like toys; English cloth, China wares, silk, and porcelain, and all kinds of spices. The Guzerates load their great ships, of nine, twelve, or fifteen hundred tons, at Gogo, and steal out unknown to the Portuguese.

The chief places for trade on the river Sinde, or Indus, are Tatta, *Diul-sinde*, Mooltan, and Lahore. The Expedition, on her former voyage, had landed the Persian ambassador, Sir Robert Shirley, at *Diul-sinde;* and of him I have thought it right to give the following particulars, as an appendix to my former voyage, having learnt them from some of his followers at Agra. Being weary of *Diul-sinde*, through the evil conduct of the governor, and the attempts of the Portuguese to molest him, who even used their endeavours to cut him off, for which purpose twelve of them had gone there from Ormus, he asked leave to proceed to Tatta; but, being refused

[9] From this explanation, the *mahmoody* and larine may be assumed as worth one shilling; the *pice* as equal to a farthing and a half, and the dram at about 1-10th of a farthing.—E.

refused permission, he went without leave, and having by the way to pass a river where none durst ferry him over, because prohibited by the governor on pain of death, he constructed a raft of timber and boards, on which he and Nazerbeg embarked. They were no sooner shoved off than twenty or thirty horse came from the governor in great haste to detain them. And as Nazerbeg was unable to guide the raft against the tide, some men swam to the raft and brought them back, on which occasion they narrowly escaped being drowned. Some of his followers being indignant at this rude dealing, one Mr John Ward shot off his pistol in their faces, and was instantly slain by another shot, and all the rest were carried back prisoners to *Diul-sinde*, being pillaged by the soldiers on their way. After some time in prison, they were permitted to proceed to Tatta, where they were kindly entertained by the governor of that place, who was a Persian. Before leaving Diul-sinde, Sir Thomas Powell and Mr Francis Bub died. Sir Robert Shirley remained at Tatta till a fit opportunity offered of proceeding to Agra, where he went at last, finding the way long and tedious, and much infested by thieves. He went there however in safety, going in company with a great man who had a strong escort, and for whom he had to wait two months.

In this time Lady Powell was delivered of a son, but both she and her child died soon after, together with Mr Michael Powell, brother to Sir Thomas, losing their lives in this tedious waiting in boats for the great man. On his arrival at Agra, Sir Robert was favourably entertained by the Great Mogul, who sent for the Banian governor of Diul-sinde to answer at court to the complaint, and promised Sir Robert to have his own revenge if he would stay; but he hasted away to Persia, after receiving many presents from the Mogul, who gave him an escort, and all necessaries for his journey, in which he had not a single English attendant, as John Heriot died at Agra, and Mr Richard Barber, his apothecary, returned to Surat. Of all his company, three only remained with him, his lady and her female attendant, two Persians, the old Arminian, and the Circassian. His Dutch jeweller came to Surat along with Mr Edwards.

§ 2.

§ 2. *Occurrences at Calicut and Sumatra, Miscarriage of the English Ships, Abuses of the Dutch, and Factories in India.*

We took a Portuguese prize on the 29th of February, 1616. The 3d March, while at anchor in the road of Calicut, the deputy of the Zamorin came aboard, attended by many boats, signifying the joy of his master at our arrival, and his earnest desire to confer with our nation, and entreated therefore that we would tarry a few days, that he might send to the Zamorin, who was then at Cranganore besieging a castle belonging to the Portuguese. We had here abundance of provisions brought to us on board, and at reasonable rates. That same evening, there came a messenger from the Zamorin, entreating us to anchor for two or three days off Cranganore, which we accordingly did on the 5th, anchoring two leagues off shore. About noon the Zamorin sent to request the general would come ashore to visit him, but this was not deemed right without a pledge, and Mr George Barkley went ashore to wait upon him; but the Zamorin refused to reveal his intentions to any one except our general, and seemed much displeased at his not coming ashore.

The general accordingly landed on the 8th, and had an audience of the Zamorin, who wished the English to establish a factory in his dominions, for which purpose he offered a good house rent-free, freedom from custom or other exactions, for all goods brought there or carried thence, and made many protestations of affection for our nation. This was for the present declined, because most of our goods had been left at Surat, and because we were now bound for Bantam. To this the Zamorin answered, that it was no matter whether any goods were left for the present, as he only desired we might leave two or three Englishmen there, who should want for nothing, as he only wanted to be assured of our return next year with a supply of men and goods. He assured us we might be sure of loading one ship yearly with pepper, and might make sale of our commodities to a considerable extent. Upon this it was agreed to leave a factory at this place, with such goods as we could spare, which went accordingly on shore on the 9th; George Woolman being appointed chief of this new factory at Cranganore, Peter Needham and Roger Hares under-factors, together with Richard

Richard Stamford, and a boy named Edward Peake, who was appointed to learn the language. The name of the king is *Pendre Quone*[1] *Zamorin,* to whom was given, as a present, a minion or small cannon, and a barrel of powder; on which he promised, if he won the fort of Cranganore, to give it up to the English.

The 10th we received the Zamorin's letter of agreement for our privileges, with many fair protestations of love. We sailed the same day, passing before Cochin, which we could see distinctly. Next day we had a view of the town and castle of Coulan, where was a ship riding at anchor under the guns of the castle, which we boarded and brought forth without any hurt from the guns, all the crew having fled ashore. This was a Portuguese ship of four or five hundred tons, lately arrived from Bengal and Pegu, laden with rice, grain, Bengal cloths, butter, sugar, gum lack, hard wax, drugs, and other things. The 12th we espied another ship, to which we gave chase, and came up with about midnight, when she surrendered at the first shot.[2] I sent for her chief men on board my ship, the others being three or four miles a-stern, and set some of my people on board the prize, with strict charges to hurt no person. There were in this ship eighteen or twenty Portuguese, and about eighty others, men, women, and children. Her chief loading was rice, butter, sugar, lack, drugs, and Bengal cloths. We offered these people our first prize, with victuals to carry them ashore, which they refused, as fearing to be ill-used by the Malabars, having lately escaped with difficulty from a fleet of theirs of fourteen sail. Next day we landed them where they desired, and allowed them to go away unsearched for money or jewels. We had now three English ships[3] and three prizes.

The 14th we arrived at *Brinion,* in lat. 8° 30′, where we took out of the first prize what we thought useful, and then set her adrift. At *Brinion* there is a small town in a round bay, which may be known by a long white beach to the north, and to the south is all high land, having a red cliff two leagues to the south, close to the sea. From thence to cape Comorin

[1] Named *Underecon Cheete* in a subsequent article.—E.

[2] These prizes were taken from the Portuguese in part satisfaction for their unjust vexations and hostilities at Surat and other places.—*Purch.*

[3] No notice is taken of the fourth ship, the Lion, probably left at Surat; indeed, the whole of this relation is exceedingly vague and unsatisfactory, the name even of the general never being once mentioned.—E.

Comorin is sixteen leagues, the course being S.E. by S. along a bold free coast. The inhabitants of Brinion[4] are no way subject to the Portuguese. The 1st of April the island of Ceylon bore E. by S. seven leagues off. On the 10th the Peak of Adam bore north. I this day took my leave of the general, the Dragon and Pepper-corn being bound for Acheen, while I, in the Expedition, went for Priaman, Tecoo, and Bantam.

It is good to remain in Brinion till the end of March, when the easterly monsoon ends, and not to pass cape Comorin sooner, on account of calms, and because the southerly current sets towards the Maldives. All who come from the west for Priaman and Tecoo, ought to continue so as to have sufficient day-light for passing between *Nimptan*[5] and the other adjacent islands, the best channel being to the north of that island. On the 30th of April I met the Advice going for Tecoo; but, at my request, she returned for Bantam, whence she was sent to Japan. I arrived at Bantam on the 1st of May, where I found the Hosiander newly arrived from Japan, and the Attendance from *Jambo*, most of their men being sick or dead. I here learnt the death of Captain Downton, and of the arrival of Captain Samuel Castleton with the Clove and Defence, which, with the Thomas and Concord, were gone to the Moluccas, the Thomas being appointed to proceed from thence to Japan.

The 19th of May I sailed from Bantam, and the 10th June I put into Tecoo. The 3d July I hove my ship down on the careen to sheath her. It is of great use to double sheath such ships as go to Surat, as though the outer sheathing may be eaten like a honey-comb by the worms, the inner is not at all injured. It were also of great use to have the rudder sheathed with thin copper,[6] to prevent the worms from

[4] In 8° 22′ N. at the distance indicated from cape Comorin, is a place called Billingham, which may possibly be the Brinion of the text.—E.

[5] Pulo Mintaon, off the S.W. coast of Sumatra, nearly under the line, is probably here meant.—E.

[6] We had formerly occasion to notice a ship sheathed with iron at Japan, and this is the first indication or proposal for using copper in that way. Iron sheathing has never been adopted into British practice, while copper sheathing is now universal. Captain Peyton does not appear to have been aware that copper sheathing is incompatible with iron fastenings, which indeed was only learnt long after, by woeful experience, and the loss of many ships and men. In consequence of a strong predisposing chemical affinity, exerted by the contiguity of the copper and iron in the

from eating off its edges, which is very detrimental in steering, and cannot be easily remedied, being so deep in the water. The natives of Sumatra inhabiting Priaman are barbarous, deceitful, and continually craving presents or bribes; and sometimes I have been in imminent hazard of being murdered, a hundred of them drawing their crisses upon us at once, because we refused to let them have our goods on trust, or at prices of their own making. The 20th, Thomas Bonnar, master of the Expedition, died, and was succeeded by John Row, who was the third master in this voyage.

The 26th, the Dragon and Pepper-corn arrived from Acheen, where they had purchased pepper, carried there from Tecoo in large junks and praws, which navigate between these places, but never out of sight of land. The king of Acheen commands the people of Tecoo to bring their pepper to his port, and allows none to purchase it there, but those who barter their Surat goods at such rates as he pleases to impose. Often likewise, he sends to Priaman and Tecoo the Surat commodities procured by him in that manner, obliging the merchants there to buy at rates by him imposed, and no person is allowed to buy or sell till his goods are sold. This makes our trade with them the better.[7] *Jambo* is on the east side of Sumatra, and yields a similar large-grained pepper with what is procured at Priaman, but is not under the dominion of the king of Acheen, as are Baruse, Passaman, Tecoo, Priaman, Cottatinga, and other places on the western side of that island. *Baruse* is to the north of Passaman, and yields considerable quantities of benzoin; *Cottatinga* yields gold, and the other places pepper. Our general brought the king of Acheen's letter to these places, where the chief men received it with great submission, each of them kissing it and laying it on his head, promising to obey its injunctions, yet all failed in performance. It were proper, in these letters from the king, to procure all the particulars of the trade to be inserted. I set sail from Tecoo for Bantam on the 4th September.

The best gold, and the largest quantity, is to be had at the high

sea water, the muriatic acid corrodes the iron bolts and other fastenings, all of which are now made of copper in ships that are to be copper sheathed.—E.

[7] It is so expressed in the Pilgrims; yet it would seem that such arbitrary proceeding in the sovereign, assuming the character of merchant, would be destructive of all trade.—E.

high hill of Passaman, where likewise is the best, cheapest, and most abundant produce of pepper. But the air is there so pestiferous, that there is no going thither for our nation without great mortality among the men. Fortunately this is not necessary in procuring pepper, as the Surat commodities at Tecoo are sufficiently attractive. I have even observed many of the natives to labour under infectious diseases, the limbs of some being ready to drop off with rottenness, while others had huge wens or swellings under their throats, as large as a two-penny loaf, which they impute to the bad water.[8] Though a barbarous people, they are yet acquainted with the means of curing their diseases. The people of Tecoo are base, thievish, subtle, seeking gain by every kind of fraud, or even by force when they dare; using false weights, false reckonings, and even attempting to poison our meats and drinks while dressing, and crissing our men when opportunity serves: But it is to be hoped they may be inforced to keep better order, by the influence and authority of the king of Acheen. At Acheen our Portuguese prizes were disposed of, and shared according to the custom of the sea, a sixth part being divided among the captors, and the rest carried to the account of our employers. There were only five left in the factory. Many of our men were sick, owing to their immoderate indulgence in drinking arrack.

When at Bantam, in October 1616, there were four English ships, and five Hollanders at Jacatra, which raised the price of pepper; and that the more, because the Dutch boasted of having brought this year in ready money 1,600,000 dollars, which is probably a great exaggeration to brave our nation. Their last fleet of six ships took two or three ships of the Portuguese, of which they made great boasts. They endeavour to depress our nation by every manner of abuse throughout the Indies, acting towards us in a most unfriendly and unchristian manner. Even in Bantam, where they acknowledge our equal right, they threaten to pull our people out of our factory by the ears, sometimes picking quarrels with them in the streets, and even imprisoning them; and when they themselves have caused an uproar, complaining

[8] The *goitre* was long ignorantly imputed in Europe to drinking snow water; but is now well known only to affect the inhabitants of peculiar districts, as Derbyshire in England, and the Valais in Switzerland, and this district in Sumatra, where certain mineral impregnations render the water unwholesome.—E.

ing to the king of Bantam of our unquietness, and bribing him to take their parts. He receives their money, and tells us of their dealings, taking advantage of this disagreement to fleece both sides. Even at Pulo-way, an island freely surrendered to the king of England, they abused our people, leading them through the streets with halters round their necks, carrying an hour-glass before them, and proclaiming that they were to be hanged when the sand was run out. And though they did not actually proceed to that extremity, they kept them three or four days in irons, and afterwards sent them aboard the Concord and Thomasine, under a forced composition never to return. Likewise, at the return of the Hosiander from Japan, which brought thirty tons of wood for them, free of freight and charges, they reported she would have returned empty, but for their timber; which also they might have said of my ship, which brought for them, from Surat to Bantam, thirty-one *churles* of indigo and a chest of pistoles, freight-free.

Captain Castleton went to the Moluccas with four ships, the Clove, Defence, Thomas, and Concord, that he might be better able to defend himself against the Hollanders; yet, being threatened by eleven of their ships, they returned without doing much business, having only a few cloves in the Clove. The captain died there of the flux; and the bad success of that expedition, together with other faults, was laid to his charge. The Trades-increase was twice set on fire by the Javans, and the fire quenched by our people; but on a third attempt, she was fired in so many places at once, that it was impossible to save her. The Darling was laid up at Patane, in June 1615, by order of Mr Larkine and the factory, as incapable of repair. Herrold, her master, was reported of having a design to carry her off to the Portuguese; and, being prevented, he went himself. The Thomasine was cast away, in September 1615, upon a shoal in the night, seventeen leagues W. from Macasser, while returning from the Moluccas. On this occasion her goods were lost, which were not of much value, but they saved the money, being 2000 dollars, and all their provisions, remaining fourteen days on a desolate island, where they fitted up their boat, which brought themselves and their money to Bantam. All their goods and other things were left behind, and seized by the king of Macasser, who refused to make restitution. At Jacatra the Hector sunk in three fathoms

thoms water while careening, her keel being exceedingly worm-eaten. The Concord is there also laid up, so rotten and leaky that they had to take out her provisions, and let her sink close to the shore. The Hosiander, on the 15th October 1616, was appointed to sail for the Coromandel coast.

The factories which are at present established for our company in the East Indies, so far as I could hear, are these: Bantam, Jacatra, Ahmedabad, Agra, Agimere, Burhanpoor, Calicut, Masulipatam, Patepulli, Patane, Siam, Banjermassen, Succodania, Macasser, Acheen, Jambo, Tecoo, Banda, and Firando in Japan. At Bantam, Mr George Barclay was chief, with John Jordan, George Ball, Ralph Copendale, and several other factors and assistants. The principal purpose of the factory at Acheen, is to solicit for our better proceedings at Priaman and Tecoo. The place is unwholesome, more especially for such as indulge in the use of hot fiery drinks, as *arack* and *aracape*, which bring many to untimely graves, and throw discredit on the voyage. It is not to be imagined at home, how unruly are the common men abroad, never being satisfied unless when their brains are reeling with liquor. Even the king of Acheen is said to have a strange habit of getting drunk when the English resort to him, as if thereby to do them honour; and it seems dishonourable to them not to conform with him, in sitting in the water, drinking hard, and many other strange customs. He is very tyrannical and cruel to his subjects, daily cutting off the hands, arms, and legs of many, on very small and frivolous causes; or causing them to be thrown to the elephants, he himself commanding a sagacious elephant to toss the culprits so high and so often, as either to bruise or kill them, according to his caprice at the time. No one that arrives at his port may land without his *chop* or licence. On one occasion, a Dutch general came on shore without his licence, by desire of the principal factor, who presumed on his favour with the king. When the general came to the palace-gate, where another chop is necessary, the king found this irregularity to have proceeded from the presumption of the resident, whom he sent for and laid before the elephant, who tossed him three times, but so gently as not to bruise him much, giving him thus a warning how he should neglect the king's commands another time. The Dutch general stood by the while, fearing to come in for his share of this strange

strange discipline; but the king forgave him, as ignorant of the law. The poor factor, being called into the king's presence, humbly acknowledged his punishment to have been merited, yet fled with the rest of the factory at the departure of the ships; on which the king placed us in their house.

We sailed from Bantam, homeward bound, on the 1st November 1616. The 5th January 1617, I was unable to weigh our anchor, owing to the violence of the wind, to follow the Dragon to Penguin island. Ships that go round the Cape of Good Hope from India, at this season of the year, ought not to anchor short of Saldanha road, [Table Bay,] but ought to bear to leeward for Penguin island, and anchor there with two anchors at once, till the wind serve. In December, January, and February, the S.S.E. wind blows there with great violence from new to full moon. Yet I hold it dangerous to neglect this place, trusting to refreshments at St Helena, a certainty for an uncertainty; as the obscurity of the sun and moon, owing to thick mists at this season, may disappoint the most experienced navigators, and occasion the loss of ship, cargo, and men. While at the Cape, Corey came down with three sheep, and promised more, but went away in great haste to his wife and family, who dwelt now farther from the bay than formerly. It appears that the Hollanders had frightened the natives, by landing and going up the country with above an hundred men at once. Owing to this, our chief refreshment here was fresh fish.

The 9th April 1617, we passed through great quantities of sea-weeds, called *seragasso*, which float in long ridges or rows along with the wind, and at considerable distances from each other. This plant has a leaf like samphire, but not so thick, and carries a very small yellow berry. It reaches from 22° 20′ to 32° both of N. latitude. We anchored in the Downs on the 29th of May 1617.

§ 3. *Brief Notice of the Ports, Cities, and Towns, inhabited by, and traded with by the Portuguese between the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, in* 1616.

The river of *Quame*, or *Cuamo*, on the eastern coast of Africa, where they are said to trade yearly for gold, elephants teeth, ambergris, and slaves. *Mosambique*, an island on the same coast, where they trade for gold, ambergris, and slaves,

in barter for iron, lead, tin, and Cambay commodities. *Magadoxo*, which has abundance of elephants teeth, some ambergris, and various kinds of drugs. From these ports they trade yearly to Cambay, the Red Sea, and other places, observing the monsoons, which blow W. in April, May, June, July, August, and part of September, and the E. monsoon prevails all the other months. A few days between the cessation of one monsoon and the commencement of the other, the winds are variable, attended by calms, but become regular in a few days. To the east of Sumatra, however, the two monsoons continue only five months each way, the two intermediate months having variable winds.

Ormus in the gulf of Persia, whence the Portuguese trade to Persia, Diul-sinde, Arabia, &c. They fetch much pearl from Bassora;[1] and they load a ship or two with Persian commodities for Diul-sinde, where they arrive between the end of August and middle of September, taking likewise with them great store of dollars. Ormus is their best place in the Indies except Goa. At *Muskat* they have a fort and some small trade, keeping the natives in such awe by land and sea, that they dare not trade without their licence, and this practice they follow in all parts of India where they are strong. *Diul-sinde* on the Indus in the dominions of the Great Mogul. *Diu*, where they have a strong castle. Damaun, where they have a castle, and are said to have an hundred villages under their authority. *Basseen*, or *Serra de Bazein*, a little south from *Damaun*, and bordering on the Deccan; between which and *Chaul* they have three ports, *Gazein, Banda*, and *Maia*. *Chaul* is a great city with a castle. At *Dabul* they have a factory, but no fort.

Goa is their metropolitan city in India, which stands in a small island, being the seat of their viceroy, and the anchoring place of their caracks. *Onore* has a small fort. *Barcellore*, a town and castle, yields pepper, ginger, and many kinds of drugs. *Mangalore*, a town and castle. *Cananore*, a city and castle, yielding similar commodities with Barcellore. From *Calicut* they have been expelled by the Zamorin, who endeavours to do the same at *Crangalor*, [Cranganore,] where they have a fort. *Cochin* is a strong city and castle, pleasantly situated on the sea in a wholesome air, with a fine river for the reception of ships. *Coulan*, a town with a small

[1] This is a mistake for the isle of Bahrein.—E.

a small castle; near which is a village named St Lawrence, chiefly inhabited by friars and jesuits. *Quiloan*, a small city with a castle. *Tuckatra*, a town and castle, the inhabitants being mostly Christians.

Manaar is on the island of Ceylon, between Cape Comorin and Point-de-Gale, where they have a town inhabited by Portuguese. In this island also they have *Columbo*, and many other small places, having conquered most of the island, which yields cinnamon and various drugs. *Negapatnam* is a city of great trade, on the coast of Coromandel, where they have only a factory. St Thomas, or *Meliapoor*, is a walled town inhabited by the Portuguese. In Bengal, up the river Ganges, they have a town, besides some factories and many small habitations. They have a factory in Pegu, another in Aracan, and one in the river of Martaban. Also at *Junkceylon* they have a great factory, whence they fetch considerable quantities of tin to the Malabar coast.

Malacca is a strong city and castle belonging to the Portuguese, and the centre of a great trade in those parts of India. From this place the king of Acheen has long sought to root them out, and has burnt and plundered some of their ships this year, 1619. At *Macao*, an island on the coast of China, they have a city with a castle, where they are said to carry on much trade with the Chinese. They have a factory in Japan, but neither town nor fort; and trade thence with the coast of China. The Dutch are said to make much spoil of the vessels employed on this trade, Portuguese, Chinese, and others, accounting all fish that fall into their net.

SECTION V.

Notes, concerning the Proceedings of the Factory at Cranganore, from the Journal of Roger Hawes.[1]

On the 4th of March 1615, we chased a Portuguese frigate, which ran into a creek and escaped. While on our way

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 603.—Hawes sailed in the fleet under Keeling, in 1615, which carried out Sir Thomas Roe, already related in Sect. IV. of this chapter; and the present short article almost exclusively relates to

way towards Cape Comorin, a Tony came aboard of us, with messengers from the Zamorin to our general, Captain William Keeling. Next day, the governor sent a present, and entreated the general to proceed to Cranganore, which we did next day, taking with us the messengers sent from the Zamorin, who requested the general to come on shore to speak with him. But, while he was doing so, some frigates came and anchored near the shore, by which he was constrained to go on board the Expedition, Captain Walter Peyton. On this occasion some shots were exchanged, but little harm was done. The general went ashore on the 8th, accompanied by Mr Barclay, the cape merchant, and several others. They were well used, and agreed to settle a factory in the dominions of the Zamorin, the following being the articles agreed upon:—

"*UNDERECON CHEETE, Great Zamorin, &c. to JAMES, King of Britain, &c.* Whereas your servant and subject, William Keeling, arrived in my kingdom at the port of Cranganore, in March 1615, with three ships, and at my earnest solicitation came ashore to see me; there was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the English nation, as followeth.

"As I have ever been at enmity with the Portuguese, and propose always so to continue, I do hereby faithfully promise to be and to continue in friendship with the English, both for myself and my successors: And, if I succeed in taking the fort of Cranganore, I engage to give it to the English, to possess as their own, together with the island belonging to it, which is in length along the sea-coast nine miles, and three in breadth; and I propose to build therein a house for my own people, to the number of one hundred persons.

"I shall hereafter endeavour, with the aid of the English, to conquer the town and fort of Cochin, which formerly belonged to my crown and kingdom, and shall then deliver it to the English as their own. Provided that the charges of its capture be equally borne by both parties, one half by me, and the other half by the English nation; and in that case, the

the new factory at Cranganore on the Malabar coast, in which Hawes was left as one of the factors. This is a very imperfect and inconclusive article, yet gives some idea of the manners and customs of the Malabars. —E.

the benefit of the plunder thereof, of whatsoever kind, shall belong half to me, and half to the English. And thereafter, I shall claim no right, title, or interest in the said town, precincts, or appurtenances whatsoever.

"I also covenant for myself, my heirs and successors, that the whole trade of the English, in whatsoever commodities, brought in or carried out, shall be entirely free from all custom, imposition, tax, toll, or any other duty, of any quality or description.

"To these covenants, which the shortness of time did not permit to extend in more ample form, I, the Zamorin, have sworn to perform, by the great God whom I serve, and not only for myself but for my successors; and in witness thereof have laid my hand upon this writing.[2] And the said William Keeling promises to acquaint the king his master with the premises, and to endeavour to procure his majesty's consent thereto."

This being agreed upon, a stock was made out for a factory, such as the shortness of time would permit, and three factors were appointed. These were, George Woolman, chief, Peter Needham, second, who was one of the general's servants, and I, Roger Hawes, third; together with a youth, named Edward Peake, as our attendant, who was to learn the language. John Stamford, a gunner, was likewise left to assist the Zamorin in his wars. On the 10th the ships departed, leaving us and our goods in a *shrambe* at the water side, together with a present for the Zamorin. We continued there till the 13th, at which time the last of our goods were carried to the Zamorin's castle; whose integrity we much suspected, after having thus got possession of our goods. On the 20th, he insisted to see Mr Woolman's trunk, supposing we had plenty of money. Needham had told him we had 500 rials; but finding little more than fifty, he demanded the loan of that sum, which we could not refuse. He offered us a pawn not worth half, which we refused to accept, hoping he would now allow us to proceed to Calicut, but he put us off with delays. He likewise urged us to give his brother a present.

On

[2] This probably alludes to a custom mentioned in one of our earlier volumes, of imprinting the form of the hand, smeared with ink, on the paper, instead of signature or seal.—E.

On the 28th, the Zamorin came into the apartment where we were, and gave Mr Woolman two gold rings, and one to each of the rest; and next day he invited us to come to his tumbling sports. That same night, Stamford went out with his sword in his hand, telling the boy that he would return presently. The next news we had of him was, that he was in the hands of the Cochin nayres. He had lost his way while drunk, and meeting with some of them, they asked where he wished to go; he said to the Zamorin, to whom they undertook to conduct him, and he knew not that he was a prisoner, till he got to Cochin. This incident put us in great fear, but the Zamorin gave us good words, saying he was better pleased to find him a knave now, than after he had put trust in him.

We had leave in April to depart with our goods to Calicut, where we arrived on the 22d of that month, and were well received; but had to remain in the custom-house, till we could get a more convenient house, which was made ready for us on the 6th of May, with promise of a better after the rains. We were very desirous, according to our orders from the general, to have sent a messenger with his and our letters to Surat, to acquaint our countrymen that we were here; but the governor would not consent till we had sold all our goods. On the 18th of June, one was sent. On the 26th, part of our goods were sold to the merchants of Calicut, by the governor's procurement, with fair promises of part payment shortly. But it is not the custom of the best or the worst in this country to keep their words, being certain only in dissembling. Mr Woolman was desirous of going to Nassapore to make sales, but the governor put him off with divers shifts from time to time. The 3d July, our messenger for Surat returned, reporting that he had been set upon when well forwards on his way, and had his money and letters taken from him, after being well beaten. Among his letters was one from Captain Keeling to the next general, the loss of which gave us much concern; yet we strongly suspected that our messenger had been robbed by his own consent, and had lost nothing but his honesty. A broker of Nassapore told Mr Needham, that our dispatches had been sold to the Portuguese, and when the governor heard of this, he hung down his head, as guilty. We here sold some goods to merchants of Nassapore.

Mr Woolman died on the 17th of August. We could not procure

procure payment of our promised money, and were told by our broker, that some one of our debtors would procure a respite from the governor, by means of a bribe, on which the rest would refuse till they all paid. On the 24th, the Zamorin's sister sent us word, that she would both cause our debtors to pay us, and to lend us any money we needed; but we found her as false as the rest. The queen mother also made us fair promises, and several others made offers to get letters conveyed for us to Surat; but all their words were equally false. Thus wronged, Mr Needham farther wronged himself by his indiscretion, threatening, in presence of a nayre who attended us, and who revealed his threats, that he would go to the king of Cochin, making shew of violent revenge to put the governor in fear. He behaved outrageously likewise to a *scrivano*,[3] who is the same as a justice with us, taking him by the throat, and making as if he would have cut him down with his sword, for detaining some of our money which he had received. Our broker also told Mr Needham, that it was not becoming to go up and down the streets with a sword and buckler; and indeed his whole conduct and behaviour more resembled those we call *roaring-boys*,[4] than what became the character of a merchant. For my admonitions, he requited me with ill language, disgracing himself and injuring the affairs of the company.

A Dutch ship, which had been trading in the Red Sea, arrived here on the 23d of September, with the intention of settling a factory, and they were referred by the governor to the Zamorin, promising to carry a letter for us, but went without it; so that our delays continued. Mr Needham went himself to the Zamorin on the 4th November, and returned on the 25th, having got a present of a gold chain, a jewel, and a gold armlet, with orders also from the king to further our purposes; but the performance was as slow as before. The 20th December, a Malabar captain brought in a prize he had taken from the Portuguese, and would have traded with us; but we could not get in any of our money, due long before. We also heard that day of four English ships being at Surat. The governor and people continued their wonted perfidiousness; the former being more careful in taking, and the

[3] This term is obviously Portuguese, and cannot be the proper appellation for a judge on the Malabar coast.—E.

[4] This character is now only to be met with in some of our old plays, such as Captain Bobadil in Every Man in his Humour.—E.

the latter in giving bribes, than in paying our debts. We used a strange contrivance of policy to get in some of these; for, when we went to their houses, demanding payment, and could get none, we threatened not to leave their house till they paid us. We had heard it reported, that, according to their customs, they could neither eat nor wash while we were in their houses; and by this device we sometimes got fifty *fanos* from one, and an hundred from another. They would on no account permit us to sleep in their houses, except one person, with whom we remained three days and nights, with three or four nayres. They were paid for watching him, but we got nothing. The nayre, who had been appointed by the king to gather in our debts, came to demand a gratuity from us, though he had not recovered any of our money. He would go to the debtor's houses, taking three or four *fanos*, and then depart without any of our money.

On the 9th of January, 1616, Mr Needham went to demand payment of a debt, and being refused permission to pass by a nayre who struck him, as he says, he gave the nayre a dangerous wound in the head with his sword, of which it is thought he cannot recover, and others of the natives were hurt in the fray. Word was presently brought to us to shut up our doors, lest the nayres should assemble to do us some mischief, as feuds or kindred-quarrels and murders are common among them, having no other law or means of vengeance. Our nayre with his kindred, to the number of thirty or more, with pikes, swords, and bucklers, guarded Mr Needham home, on which occasion we had to give a gratuity. Our house had to be guarded for three or four days and nights, none of us daring to go out into the streets for money or other business for a week, though before we used to go about in safety. After that, our broker advised us never to go out, unless attended by a nayre, as they had sworn to put one of us to death, in revenge for him who was slain.

The 20th, the Portuguese armado of thirty-four sail, passed by from the south, of which fourteen were ships, and the rest frigates or grabs. They put into the harbour, in which three Malabar frigates lay at anchor, and a hot fight ensued, in which the Portuguese were forced to retreat with disgrace, having only cut the hawser of one of the frigates, which drove on shore and was stove in pieces. This belonged to the governor, who was well served, for he remained like a coward

coward in the country, keeping four or five great guns that were in the town locked up, except one, and for it they had only powder and shot for two discharges. Before the fight ended, some 4000 nayres were come in from the country, and several were slain on both sides. Nine or ten Portuguese were driven ashore, and two or three of the chiefs of these were immediately hung up by the heels, and being taken down after two days, were thrown to be devoured by wild beasts.

On the 28th of January, we were told by a Pattemar, that the governor was only our friend outwardly, wishing rather to have the Portuguese in our room, as we did no good in the country, bringing only goods to sell, whereas the Portuguese did good by making purchases. The 8th of February we had letters from Surat; and on the 4th of March, the Zamorin wrote to us, that if our ships came, he wished them to come to Paniany, and that we need not be anxious for our money, as he would pay us, even if he were forced to sell his rings.

SECTION VI.

Journal of Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador from King James I. to Shah Jehanguire, Mogul Emperor of Hindoostan.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

There are two editions of this journal in our older Collections of Voyages and Travels, but both exceeding defective and imperfect. The *first* of these is in the Pilgrims of Purchas, which is said to have been "*Collected out* of the Journal of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador from his Majesty of Great Britain, to the Great Mogul." It is evidently to be considered as an *abridgement* made by Purchas, which, indeed, he fully acknowledges in a postscript, in the following terms:—"Some readers may perhaps wish they had the whole journal, and not thus contracted into *extracts* of those things out of it which I conceived more fit for the public. And for the whole, myself would have wished it; but

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 535. Churchill's Collect. I. 617.

but neither with the honourable Company, nor elsewhere, could I learn of it, the worthy knight himself being *now* employed in like honourable embassage from his majesty to the *Great Turk*." Besides that it is a mere abridgement, often most confusedly, and almost unintelligibly tacked together, this article in The Pilgrims breaks off abruptly in a most interesting part of the narrative, which we have now no means to supply. The full title of this article in The Pilgrims is as follows:—" Observations collected out of the Journal of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Ambassador from his Majesty the King of Great Britain, to the Great Mogul. Consisting of Occurrences worthy of Memory, in the way, and at the Court of the Mogul; together with an Account of his Customs, Cities, Countries, Subjects, and other Circumstances relating to India."

The *other* edition of this journal is in the collection published by the Churchills, of which we quote from the third edition of 1744, reprinted by Lintot and Osburn, booksellers in London. Of this edition the editor of that collection gives the following account:—" Sir Thomas Roe has before appeared in print, in part at least, in the collection of Purchas, since translated into French, and published in the first volume of the collection by Thevenot. He now comes again abroad with considerable additions, not foisted in, but taken from his own original manuscript, of which it would appear that Purchas only had an imperfect copy. These additions, it is true, are not great in bulk, but they are valuable for the subject; and several matters, which in the other collection are brought in abruptly, are here continued in a more methodical manner."

After an attentive comparison of these two former editions, it obviously appears that the edition by Purchas, in 1625, is in general more circumstantial and more satisfactory than that of Churchill, in 1744, notwithstanding its superior pretensions, as above stated. Yet, on several occasions, the edition in Churchill gives a more intelligible account of particulars, and has enabled us, on these occasions, to restore what Purchas, by careless abbreviation, had left an obscure and almost unintelligible jumble of words. The present edition, therefore, is formed upon a careful collation of these two former, supplying from each what was defective in the other. On the present occasion, the nautical and other observations made by Sir Thomas Roe during the voyage from England

England to Surat, are omitted, having been already inserted into the account of that voyage by Captain Peyton.

It were much to be desired that this first account of the political intercourse between Britain and Hindoostan could have been given at full length, more especially as that extensive, rich, populous, and fertile country is now almost entirely reduced under the dominion of the British crown; and as Sir Thomas Roe, even in the garbled state in which we are forced to present his observations, clearly shews the inherent vices of the Mogul government, through which it so rapidly fell into anarchy, and was torn in pieces by its own cumbrous and ill-managed strength. Perhaps the archives of the East India Company are still able to supply this deficiency in the history of its original establishment; and it were surely worthy of the more than princely grandeur of that great commercial company, to patronise the publication of a collection of the voyages, travels, negociations, and events which have conduced to raise it to a degree of splendour unexampled in the history of the world. The importance of this first embassy from Great Britain to the Great Mogul, and the vast consequences, both commercial and political, which have since arisen from that early intercourse, have induced us to give the following additional information respecting the mission of Sir Thomas Roe, from the Annals of the East India Company, vol. I. p. 174, *et sequ.*, which will in some measure supply the defects in this journal, as published by Purchas and Churchill.—E.

"The information which the Court [of Committees or Directors of the East India Company] had received, in the preceding season, [1613-14] induced them to apply to the king to grant his royal authority that an ambassador should proceed in his name to the Great Mogul. King James, in compliance with the wishes of the Company, on the 14th January, 1614-15, granted his commission to the celebrated Sir Thomas Roe, "to be ambassador to the Great Mogul, or king of India," the company agreeing to defray the expence, in consideration, that, under their exclusive privileges, they were to acquire such benefits as might result from this mission.

"Sir Thomas Roe sailed from England in March 1615, on board the Lion, Captain Newport, and arrived at Surat, whence he proceeded to the Mogul's court at Agimere, which he

he reached in December, 1615; and on the 10th January, 1616, was presented to the Mogul as ambassador from the king of England, when he delivered the king's letter and presents. Of these, an English coach was the chief article, and with it the Mogul was pleased to express his satisfaction, and to give the ambassador a gracious reception. From the company's agents having already been too profuse in their presents to the ministers and favourites, Sir Thomas found that the articles which he carried out as presents were not so highly estimated as he expected; he therefore informed the court that nothing less than valuable jewels would be deemed worthy of acceptance; and at the same time he advised that 'four or five cases of red wine' should be sent as presents to the king and prince, as, in his own words, 'never were men more enamoured of that drinke as these two, and which they would more highly esteem than all the jewels in Chepeside.'

" In describing his own situation, he stated that the natives could not comprehend what was meant in Europe by the rank or quality of an ambassador, and that in future it would be preferable to employ an agent only, who could bear these affronts without dishonour, which an ambassador, from his rank, could not encounter. He complains also, that, from want of an interpreter, he had experienced much difficulty in explaining to the Mogul, and to his ministers, the object of his mission; in particular, the grievances which the English had suffered from the governor of Ahmedabad, because the native brokers, whom he was obliged to employ, were afraid to interpret literally, lest they should either incur the king's displeasure, or be disgraced by his ministers. In his application for redress from the governor of Ahmedabad, he discovered that this officer was supported by sultan Churrum, the Mogul's eldest son,[2] and Asaph Khan, the favourite. By perseverance and firmness, however, the ambassador at length obtained the relief he solicited.

" On the 24th January, 1616, Sir Thomas had a second audience of the Mogul, at which he complained of the injuries the English had sustained from the arbitrary conduct of the governor of Surat, and so effectual were his remonstrances, that this officer was dismissed. The ambassador then proposed

[2] Sultan Chesuro appears to have been the eldest son of Jehanguire, but held in confinement for having endeavoured to supplant his father in the succession, and Churrum seems only to have been the third son.—E.

proposed to renew the articles of the *phirmaund*, or treaty between the Mogul and the English nation, and solicited to have the treaty ratified by the signatures[3] of the Mogul and Sultan Churrum, which being procured, the treaty was concluded.[4]

"The dispatches of Sir Thomas, of this year, concluded with recommending to the company, as a commercial speculation, to send out annually a large assortment of all kinds of toys, which would find a ready sale at the great festival of *Noroose*, [the new year] in the month of March.

"In 1616 we discover a jealousy in the factory at Surat, of Sir Thomas Roe, notwithstanding his efforts and success in obtaining phirmaunds from the Mogul favourable to the factories at Surat and Ahmedabad, and in general for the encouragement of English trade in the Mogul dominions; for the factors represented to the court that a merchant or agent would be better qualified for a commercial negociator than a king's ambassador; and, in support of this opinion, referred to the practice of the king of Spain, who on no occasion would send an ambassador, but always a commercial agent; and stated that Sir Thomas Roe, besides, considered himself to be vested with the exercise of a controlling power over the commercial speculations of the Surat factory, and held himself to be better qualified to judge of the English interests by combining the political relations which he wished to introduce between the Mogul and the king of England, than by forwarding any projects for trade which the factory might devise as applicable to the Mogul dominions.

"In this year he reported that he had returned thanks to Sultan Churrum for the protection which he had afforded to the English in relieving them from the extortions of Zulfeccar Khan, the late governor of Surat, and had remonstrated against the partiality which had been shown to the Portuguese; representing to the Mogul that the king of Portugal had assumed the title of king of India, and that the Portuguese trade could never be so beneficial as that of England, as the English annually exported from India calicoes and indigo to the amount of 50,000 rials. To strengthen this remonstrance,

[3] This expression is rather ambiguous, as the ratifications of such papers in India were by the seals of the princes, and not what we understand by the term used in the text.—E.

[4] It has not been thought necessary to insert the substance of this treaty as contained in the Annals, as it is given in the Journal.—E.

monstrance, Sir Thomas offered to pay to the sultan 12,000 rupees yearly, on condition that the English should be exempted from the payment of customs at the port of Surat; and then gave it as his opinion, that the plan of the agency at Surat, of keeping permanent factories at Surat, and other parts of the Mogul dominions, ought to be abandoned, as it would be preferable to make the purchases of goods inland, by the natives, [particularly the indigo from Agra, and the Bengal goods] who could obtain them at reasonable rates. But if the court were of opinion that English factors ought to be stationed at Agra, he recommended sending the goods in carts rather than on camels. He concludes this part of his report by advising that agents should reside at Cambay and Baroach, because the best cloths in India could be procured at these towns.

"Though Sir Thomas Roe appears to have procured a phirmaund through the means of Noor-Mahal, the favourite sultana or empress, for the general good treatment of the English at Surat, and had desired that an assortment of English goods, perfumes, &c. should be forwarded to him as presents to her and to her brother, Asaph Khan, he yet describes, in 1618, the governor of Surat as reluctant to shew that favour to the English which the phirmaund had enjoined. It therefore became a question with him, as the governor of Surat would not allow the English to strengthen or fortify their factory for the protection of their goods and servants, whether it might not be expedient to remove to some other station, where the means of self-defence might be more practicable. At one time he thought of Goga, and subsequently of Scindy; but, after a review of the whole, decided that it would be more expedient to remain at Surat, though, from the character of the natives, and the instability of the Mogul government, all grants of privileges must be considered as temporary, and any agreement or capitulation which might be procured, ought not to be depended on as permanent. He concludes, that, though a general phirmaund for trade in the Mogul dominions had been obtained, and of course a foundation laid for the English intercourse with the rich provinces of Bengal, yet the attempt to enter on that trade would be unwise, from being in the exclusive possession of the Portuguese.

"Sir Thomas Roe returned from the embassy to Surat in the spring of 1618-19, when it appears that the opposition in

opinion

opinion between him and the factors at that place had subsided, as the efforts of both were united to establish a distinct system for the trade of the English at Surat. It has been already stated that Sir Thomas Roe had procured a phirmaund to the English from the Mogul, for the establishment of a general trade in his extensive dominions, but that the relaxed situation of the government, which always, under the administration of the Moguls, preceded an expected succession to the throne, had rendered the governor of Surat, at this juncture, less obsequious to the orders of his sovereign than the absolute nature of the constitution would otherwise have prescribed. Under these circumstances, and to improve upon the general treaty already mentioned, Sir Thomas Roe made proposals to Sultan Churrum to enter into an alliance for resisting the pretensions of the Portuguese. After long discussions with that prince, this treaty was concluded, and the following are its leading articles.

"That the governor of Surat should lend ships to the English, to be employed in the defence of that port. The English, however, to be only allowed to land ten armed men at one time; but the resident merchants to be allowed to wear arms. That the English should be allowed to build a house in the city, but distant from the castle.[5] That the governor of Surat should receive the ambassador and his suite with marks of honour. That the English should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and be governed by their own laws. That in any dispute between the English and the natives, reference was to be made to the governor and his officers, who should decide speedily and justly; but disputes among themselves were to be decided by their own factory. That liberty of trade was to be allowed the English, in its fullest extent, on payment of the usual duties on landing the goods, from which pearls, jewels, &c. were to be exempted. That freedom of speech was to be allowed to the English linguists and brokers, in all matters regarding the trade of their employers. And, lastly, That all presents intended for the court were to be opened and examined at the custom-house of Surat, and then sealed and given back to the English, and to pass duty-free; but, in case these presents were not

[5] Though not so expressed in the Annals, this appears to have been a *fortified* house; as, on an after occasion, when Surat was taken and plundered by an armed force belonging to Sevagee, the first sovereign of the Mahrattas, the English were able to defend their factory from injury.—E.

not made, then these articles were to become liable to pay duty.

"During his residence in India, Sir Thomas Roe had likewise used his best endeavours to promote the trade of the English with the ports of Persia, in which considerable opposition was experienced from the Portuguese, who tried every expedient to engross the Persian trade to themselves, and to exclude the English from any participation. In this opposition Sir Robert Shirley had been implicated, who had gone to Europe in 1615, on a mission from the king of Persia, to form a contract with the king of Spain, then sovereign of Portugal, not only to sell to his subjects the whole of the Persian silk, but to grant them licence to fortify the sea-ports of Persia for the protection of their shipping and factories. Mr Connock, the English agent in Persia, under these circumstances, recommended the necessity of applying to king James, and submitting to his consideration the danger of allowing the Portuguese to enjoy the exclusive possession of that trade, which would render them the most powerful European nation in the East Indies. In the mean time, he represented to the king of Persia the necessity of seizing the island of Ormus from the Portuguese, under the protection of which the Persian dominions could be supplied by the English with all kinds of Indian commodities.

"In this critical situation of the company's agents at Ispahan, an ambassador arrived from the king of Spain, in June 1617, authorised to adjust and settle the contract which Sir Robert Shirley had projected. The English agent, in consequence, urged the factory at Surat to dispatch the whole of the company's ships to Jasques for the defence of that port, as the Portuguese fleet had rendezvoused at Muscat, and had determined to blockade the passage into the Persian gulf against the English trade. These events induced Sir Thomas Roe to grant a commission, and to give instructions to the company's agent at Ispahan, authorising him to treat with the king of Persia, in the name of the king of England.

"In 1618, Captain Shillinge, of the company's ship Ann, went to Mokha, and obtained a phirmaund from the governor, by which the English were allowed free trade, and protection to their persons and property, on condition of paying three per cent. on merchandize, and three per cent. on the prices of all goods exported by them from Mokha. On receiving information of this event, Sir Thomas Roe addressed a letter

a letter to the governor of Mokha, requesting that these privileges might be confirmed by the Grand Signior, and promising, on the part of the English, that all kinds of European goods should be regularly brought to Mokha, and that the English should defend that port against all enemies, and particularly against the Portuguese.

This appears to have been the last transaction of Sir Thomas Roe in the East Indies. In his voyage home he touched at Saldanha bay [Table bay] in May, 1619, where he met, and held a conference with the Dutch admiral Hoffman, who commanded the outward-bound fleet from Holland of that season. From this officer he learned that the respective governments in Europe, alarmed at the commercial jealousies and animosities between their subjects in the East Indies, had appointed commissioners to take that subject into consideration. It was therefore, with a becoming sense of duty, agreed between them that each should address a letter to the chiefs of their respective factories in India, recommending to them to abstain from any opposition or violence against each other, till each had received specific instructions from their superiors, or should be informed of the result of the conferences between the commissioners of the two nations in Europe."

§ 1. *Journey from Surat to the Court of the Mogul, and Entertainment there, with some Account of the Customs of the Country.*

I landed at Surat on the 26th September, 1615, and was received in an open tent by the chief officers of the town, well attended. On this occasion I was accompanied by the general, and principal merchants, Captain Harris being sent to make me a court of guard with an hundred shot, and the ships, all dressed out to the best advantage, saluted me with their ordnance as I passed. There was much controversy about searching my servants, but at length they passed free to the city, where we had a house provided for us. We continued there to the 30th October, suffering much vexation from the governor, who forcibly caused search many of our chests and trunks, taking away what he thought fit.

The 30th October I departed from Surat, and that day travelled only four coss to *Sumaria*.[1] The 1st November I went

[1] In this journal the names of places are exceedingly corrupted, and often

went eleven miles to a village. The 2d, to *Biarat*, twenty-one miles, where there is a castle, this town being on the borders of the kingdom of Guzerat, subject to the Mogul, and belonging to *Abraham Khan*. The 3d I entered the kingdom of *Pardaff shah*,[2] a pagan lord of the hills, who is subject to nobody; and at the end of fifteen miles we lodged in the fields, beside a city of note, called *Mugher*. The 4th we travelled nine miles by a rocky way, and lay in the fields, beside a village called Narampore. The 5th, fifteen miles, and lay in the fields. The 6th, twenty miles, to a city called *Nundabar*, in the kingdom of *Brampore*, [Burhanpoor] which is subject to the Mogul. At this place we first procured bread, after leaving Surat, as the Banians, who inhabit all the country through which we had travelled, make only cakes instead of bread. The country peculiarly abounds in cattle, as the Banians never kill any, neither do they sell any for being slaughtered. One day I met at least 10,000 bullocks loaded with grain, in one drove, and most other days I saw smaller parcels.

The 7th we went eighteen miles to *Ningull*. The 8th, fifteen to *Sinchelly*, [Sindkera.] The 9th, other fifteen to *Tolmere*, [Talnere.] And the 10th, eighteen to *Chapre*, [Choprah] where we pitched our tents without the town, and the king's officers guarded us all night with thirty horse and twenty shot, for fear of our being attacked by robbers from the mountains, as I refused to remove into the town. The 11th we travelled eighteen miles, eighteen on the 12th, and fifteen on the 13th, which brought us to *Brampore*, [Burhanpoor] which I guessed to be 223 miles east from Surat.[3] The country is miserable and barren, the towns and villages only built of mud. At *Bartharpore*,[4] a village two miles short of Burhanpoor, I saw some of the Mogul ordnance, most of which is too short, and too open in the bore. On coming to Burhanpoor, the *cutwall* met me, well attended, having sixteen stand of colours carried before him, and conducted me to a *serai* appointed for my lodging. He took leave

unintelligible. Such as admitted of being corrected, from the excellent map of Hindoostan, by Arrowsmith, have their proper names placed within brackets.—E.

[2] In the miserable map of Hindoostan, accompanying this journal in the Pilgrims, this prince is called Partap-sha.—E.

[3] The particulars of the journey in the text amount to 214 miles.—E.

[4] Perhaps Babaderpore, but it is twelve or fifteen miles short of Burhanpoor.—E.

leave of me at the gate, which had a handsome stone front; but, when in, I had four chambers allotted for me, no bigger than ovens, with vaulted roofs and bare brick walls, so that I chose to lodge in my tent. I sent word to the cutwall, threatening to leave the town, as I scorned such mean usage, but he desired me to be content till morning, as this was the best lodging in the city, which I afterwards found to be the case, as it consists entirely of mud cottages, excepting the houses inhabited by *Sultan Parvis*, the Mogul's second son, that of *Khan Khanan*, and a few others. Sultan Parvis here represents the king his father, living in great state and magnificence; but Khan Khanan, who is the greatest subject of the empire, is at the head of a large army, in which are 40,000 horse, and governs every thing, the prince only having the name and pomp allowed him.

On the 18th, both to satisfy the prince who desired it, and whom I was not willing to displease, and to see the fashions of the court, and because it was proposed to establish a factory here, where sword-blades were in great request for the army, and sold well, I went to visit the prince, to whom I carried a present. I was conducted by the cutwall, and in the outer court of the palace I found about an hundred horsemen under arms, who formed a line on each side, being all gentlemen waiting to salute the prince on his coming forth. In the inner court the prince sat in a high gallery encircling the court, having a canopy over head, and a carpet spread before him, appearing in much, yet barbarous state. Going towards him through a lane of people, an officer came and told me that I must touch the ground with my head, and with my hat off. I answered, that I came to do the prince honour by visiting him, and was not to be subjected to the custom of slaves. So I walked on till I came to a place railed in, just under where he sat, where there was an ascent of three steps; and having there made him a reverence, to which he answered by bending his body, I went within the rails, where stood all the great men then in the town, holding their hands before them like slaves. This place, as mentioned before, was covered over head by a rich canopy, and all the floor was spread with carpets. It resembled a large stage, and the prince sat on high, like a mock king in a theatre.

On entering, as I had no place assigned me, I went right forwards, and stood before him at the bottom of the three

steps, on which stood his secretary, readily to convey to him any thing that is said or given. I told him that I was ambassador from the king of England to his father; and, while passing his residence, I could not but in honour visit his highness. He answered that I was welcome, and asked me many questions about the king my master, to which I gave fit answers. While standing in that manner at the foot of the steps, I asked leave to come up and stand beside him; but he said, even if the king of Persia, or Grand Turk, were there, such a thing could not be allowed. To this I replied, that I must be excused for believing he would, in such a case, come down and meet them at his gate; and that I required no higher privilege than was allowed to the ambassadors of these sovereigns, with whom I considered myself entirely equal. He declared I should have that privilege in all things. I then demanded to have a chair, to which it was answered, that no person was ever allowed to sit in that place, but I was desired to lean against a pillar covered over with silver, which supported the canopy. I then requested his favour for an English factory to be established at Burhanpoor, which he readily granted, and gave immediate orders to the *Buksh* to draw up a *firmaun*, or license, for their coming and residence. I also requested an order for carriages for conveying the presents for the king his father, which he gave in charge to the cutwall to see provided. I then made him a present, which he took in good part. After some other conference, he said, though I might not come up to where he then sat, he would go to another place, where I might come to him with less ceremony. But one part of the present I made him happened to be a case of cordials, of which he tasted so freely by the way, that, after waiting some time, I heard he had made himself drunk, and one of his officers came to me with an excuse, desiring me to go home then, and come some other time to see him. But that very night I was taken ill of a fever.

The 27th of November, though still sick, I was carried from Burhanpoor three coss to *Raypora;* the 28th, fifteen c. to *Burgome*, [Burgaw]; the 30th, seven c. December the 1st, ten c. to *Bicangome;* the 2d, seven c. the 3d, five c. the 4th, eleven c. to *Ekbarpoor*, which stands on a good river, [the Nerbudda] which runs into the sea near *Baroach*. The 5th, I passed the river *Nerbuddah*. The 6th, I travelled eight

eight c. and lay in a wood, not far from the king's famous castle of *Mandoa*, [Mundu] which stands on a steep hill, of great extent, the walls being fourteen c. in circuit, this castle being of wonderous extent and great beauty. The 7th, I proceeded ten c. the 8th, eight c. the 9th, ten c. the 10th, twelve c. the 11th, sixteen c. the 12th, fourteen c. the 13th, six c. the 14th we halted to take rest. The 15th, six c. the 16th, six c. the 17th, twelve c. the 18th, five c. when we arrived at *Cytor,* where I was met by Mr Edwards, accompanied by Thomas Coryat, who had travelled to India on foot.

Cytor, [Chitore] is an ancient town in ruins, situated on a hill, but shews the remains of wonderful magnificence. There are still standing above an hundred temples, all of carved stone, with many fair towers and domes, supported by many enriched pillars, and innumerable houses, but not a single inhabitant. The hill, or rock rather, is precipitous on all sides, having but one ascent cut out of the rock in a regular slope; in which ascent there are four several gates before reaching the gate of the city, which last is extremely magnificent. The top of the hill, about eight coss in circuit, is inclosed all round with walls, and at the S.W. end, is a goodly old castle. I lodged close by a poor village at the foot of the hill.

This city stands in the country of the *Rama*,[5] a prince newly subdued by the Mogul, or rather brought to submit to pay tribute and acknowledge subjection; and *Cytor* was reduced by *Akbar Shah*, the father of *Shah Jehan-Guire*, the present king of the Moguls. This Hindoo raja is lineally descended from *Porus*, the valiant Indian sovereign who was conquered by Alexander the Great; so that I suppose this city to have been one of the ancient seats of Porus, though Delly, much farther north, is reported to have been the chiefest, a famous place, though now only in ruins. Near that stands a pillar erected by Alexander the Conqueror, with a Greek inscription. The present Mogul and his ancestors, descendants of Tamerlane, have reduced all the ancient cities to ruin, dispeopling them and forbidding their restoration; I know not wherefore, unless that they would have no monuments of greatness remain, beyond their own commence-

[5] This is probably an error of the press in the Pilgrims for the *Ranna*. —E.

commencement, as if they and the world were co-equals in antiquity.

The 19th I proceeded twelve c. on my journey; the 20th ten c. the 21st ten c. the 22d nine c. the 23d ten c. and arrived at *Ajimere.* The first six days journeys from Burhanpoor towards Ajimere were west, or northwest, to get round the hills; but after that northwards, so that these two places bear nearly N. by W. and S. by E. from each other; the whole distance being 209 cosses,[6] which I judge to be 418 English miles; the cosses here being longer than near the sea.[7] On my arrival at Ajimere I was so ill as to keep my bed; but on the 10th January, 1616, at four in the afternoon, I went to the *Durbar*, which is the place where the Mogul sits in public daily to entertain strangers, to receive petitions and presents, to issue commands, and to see and be seen. Before proceeding to give an account of my reception, it may be proper to digress a little, that I may give some account of the customs of the court.

No men, except eunuchs, are permitted to come within the private lodgings or retiring rooms of the royal palace, within which his women keep guard with warlike weapons, and there likewise they execute justice upon each other for offences. Every morning, the Mogul comes to a window, called the *jarneo*,[8] which looks into the plain or open space before the palace-gate, where he shews himself to the common people. At noon he returns to the same place, where he sits some hours, amusing himself with seeing fights of elephants and other wild beasts, the men of rank then at court attending below within a railed space. He then retires to sleep within the female apartments. In the afternoon he comes to the before-mentioned Durbar. At eight in the evening, after supper, he comes down to a fair court, called the *guzalcan*, in the midst of which is a throne of freestone, on which he sits, yet sometimes below in a chair of state, at which time only men of high quality are admitted into the presence,

6 The particulars in the text only amount to 200 cosses; but the extent of one day's journey is omitted, which may explain the difference.—E.

7 The coss at Surat is repeatedly explained, in Purchas and Churchill, to be 1 ½ English mile, while that of Hindoostan Proper is rated at two miles.—E.

8 In subsequent passages, this is called the Jarruco.—E.

presence, and even of these only a few have that privilege, unless by special leave. He here discourses very affably on all subjects with those around him. No business is transacted with him, concerning affairs of state and government, or respecting war and peace, but at one or other of these two last-mentioned places, where, after being publicly propounded and resolved upon, it is registered by attendant secretaries, and any one, who has the curiosity, may see the register for two shillings; insomuch that the common people know as much of the affairs of state as the ministers and counsellors of the king, and every day the king's acts and resolutions are circulated as news, and are freely canvassed and censured by every rascal. This course of proceeding is unchangeable, except when prevented by the sickness of the king, or in consequence of his getting drunk, which must always be known. Thus, though all his subjects are slaves, he lives in a state of reciprocal bondage, being so tied to the observance of these hours and customs, that if he were unseen one day, and no sufficient excuse given, the people would mutiny: and no excuse will sanction his absence for two days, unless the gates are opened, and he be seen by some for the satisfaction of the rest. Every Tuesday, he sits in judgement at the *jarneo,*[9] where he attends to the complaints of his meanest subjects, listening patiently to both parties; and where likewise he sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, execution performed on offenders by his elephants. *Illi meruere, sed quid tu ut adesses?*

Before going to the durbar, I had required to be allowed the customs of my own country, which were freely granted. At the durbar, I was led directly before the king, at the entrance of an outer rail, where two noble slaves came to conduct me nearer. On entering the outer rail, I made a profound reverence, at my entry within an interior rail I made a second reverence, and a third when I came directly under where the king sat. The place in which the durbar is held is a great court, to which all sorts of people resort. The king sits in a small raised gallery; ambassadors, great men belonging to the court, and strangers of quality, are within the innermost rail directly under him, that space being raised

[9] This place, formerly described as a window looking to the esplanade in front of the palace, called *jarneo* in Purchas, is called *jarruco* in Churchill.—E.

sed from the ground, covered overhead with canopies of silk and velvet, and laid underfoot with good carpets. The meaner men, representing what we would call gentry, are within the outer rail; the common people being on the outside of all, in a base court, so that all may see the king. The whole of this disposition hath much resemblance to theatrical representation. The king sitting as in a gallery, the great men raised as actors on a stage, and the vulgar below in a pit gazing at the show. The king, on my presentation, interrupted the dull formality of my interpreter, bidding me welcome to the brother of the king my master. I then delivered a translation of the king's letter, and then my commission, on both of which he looked curiously; and afterwards on my presents, which were well received. He asked some questions; and, with a seeming regard for my health, offered to send me his own physicians, advising me to keep the house till I recovered strength, and that I should freely send to him in the meantime for any thing I needed, with assurance that I should have whatever I desired. He dismissed me with more signs of grace and favour, if I were not flattered by the Christians, than ever were shewn to any ambassador from the Turks or Persians or any other nation.

On the 14th I sent to offer a visit to Sultan *Churrum*,[10] the third son of the Great Mogul, but first in favour. Hearing that he was an enemy to all Christians, I therefore feared some affront; yet he sent me word that I should be received with all due respect, and should have as much content as I had already from his father. This prince is lord of Surat, our chief residence in the empire, and his favour, therefore, was important for our affairs. I went accordingly to visit him on the 22d at nine in the morning, at which time he sits in public, in the same manner as his father, to dispatch his business, and to be seen of his followers. His character was represented to me as naturally proud, so that I was in some fear for my reception; but, on hearing of my arrival, instead of coming out to his public durbar, he sent one

[10] In the Pilgrims, this prince is uniformly named Corone; but the name in the text has been adopted from the authority of Dow's History of Hindoostan. He succeeded to his father in 1627, when he assumed the name of Shah Jehan; and was, in 1659, dethroned and imprisoned, by his third son, the celebrated Aurungzebe, who assumed the name of Alumguire.—E.

one of his principal officers to conduct me into a good inner room, never before done to any one. The officer here entertained me with discourse concerning my mission for half an hour, till the prince was ready; who now came forth and used me better than his promise. I delivered him a present, but not in the name of his majesty, as it was too mean for that purpose; but excused the omission, by saying, That my sovereign could not know of his being lord of Surat, which had been so lately conferred upon him; but I had no doubt the king of England would afterwards send him one more suited to his high rank, the one now presented being only sent by the English merchants, who humbly commended themselves to his favour and protection. He received all in very good part. After stating some grievances and injuries suffered by the English at Surat, from his governors, and of which I had forborne to complain to the king from respect to him, he promised me speedy and effectual justice, and to confirm our security in any way I might propose. He professed to be entirely ignorant of any past transactions there, as stated by me, except as informed by Asaph Khan; and especially denied having given any order for our dismissal, which the governor had falsely alleged, and for which he should dearly pay. He then dismissed me, full of hopes to have our decayed state and reputation rectified, making me a promise of an effectual firmaun for our trade and secure residence at Surat.

The 24th, I went again to the royal durbar to visit the king; who, on seeing me far off, beckoned with his hand, that I should not wait the ceremony of asking leave, but come up to him directly, and assigned me a place near himself, above all other men, which I afterwards thought fit to maintain. On this occasion I gave a small present; as it is the custom for all who have any business to give something, and those who cannot get near enough to speak, send in or hold up their gift, which he always accepts, be it only a rupee, and demands to know their business. He held the same course with me; for having looked curiously at my present, and asked many questions respecting it, he demanded to know what I wanted of him. I answered that I wanted justice. For, on the assurance of his firmaun, which had been sent to England, the king my master had not only given leave to his subjects to make a long and dangerous voyage to his dominions with their goods, but had deputed me, as his

his ambassador and representative, to congratulate and compliment his majesty on the amity so happily commenced between two so mighty nations, and to confirm the same. Yet I found that the English, who were settled at Ahmedabad, were injured and oppressed by the governor in their persons and goods, being fined, subjected to arbitrary exactions, and kept as prisoners; while at every town new customs were demanded for their goods on their passage to the port, contrary to all justice, and in direct contravention of the formerly conceded articles of trade, as contained in his majesty's firmaun. To this he answered, that he was sorry to hear of such things, which should be immediately rectified; and he gave orders for two firmauns to be immediately extended according to my desire. By one of these, the governor of Ahmedabad was commanded to restore the money he had exacted from Mr Kerridge, and to use the English in future with all favour. By the other, all customs required on any pretence by the way were abolished, and all such as had been taken was ordered to be restored. Finally, he desired me, if these gave not speedy and effectual remedy, that I should renew my complaint against the disobeyer, who should be sent for to answer for his conduct; and so dismissed me.

The 1st of March, I rode out to see a pleasure-house belonging to the king, two miles from Agimere, which had been given him by Asaph Khan. It was situated between two vast rocks, by which it was so sheltered that scarcely could the sun be any where seen. The foundations and some rooms were hewn out of the solid rock, the rest being built of freestone. Close adjoining was a handsome small garden, with fine fountains, with two great *tanks* or ponds of water, one being thirty steps higher than the other. The way to this retreat is so narrow that only two persons could go abreast, and is almost inaccessible, being very steep and stony. It is a place of much melancholy, yet of great security and delight, abounding in peacocks, turtle-doves, wild fowl, and monkies, which inhabit the rocks impending on every side around.

The 2d of March began the feast of *Norsose* in the evening. This is the festival of the new year, the ceremonies of which begin on the first new moon after, which this year fell together. It is kept in imitation of the Persian feast of that name, signifying in that language *nine days*, as anciently it continued

continued only for that number; but these are now doubled. On this occasion, a throne is erected about four feet high in the *durbar court;* from the back of which, to the place where the king comes out from the inner apartments, a space of fifty-six paces long by forty-three broad is railed in, and covered over by *semianes*, or canopies, of cloth of gold, velvet, and rich silk, all joined over head, and held up by canes covered with similar stuffs. At the upper or west end, were set out the pictures of the king of England, the queen, the Princess Elizabeth, the Countesses of Somerset and Salisbury, and of a citizen's wife of London. Below, there was a picture of Sir Thomas Smith, governor of the East India Company. The whole floor was laid with rich Persian carpets of large size, and into this place come all the great men to wait upon the king, except a few, who were within a smaller railed space, right before the throne, appointed to receive his commands. Within this square there were set out many small houses, one of which was of silver, and other curiosities of value. On the left side, Sultan Churrum had a pavilion, the supporters of which were covered with silver, as were also some others of those near the king's throne. This was of wood and of a square form, inlaid with mother of pearl, resting on four pillars covered with cloth of gold; and overhead was a fringed drapery like a vallence of network, all of real pearls, whence hung down pomegranates, apples, and pears, and other fruits, all of gold, but hollow. Within that pavilion, the king sat on cushions, very rich in pearls and other jewels. All round the court before the throne, the principal men had tents or pavilions, mostly lined with velvet, damask, and taffety, and some few with cloth of gold, in which they were stationed, making shew of their wealth. Anciently, the kings used to go to every tent, taking away whatever pleased him best: But now the custom is changed, as the king remains on his throne, and receives there such new-year's-gifts as are brought to him. He makes his appearance every day, and retires at the usual hours of the durbar; and in the interval all sorts of great gifts are made to him, which are very great and almost incredible, though not equal to report. At the close of this feast, in recompence for these gifts, the king advances some of his courtiers, making additions to their charges of horse, according to his pleasure.

On

On the 12th[11] I went to visit the king, and was brought immediately before him to deliver my present, which gave him much satisfaction. He then appointed me to come within the rail, that I might stand beside him; but not being allowed to step up on the raised platform on which the throne was placed, I could see little, as the railing was high, and covered with carpets. But I had permission to view the inner room at leisure, which, I must confess, was very rich; but consisted of so many articles, all unsuitable to each other, that it seemed patched work, rather than magnificent, as if it aimed to shew all; as if a lady, among her plate on a magnificent cupboard, should exhibit her embroidered slippers. This evening, the son of the Ranna, the new tributary formerly mentioned, was brought before the king, with much ceremony, being sent by his father with a present. After kneeling three times, and knocking his forehead on the ground, he was brought within the inner rail, when the king embraced his head. His gift was an Indian tray or voider full of silver, upon which was a carved silver dish full of gold. He was then conducted to pay his respects to the prince. This evening, some elephants were shewn, and some music girls sang and danced.—*Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The 13th at night, I went again to wait upon the king at the *Guzalcan*, at which is the best opportunity for transacting business, and took with me my Italian interpreter, determined to walk no longer in darkness, but to prove the king, as I had hitherto been delayed and refused on all hands. I was sent for in, along with my old broker, but my Italian was kept out, because Asaph Khan mistrusted I might say more than he was willing should come to the king's ears. On coming to the king, he appointed me a place to stand just before him, and sent to ask me many questions respecting the king of England, and about the present I had made him the day before. To some of these I made answers; but I at length said, that my interpreter was kept out, and as I could not speak Portuguese, I wanted the means of satisfying his majesty. On this, though much against the wish of Asaph Khan, my Italian interpreter was called in. I then made him tell the king that I requested leave to speak to him, to which

[11] It may be proper to observe, that Churchill's edition gives the commencement of this festival on the 11th, and says Sir Thomas went to the durbar next day.—E.

which he answered, willingly. On this, the son-in-law of Asaph Khan pulled away my interpreter by force, and that faction so hemmed in the king, by gathering round him, that I could scarcely see his majesty, nor could my Italian approach. Upon this, I ordered the Italian to speak aloud, that I craved audience of the king; who immediately called me before him, and the others made way. Asaph Khan stood on one side of my interpreter, and I on the other: I to inform him what to say, and the other to awe him by winks and signs.

I desired him to say, that I had now been two months at court, one of which I had spent in sickness and the other in compliments, and had effected nothing of all on which I had been sent by the king my master; which was to conclude a firm and lasting treaty of peace and amity between the two sovereigns, and to establish a fair and secure trade and residence for my countrymen in his majesty's dominions. He answered that this was already granted. I replied, it was so; but that it still depended upon so slender a thread, and such weak conditions, as to be very uncertain in its continuance. That an affair of so high importance required an agreement clear and explicit in all points, and a more formal and authentic confirmation than it now had, by ordinary firmauns, which were merely temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what presents we would bring him? To which I answered, the league was yet new and weak; that many curiosities were to be found in our country, of rare value, which the king of England would send; and that our merchants would search for such things in all parts of the world, if they were made sure of a quiet trade and secure protection on honourable conditions, having been hitherto subjected to manifold wrongs. He asked me what kind of curiosities I meant, and whether these were jewels or precious stones? To this I answered, that we did not deem such things fit to be sent back from Europe to India, of which he was the principal sovereign, as they were common here in India, and of much higher price with us in Europe: But that we would endeavour to find such things for his majesty as were rare and uncommon in his dominions; such as excellent specimens of painting, carving, enamelling, figures in brass, copper, and stone, rich embroideries, stuffs of gold and silver, and the like.

The king said that these things were all very well, but that he

he wished to have an English horse. I answered, that this was utterly impossible by sea, and that the Turks would not allow of any being sent by land. In reply, he said he thought it not impossible by sea; and, when I represented the dangers from storms, he said if six were sent in one ship, one of them surely might live, and though it came lean, it might be here made fat. I then told him, I feared it could not be done by so long a voyage; yet, for his majesty's satisfaction, I should give due notice of his desire.

He then asked to know what were my demands? I answered, That his majesty would be pleased to sanction by his royal signature, certain reasonable conditions which I should propound, in confirmation of a league of peace and amity, and for the security of our nation in their residence and trade in his dominions; as they had hitherto been often wronged, and could not continue on their present terms, of which I forbore to make any specific complaint, because I hoped to procure amendment from his majesty. At these words, Asaph Khan offered to pull away my interpreter, but I held him fast, while Asaph Khan continued to make signs to him not to interpret my words. On this the king became suddenly very angry, pressing to know who had wronged us, and seemed in such fury, that I was unwilling to follow it out, and spoke in broken Spanish to my interpreter, desiring him to say, That I would not trouble his majesty with what was past, but would seek justice of the prince his son, whose favour I doubted not to obtain. Not attending to what my interpreter said, but hearing the name of his son, the king mistakingly conceived I accused him; and hastily saying *mio filio! mio filio!* he called for the prince, who came in great fear, humbling himself. Asaph Khan trembled, and all those present were amazed.

He chid the prince roundly, and he excused himself. But as I perceived the king's error, I made both the king and prince understand the mistake, by means of a Persian prince who offered himself as interpreter, as my Italian understood Turkish better than Persian. By this means I appeased the king, saying that I in no respect accused the prince, but wished to inform his majesty that I should appeal to the prince's justice, in regard to the past wrongs our nation had suffered in those places which were under his government. The king then commanded the prince, that he should give us effective justice. In his justification, the prince said that he

he had already offered me a firmaun, which I had refused. The king asked me the reason of this. To which I answered, that I humbly thanked the prince, but he knew that it contained a condition I could not accept; and besides, that I wished to propound our own demands, in which I would insert all the desires of the king my master at once, that I might not daily trouble his majesty and the prince with complaints. And, when the conditions on both sides were mutually agreed upon, I would reciprocally bind my sovereign to mutual offices of friendship, and to such reasonable conditions for the benefit of his majesty's subjects as he might propose: All of which being drawn up in tripartite, I hoped his majesty would graciously sign one, his son the prince another, and I would confirm the third in the name of my sovereign, in virtue of my commission.

The king pressed to know what was the condition in the prince's firmaun which I had refused, which I stated. So we fell into earnest dispute before the king, with some heat. Mukrob Khan interposed, saying he was advocate for the Portuguese, and spoke slightingly of us, alleging that the king ought to grant no articles to us that were unfavourable for them. I answered, that I did not propose any against them, but only in our own just defence, and that I had not conceived he was so great a friend to the Portuguese. On this the jesuit and all the Portuguese faction struck in, so that I explained myself fully concerning them; and as I offered a conditional peace, so I valued the friendship of the Portuguese at a very low rate, and their enmity at a still lower. After some time, having explained my demands, the king said my proposals were just and my resolution noble, and bade me clearly propound the conditions I desired. Asaph Khan, who had stood silent during all this debate, and who now wished to end it, as we were warm, now interposed, saying, If we talked all night, it could only come to this at last, that I should draw my demands in writing and present them; which, if found reasonable, would be granted by the king. The king said he certainly would do so; and at my request the prince engaged to do so likewise. The king then rose to go away, but on my request he turned round, and I desired my interpreter to say, That I came the day before to see his majesty and his greatness, and the ceremonies of the feast, on which occasion I was placed behind him, in an honourable place certainly, but where I could not see

see around; and therefore humbly requested his majesty would be pleased to let me stand on the platform beside his throne. In answer to this, he commanded Asaph Khan to let me choose my own place in future.

In the morning of the 14th, I sent a messenger to Asaph Khan, lest he or the prince might have misunderstood me, by reason of the king's mistake, and had supposed I had complained against either of them, which I did not, neither did I so intend; yet I was willing to let them see that I did not entirely depend upon Asaph Khan, by whom I had hitherto done my business with the king; but, if he should continue his manner of only delivering to the king what he himself pleased, and not what I said, I would find another way. My message was intended to clear up any such doubts, if they remained, and to entreat he would move the prince to favour my demands respecting our residence and trade at Surat. His answer was, that neither the prince nor he had any reason to suspect I intended to complain against them, the error being sufficiently obvious; and that, for his part, he had ever been disposed to favour the English, and would so continue.

The 15th I went again in the evening to see the ceremonies of the *Norose*, and according to the Mogul's order, I chose my place of standing on his right hand, and on the raised platform, the prince and the son of the Ranna standing on the other side. I here had a full view of every thing that was to be seen; viz. the presents, and the exhibition of the elephants, horses, and dancing girls.

The 23d, the Mogul condemned one of his own nation on suspicion of felony; but as he was one of the handsomest men in India, and the proof was not very clear against him, instead of condemning him to death, he sent him in irons to me as a slave, to be disposed of as I pleased. This was looked upon as a great favour, and I accordingly returned thanks; yet added, that we had no slaves in England, not thinking it lawful to make the image of God like unto a beast, but that I should employ him as a servant, and should restore him to liberty if he behaved well. The king was well pleased with this message.

I went to the *Guzalcan* on the 26th, and delivered in the articles which I had drawn up, which were referred to Asaph Khan for his consideration and report. Some time after, Asaph Khan sent a message, desiring me to remove from the place

place I occupied near the king, because I stood alone, which was not the custom. I refused at the first; but, as he still insisted I should rank myself among the nobles, I removed to the other side, where the prince and young Ranna were. This still more displeased Asaph Khan, who persuaded the prince to complain of me to the king, which he did. On hearing their complaint and my answer, that I had changed my place by order of Asaph Khan, the Mogul said I had done well, and they were wrong to pretend to displace me. So I kept my place in quiet. The following is the substance of the articles delivered to the Great Mogul, which were delayed and opposed: But the conclusion respecting them will be seen hereafter.

Proposed Articles of Treaty, between the Great Mogul and the King of Great Britain.

1. There shall be perpetual peace and amity between the king of Great Britain and his majesty the emperor of India. —2. The subjects of England shall have free trade in all the ports of India.—3. The governors of all sea-ports shall make public proclamation of this agreement three several times, upon the arrival of any English ships.—4. The English merchants and their servants, shall not be liable to search, or to any ill usage.—5. No presents sent to the Mogul shall be opened.—6. The goods belonging to the English shall not be stopped more than twenty-four hours at the custom-houses; where they shall only be sealed, and sent to the house or factory of the merchants, to be there opened and rated within six days afterwards.—7. No governor shall take any goods by force, nor unless upon payment at the owner's price; neither shall any be taken away under pretence of being for the king's service.—8. The English merchants shall not be hindered from selling their goods to whom they please, nor from sending them to other factories; neither shall they pay any more in this case than has been already paid at the port of entry.—9. Whatever goods the English may purchase in any part of the dominions of the Mogul, shall be allowed to be transmitted to the ports, without any hindrance or molestation, and shall pay no other duty than may be agreed upon at the port of shipping.—10. No goods already entered at a port shall be again opened, the English shewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the

the governor or other proper officers of the place where they were purchased.—11. No confiscation shall be made of the goods or money belonging to any of the English who may die in India.—12. No duties shall be demanded for provisions, purchased during the stay of English ships at any of the ports.—13. The servants of the English merchants, whether English or natives, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their duty.—14. The Mogul shall cause any governor or officer to be punished for the breach of any of these articles.—15. The English ships shall permit all others to pass and repass freely, to and from the ports in the dominions of the Mogul, except those of their enemies with whom they are at war: And the English, while ashore, shall conduct themselves quietly and peaceably, as merchants.—16. The English shall yearly furnish the Mogul with all such European rarities, and other things, as he may desire, and at reasonable rates.—17. The English shall pay duty on their commodities, reasonably rated, at three and a half per cent. and two per cent. on rials of eight or money, and shall not be liable to any other duty or exaction whatsoever.—18. The English shall be ready to assist the Great Mogul against all his enemies. And, lastly, The Portuguese shall be admitted to come into this peace within six months; or, if they refuse, the English shall be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them.

On the 31st of March, the Great Mogul dined at the house of Asaph Khan, all the way from the palace, which was an English mile, being laid under foot with silks and velvet sewed together, but rolled up as the king passed. It was reported that this feast, and the present made on the occasion, cost six lacks of rupees, which amount to £60,000 sterling.[12]

I received intelligence on the 26th April, that the prince had made one of his servants ask the king at the durbar wherefore he gave so great countenance to the English as to banish the Portuguese from Surat, who brought much more profit

[12] According to Thevenot, a *lack* contains 100,000 rupees, and a rupee is a French crown and five sols. At which rate, the *six lacks* must amount at least to £150,000 sterling.—*Churchill.*

The editor of Churchill's Collection must here have mistaken the French crowns alluded to by Thevenot. The rupees in India are various, and consequently differ in their value; but two shillings may be assumed as a fair average, in which case the computation in the text is quite correct.—E.

profit to the king in rubies, pearls, and other jewels, while the English came there only in search of profit, by the sale of cloths, swords, knives, and other articles of small value? The king acknowledged that this was true, yet could not be mended. By this the affections of the prince were made sufficiently manifest, and I had fair warning to be on my guard, that I might study to preserve ourselves in the good graces of the king, in which only we could be safe. I resolved, however, to take no notice of this, except by endeavouring to give the prince a better opinion of our nation.

On the 22d of May I went to the king at the durbar, to solicit his authority to get back a youth named Jones, who had run away from me to an Italian, who protected him to the disgrace of our nation, by using the king's name. The king gave me an order for his delivery; but the prince, who waited every opportunity to injure us, for the sake of his favourite, *Zulphecar Khan*, moved the king in private to send for the youth first, to the Guzalcan, which was done. I had newly broken off from conferring with the prince, on account of his partiality to Zulphecar Khan, and had sent him word that I would no longer refrain from stating our grievances to the king in person, which was the cause of his enmity towards me. When Jones was brought before the king, being instigated by the protection and countenance of the prince, he railed against me to my face, with the most virulent malice, beseeching the king to save his life; on which the king resolved not to deliver him up to me, but to send him as a prisoner to Surat. But the prince, to brave me, begged to have him for a servant, as the fellow had renounced his country, on which the king did so, in spite of every thing I could allege. On this the prince gave him 150 rupees, with the pay of two horsemen, and commanded me not to meddle with him.

On the night of the 23d, Jones came and threw himself at my feet, asking pardon for his lies and mad behaviour. I told him I would not now keep him prisoner, as he was the prince's servant; but I would not give him any answer till he had made public reparation for his misbehaviour, as far as he could. Accordingly, on the next day, he contrived to get to the *Guzalcan*, and there asked pardon of the king for the lies he had spoken against me, denying every word he had then spoken, alleging he had done so to protect himself against me, whom he had offended, and prayed the king

to send for me, that he might ask my pardon in public. The king was well pleased, but the prince fell into a rage. I went to the Guzalcan on the 25th, when the king protested he never believed what Jones had said against me, and that he considered him a villain, yet could not but protect him, as he had cast himself on his mercy. Jones was sent for, and asked my pardon on his knees, declaring on oath to the king that he had in every thing belied me, and that he now made this declaration in a voluntary manner, as he durst not return to his country. The king chid him a little, saying to me that neither he nor any good man could believe such a slanderer. The prince grew angry, and endeavoured to make Jones stand to what he had said formerly against me; and as Jones refused, the prince basely desired him to restore the 150 rupees he had received for bearing witness against me. Jones promised to return the money, for which purpose an under-treasurer was sent along with him to the house in which he lodged, as I would not suffer him to come to mine.

I was forced to seem content, having no way to seek redress, as I had no presents to give, and the king never listens to any request unless well backed, and will even demand it in plain terms, of which the prince takes advantage, urging that the Portuguese bring rich jewels, rubies, and pearls, and treating our English commodities with great scorn. On the 29th of May the Portuguese were admitted to the king with a present, and to sell a ballass ruby, which was said to weigh thirteen *toles*, two and a half of these being equal to an ounce.[13] For this they asked five lacks of rupees, but the king only offered one lack. Asaph Khan also was an advocate for the Portuguese, who made him a present of jewels. They had many rich rubies, ballasses, emeralds, pearls, and other jewels, for sale, with which they so much gratified the king and his great men, that we were for a time eclipsed. The prince and the jesuit fell out about presenting them, which the prince desired, but it had been promised before to Asaph Khan. I had formerly judged concerning the credit of the Portuguese at court by report, but I now experienced the difference between them and us; for they were sought after by all, while they only bought our commodities as it were by

[13] This must be an enormous exaggeration, or error, as in this case the ruby would have weighed 5 1-6th ounces.—E.

by way of giving us charity. Besides, the Portuguese had an advantage over us in consequence of their establishments in the neighbourhood, by which they could hinder trade into the Red Sea, being always more at hand to do harm than we, who are only entertained out of a little fear, while our trade and commodities are little cared for.

§ 2. *Occurrences in June, July, and August* 1616, *from which the Character and Dispositions of the Mogul and his Subjects may be observed.*

The 12th of June a resolution was taken that Sultan Churrum should go to the wars in the Deccan, and a day was fixed for his setting out on his journey, for which all the Bramins were consulted. On this occasion it is reported that Sultan *Parvis*, who is to be recalled, wrote to his father the Mogul, that if his elder brother were sent to assume the command, he would readily obey; but, if dishonoured by sending this his younger brother, he, in the first place, would fall upon him, and would afterwards finish the Deccan war. All the captains, such as Khan-Khanan, Mahomed Khan, Khan Jehan, and others, refuse to serve under the command of Sultan Churrum, who is reputed a tyrant, of whom all men are in greater awe than of the king, more especially now that he is to have the command of the army. Yet the king cannot be persuaded to change his resolution, so that the departure of the prince, with his favourite Zulphecar Khan is determined to take place at the distance of twenty-two days; wherefore I must make haste to finish my business, as after his departure with his minion, Zulphecar Khan, I shall have no chance to recover a single penny, nor to get any justice against him.

The 18th, the king commanded one of his brother's sons, who had been made a Christian out of policy, to bring him into hatred of the people, to touch a lion on the head which was brought in before the king. But he refused it, being afraid, on which the king desired his youngest son to touch the lion, which he did, without receiving any harm. On this the king commanded his nephew to be taken to prison, whence he is never likely again to be released.

On the 24th a son was born to Sultan Churrum, and being now preparing to set out for the Deccan wars, all men's eyes are upon him, either for flattery, gain, or envy, none for love.

He

He has received twenty lacks of rupees, equal to £200,000 sterling, towards his expences, and begins to act with more than his usual liberality. Notwithstanding this shew of his father's affection, a khan at court endeavoured to persuade the king that this expedition would be productive of danger, as prince Parvis, whose honour would be thereby wounded, would certainly not submit without revenge. To this the king answered, "Let them fight, and he who proves the better captain, shall pursue the war."

The 25th I had an audience of the king, being sent for by Asaph Khan, and was received by his majesty with much courtesy. This Asaph Khan was much in the prince's favour, wherefore I was unwilling to disoblige him, though he had given me several provocations. At this time Mukrob Khan, another of the great men, made me offers of service, being of a contrary faction to Asaph Khan, but I thought it best to endeavour to make friends of them both. Among other subjects of discourse, Mukrob told me that the English brought too much cloth and broad-sword blades for sale to India, and hardly any thing else, wherefore he advised they should forbear for two or three years, and rather bring the curiosities of China and Japan, which would be more acceptable, and to bring from England the best cloth of gold, and the richest silks wrought with gold and silver, and above all things, large quantities of Arras hangings.

The 30th I visited Abdalla Hassan, having need of his friendship; and, what is rare in this country, he refused to accept of any present. Abdalla is captain over all the soldiers maintained at court, and treasurer of all the armies. He entertained me with great civility, and few compliments, and made me sit beside him to see the soldiers shoot at marks with their bows and firelocks. Most of them hit the mark with a single bullet, being about the size of a hand, affixed to a butt. We had some discourse together about the manner of using weapons in Europe, after which I took my leave and departed.

Most of July passed in soliciting the prince to sign the articles I had presented to the king, as mentioned before. On the 13th I sent him three bottles of Alicant, and a letter concerning the difference between us and the Portuguese about trade, offering to take all the customs to farm, both inwards and outwards, for the use of the company. The prince, according to his usual barbarous custom of transacting all

business

business in public, caused my letter to be twice read over to him by his secretary, often interrupting him with discourse, and sent word that he would read it again at night and consider its contents, and that I should have his answer through *Mirza Sorocalla.*

That night I went to the durbar to visit the king, who, as soon as I came in, sent Asaph Khan to say that he heard I had an excellent painter in my house, and that he wished to see some of his work. I replied, there was only a young man, a merchant, who drew some figures for his amusement, in a very ordinary manner, with a pen, but which were far from having any claim as paintings. The king said I need not fear his taking any man from me by force, as he would neither do me any injury himself, nor suffer any to be done me by others, and desired he might see the young man and his work. I answered, I had no fears of injury from his majesty, and, for his satisfaction, should bring the young man to the Guzalcan with such drawings as he might have, which were probably figures of elephants, deer, or the like. On this the king bowed his head, saying, if I desired to have an elephant, or any other thing in his country, I had only to let him know freely what I wished, and he would give it me, for he was my friend. I made a low reverence, humbly thanking his majesty, and said that elephants were of no use to me, neither was it the custom of any person of our nation, especially of my rank, to ask any thing: Yet, if his majesty were pleased to give me even the value of a rupee, I should thankfully accept it as a mark of his favour. He answered, that he knew not what I might wish for, but there were many things in his country rare in mine, and desired I might not be dainty, but speak to him freely, and he would give me such things as were most acceptable. He then desired me to be merry, for he was the friend of our nation and of me, and should take care we had no injury done to us. He then desired me to attend that night at the Guzalcan, and to bring with me the young man who painted pictures. Then Asaph Khan wished me to send for him to come to his house, where also he invited me to go till the time when the king came out again, assuring me I should be welcome, which I agreed to. I had never before been so graciously treated by the king as now, which all the great men took notice of, and accordingly altered their deportment towards me. It so happened that the

the jesuit acted as my interpreter on this occasion, by the king's appointment.

I went from the durbar to the house of Asaph Khan, according to invitation, and continued there till the king came out again, when I was conducted back, accompanied by Mr Hughes, the supposed painter, with whom the king had some discourse. After this, I shewed the king a curious picture I had of a friend of mine, which pleased him much, and he shewed it to all his company. The king sent for his chief painter, who pretended he could make as good, which I denied, on which a wager of a horse was made between Asaph Khan and me in the king's presence, and to please him, but Asaph afterwards retracted. After this, the Mogul fell to drinking some Alicant wine which I had presented him, giving some of it to those about him, and then sent for a full bottle, and drinking a cup, sent it to me, saying it soured so fast it would be spoiled before he could drink it, and I had none. This done, he turned him to sleep, when all the candles were put out, and I had to grope my way out in the dark.

This day, a gentlewoman attendant upon *Noor-mahal* was taken in the king's house in some improper act with an eunuch, when another animal of the same kind, who loved her, slew her paramour. The poor woman was set up to the arm-pits in the ground, with the earth hard rammed around her, being condemned to remain there three days and two nights in that situation, without sustenance, her head and arms exposed to the violence of the sun. If she survived, she was then to be pardoned. The eunuch was condemned to the elephants. This damsel was found to be worth, in pearls, jewels, and money, sixteen lack of rupees.[1]

On the 22d, I had letters from Burhanpoor in answer to those I had written to Mohabet Khan, who granted my desire of a firmaun in favour of our nation, granting them a house near the governor's, strictly commanding that no person should molest them by sea or land, neither to exact from them any customs, or to give them trouble on any pretence, with entire liberty to buy, sell, and transport any commodities at their pleasure, without let or hindrance. I received this in a letter from himself, full of civility and kindness, far exceeding

[1] In Purchas this sum is rated in words at sixteen hundred thousand, while in Churchill it is only in figures 160,000.—E.

exceeding any I had hitherto met with in India, protesting the highest respect, and his earnest wish to give me every content in whatever I might desire. I caused this firmaun to be immediately sent to Surat, so that Broach is now provided as a good retreat from the prince's injuries, and the customs given up, by which £1500 a-year will be saved, besides all manner of searches and extortions. No person doubts the performance of this firmaun, as Mohabet Khan careth not for the prince, and feareth no man, neither needeth he any person's favour, being much beloved of the king, and reckoned the second man in the empire. He has all his life been liberal of his purse, and honourable in his word, so that he has the good report of all men. In regard to the customs on trade, as the king takes none, and the governors convert them to their own profit, he professes to scorn abusing the liberties of the king's ports.

On the 6th of August I was sent for to the durbar, where I had much talk with the king, who asked me many questions to satisfy his curiosity, and desired me to come to the Guzalcan at night, when I should see my picture so exactly copied, that I should not know the copy from the original. He asked me what reward I would give the painter who had made the copy so like, to which I answered, I would give fifty rupees, a painter's reward. To which the king replied, that his painter was a gentleman, and my proffered reward was too small. I said, that I gave the picture willingly, esteeming it rare, and had no inclination to make comparisons or wagers; and that, if his majesty's servant had performed well, and would not accept my gift, his majesty was most fit to reward him. So, after many merry jests, and brags of the arts in his dominions, his majesty asked me how often I drank in the day, and how much, and what we drank in England. Mentioning beer, he asked what beer was, how it was made, and whether I could make it here in India. To all of which serious state questions I answered to his satisfaction.

He sent for me again at night, being impatient to triumph in the skilful execution of his painter, and shewed me six pictures, all pasted on one board, one being my own, and the other five done by his artist, and all so like, that by candle-light I was at some loss to determine which was which, being greatly beyond my expectation. At length, by closer inspection, I pointed out my own, and explained the differ-

ences

ences between it and the copies, which were not apparent to an inexperienced eye. The king was much pleased that I had not seen the difference at first sight, for which he was full of mirth, and exulted over me. I gave him way, and satisfied him much by praising his painter, saying, that I saw his majesty needed no pictures from our country. He then asked me what reward I would give his painter? To which I answered, I would double my former offer, and if he came to my house, would give him an hundred rupees to buy a nag. The king took this kindly, but said his painter would not accept money, but some other gifts which I had before promised. I said this was referable to my own discretion. To which he answered, that this was true, yet he wished I would name it. To this I said, I would give him a good sword, a pistol, and a picture. "Then," said the king, "you confess he is a good workman, send for him to your house, and shew him such rarities as you have, and let him choose one, in return for which you shall have any one of these pictures you please, that you may shew in England we are not so unskilful as you supposed." He then pressed me to make a choice, which I did, and which the king wrapped in paper, and placed in a little book of mine, expressing much exultation at the supposed victory of his painter. I then shewed him a picture I had of his majesty, far inferior to the work I now saw, saying I had judged from it, supposing it among the best. When told where I got it, he asked why I bought any such thing? "Have not I the best, and have not I told you that I would give you any thing you desired?" I thanked his majesty, but said I held it impertinent for me to trouble him in trifles, especially as a beggar. To this he replied, that it was no shame to ask from him, and desired me to speak freely at all times, and pressed me to ask for something. To this I answered, that I would not make choice of any gift, as whatever he was pleased to give, I would joyfully accept as a mark of honour. He then said, if you desire my picture, I will either give you one for yourself or for your king. To this I answered, that if his majesty thought proper to send one to my king, I would gladly carry it, and knew that my sovereign would esteem it much, and take it as a mark of friendship; but, as his majesty had emboldened me by his gracious condescension, I would humbly ask one for myself, which I would keep and leave to my posterity, as a memorial of his majesty's favour. He answered, as my king did

did not desire one, but I did, I should have one, and so gave immediate order for its making. He then turned himself to sleep, and we had to go out as before, in the dark.

The 9th of August a band of an hundred robbers were brought in chains before the Great Mogul, together with their accusation. Without any ceremony of trial, he ordered them to be carried away for execution, their chief being ordered to be torn in pieces by dogs, and all the rest to be put to death in the ordinary manner. The prisoners were divided into portions, sent for execution to several quarters of the city, and executed in the streets. Close by my house, the chief was torn in pieces by twelve dogs, and thirteen of his fellows, having their hands and feet tied together, had their necks cut by a sword, yet not quite through, and their naked and bloody bodies were left to corrupt in the street, to the annoyance of the whole neighbourhood.

On the 10th, 11th, and 12th, I was occupied at court in giving notice to the king and prince that a Dutch ship lay before Surat, and refused to give notice of its object till the arrival of a fleet to which it belonged, which was expected with the first fair wind. I took advantage of this circumstance to make them apprehensive of the designs of the Hollanders, and the dangers that might arise from them, all of which was well taken. And, being consulted on the subject, I advised not to come to a rupture with them, and yet to exclude them from trade.

The last of these days I went to visit *Gemaldin Ussen*,[2] the viceroy of *Patan*,[3] and lord of four cities in Bengal, a man of seventy years of age, who had often been employed as an ambassador by the Mogul, had more understanding and courtesy than all his countrymen, was universally esteemed for his hospitality and regard to strangers, and was considered as entirely free from secret ambition. He had often invited me to his house, to which I went this day, and was received with extraordinary kindness and friendship. He even offered me a lack of rupees, and such other demonstrations of courtesy, as bespoke their own refusal. He offered me likewise his credit and favour with the king, and his best advice

[2] This name does not appear rightly reported, yet we have no means of correcting its orthography, neither is it of much importance. Perhaps it may have been Jemal-ul-dien Ussan Khan.—E.

[3] This is probably a mistake for Patna in Bengal, and he may have been Nabob, or Nawab, perhaps Soubah of Bengal.—E.

vice in every emergence; indeed, omitting nothing that could evince his desire to serve me. All this seemed cordially to proceed from the heart, especially from a person of his years and experience; and, in the course of our conversation, he spoke so plainly of many of the chief men about the court, which, from my own experience, I knew for truth, that I was satisfied he was a true-hearted and well-disposed old man. He gave me much information respecting the customs of this empire, their want of laws, their servitude, the increase of the empire, and many other things, having served in grace and favour under three successive kings. He shewed me a book containing the annals of all memorable actions in his time, which he daily committed to record, and offered me a copy if I would procure it to be translated. This also treated concerning the king's revenue, and the manner in which it was raised, besides confiscations, gifts, and deductions upon the great men. He shewed me that the government of every province paid yearly a certain rent to the king. Thus, for his government of Patna, he gave yearly to the king eleven lacks of rupees;[4] all other profits of the government being his own, he having entire power and authority to take what he thought fit. His government was estimated at 5000 horse, the pay of each being 200 rupees yearly, of which he only kept 1500 on foot, being allowed the surplus as dead pay. Besides which, he had a daily pension of 1000 rupees, and enjoyed some smaller governments. Yet he assured me that several of the great lords had double the emoluments he enjoyed, and that there were above twenty equal to himself.

In the course of our conversation, this lord praised the good prophet Jesus, and his laws, and was full of much pleasant and profitable discourse. Some days after this visit, when I thought his kindness had been at an end, he borrowed the king's banqueting-house and pleasure-garden, called *Havar Gemall*, a mile from town, on purpose to treat me, and earnestly inviting me, I promised to come. He went there himself at midnight, carrying his tents and all requisite furniture and provisions, and fitted up a place very handsomely, by the side of the tank, for the entertainment. I went there in the morning, and on my arrival he came to meet

[4] Eleven lack, or 1,100,000 rupees, on the computation formerly assigned, are equal to £110,000. In the Pilgrims, at this place, the rupee is said to equal 2s. 2d, which would add £9166 : 12 : 4 to that sum.—E.

meet me with extraordinary civility, carrying me into the pavilion he had prepared, where he had some company, among whom were two of his sons, of whom he had thirty in all. He had likewise an hundred servants attending. To amuse me, he carried me to see the king's little closets and retiring rooms, which were painted in the antique manner, having pictures of some of the French kings, and other Christian princes, on several of the pannels. He said he was only a poor servant of the king, yet wished I might have some content, and had therefore invited me to a slight banquet, that we might eat bread and salt together, to seal a friendship which he entreated me to accept. There were many great men, he alleged, who were better able to shew me kindness, but were proud and false-hearted, and he wished me therefore to trust none of them. For, if I had any business to transact concerning the Portuguese or any other, they who acted as my interpreters would never deliver the truth, but only what pleased themselves, or would give satisfaction in the relation. That, therefore, I should never be rightly understood, nor be able to effect my business without being abused and cheated, nor ever clearly know the situation in which I stood, until I had an Englishman who could speak Persian, who was able rightly to deliver what I wished to have said, without using any other person. And, if I could find any such, the king would readily grant me leave to employ him, having conceived a good opinion of me; insomuch, that the preceding night, at the Guzalcan, when the jewels of *Sheik Ferid*, governor of Lahore, who was lately deceased, were presented to him, he remembered me of his own accord, and seeing a picture of himself which pleased him, he delivered it to Asaph Khan, commanding him to send it to me, that I might wear it for his sake, with many words of favour concerning me, which would make all the great men respect me.

While thus conversing, dinner was served. So sitting down on a carpet, a cloth was spread, divers kinds of banqueting dishes were set before us. The like was done a little on one side for the gentlemen of his company, with whom he went to eat, as they hold it a kind of uncleanness to mingle with us. Upon this, I told him that he had promised we should eat bread and salt together, and without his company I felt little appetite, whereupon he arose from the rest, and sat down beside me, and we fell heartily to our repast. It consisted

consisted of various kinds of dishes, together with raisins, almonds, pistachio nuts, and various fruits. After dinner, he played at chess, and I walked about, and after some time spent in discourse, I offered to take my leave. But he said he had invited me to eat with him, and hitherto we had only had a collation, wherefore he entreated I might not depart till we had supped together, to which I readily consented.

About an hour after, the ambassador of one of the kings of the Deccan came to visit him, whom he presented to me, using him with civility, but much inferior to the respect he had shewn me. He afterwards asked me, if the king my master would scorn the offer of service from so poor a man as he was, and if he would vouchsafe to accept a present from a stranger, as he proposed to send a gentleman to England with me to kiss the hands of my sovereign, and to see our country. I answered him as became me, with all civility; so he sent for one presently, whom he questioned if he would venture upon such a journey, and as this person seemed willing, he presented him to me, saying he would provide some of the curiosities of the country for the king my master, and send them by this gentleman along with me. By the manner all this seemed to be in earnest.

While we thus spent our time in friendly converse, supper was brought in; and, as in the morning, two cloths were spread, one before me and my chaplain, with one merchant, on which were set various dishes of roast, fried, and boiled meats, with rice and sallads. On this occasion my honourable entertainer desired me to excuse his company, as it was their custom to eat among themselves, and his countrymen might take it ill if he did not eat with them; so he and his guests, and I with my companions, solaced ourselves with good cheer. The meats were not amiss, but the attendance and order were excellent, as the servants were very diligent and respectful. After the manner of this country of giving presents to invited guests, he made me a present of five cases of sugar-candy flavoured with musk, and a loaf of the finest sugar, as white as snow, weighing fifty pounds, and requested my acceptance of an hundred such against my departure. He then addressed me in these terms:—" You refuse these from me, thinking I am poor, but being made in my government, it costs me nothing, as it comes to me *gratis*." To this I answered, that he had already much too far obliged me, yet would I not refuse his kindness when ready to go away.

away. On which he replied, that he might not be then provided, and therefore desired I would accept now, that he might not lose both his offer and his labour. Thus, calling himself my father, and me his son, we took leave of each other, with many compliments.

I went to visit the king on the 16th, who, as soon as I came in, called to his women, and reached out his own picture set in gold, and hanging to a chain of gold wire, with a pendant of foul pearl, which he delivered to Asaph Khan, whom I warned not to demand any reverence from me on the occasion which I would not willingly perform; as it is the custom here, when he bestows any gift, that the receiver kneels down and touches the ground with his head; and which ceremony had been exacted from the ambassador of Persia. Then Asaph Khan came to me with the picture, which I offered to take in my hand, but he made a sign to me, to take off my hat and put it about my neck, leading me right before the king. Not understanding his purpose, and doubting he might require my conformance with the custom of the country, called *sizeda*, I resolved rather to forego the present than comply. He made a sign to me to return thanks to the king, which I did after the fashion of our country; on which some of the officers called for me to make *sizeda*, but the king immediately said, No, no, in Persian. So, with many gracious words, I returned to my place. You may judge of the king's liberality by this mighty gift, which was not in all worth thirty pounds, yet was five times the value of such as he usually gives of that kind, and which are yet held as a special favour, as all the great men wear the king's picture, which yet none may do but those to whom it is given. This ordinarily consists of only a small gold medal, not bigger than a sixpence, impressed with the king's image, having a short gold chain of six inches to fasten it on their turbans; and to which, at their own charges, some add precious stones or pearl pendents.

Gemaldin Ussen, who had invited me to the *Havaer Gemal*, as before mentioned, being newly appointed governor of *Sinde*, came to dine at my house on the 19th, accompanied by two of his sons and two other gentlemen, and attended by about an hundred servants. He partook of some part of the banquet, which had been prepared at my house by a Mahomedan cook, but declined eating of any of the dishes which were cooked after our English fashion, though he seemed to have

have a good inclination, being influenced by a superstitious notion; yet he desired that four or five dishes, of his own choice, might be sent to his own house, being all baked meats, dressed in a way he had not before seen, saying he would afterwards eat of them in private, which was accordingly done. At this entertainment, he offered us a free trade and secure residence at the chief town of Sinde, his new government, and having filled himself with my banquet, he took his leave, after receiving a small present from me, according to the fashion of the country. This day, Mr Hall, my chaplain, died suddenly, to my great grief. He was a man of mild and gentle manners, and a most sincere Christian, of unspotted life and conversation.

On the 20th and the night before, there fell a vast storm of rain, called in this country the *elephant,* owing to which such prodigious streams of water flowed into the great tank, the head of which is of stone and apparently of great strength, that it gave way in one place, causing a sudden alarm that the whole fabric wonld give way and drown all that part of the town in which I dwelt. Insomuch that the prince and all his women forsook their house, and my nearest neighbour carried off his goods and his wife to the skirts of the hills on his elephants and camels. All persons had their horses ready at their doors, that they might save their lives by flight in case of necessity. We were in the utmost consternation, and sat up till midnight, having no alternative, as we thought, but to flee ourselves and abandon all our goods, for it was reported that the water would rise three feet higher than the top of our house, and carry all away, being only a slight mud building. The foot of the tank was level with our dwelling, and the water was of great extent and very deep, so that the surface of the water stood considerably higher than the top of my house, which stood in a hollow, in the very course of the water, and where every ordinary heavy rain occasioned such a current at my door as to be for some hours impassable by man or horse. But the king caused a sluice to be cut during the night, to conduct the water by another course, so that we were freed from the extreme danger; yet the excessive rain had washed down a considerable part of the walls of my house, and so weakened it by breaches in different parts, that I now feared its falling down, as much as I had dreaded its being swept

away by the flood. It was every where so bemired with dirt and water, that I could hardly find a place in which to sit or lie dry, and was forced to be at material charges in having it repaired. Thus were we every way afflicted, by fires, smoke, floods, storms, heats, dust, and flies, and had no season of temperate air and quietness.

On the 27th, I received advice from Surat, that the Dutch had obtained permission to land their goods, and to secure them in a warehouse at that place, carrying on trade till the pleasure of the prince were known, and under condition that they should depart at the first warning.

The king went to *Havar Gemal* on the 29th, whence he employed himself in hunting. At that place, a resolution was taken, to remove the court to Mundu, a castle near Burhanpoor, where there is no town. At this time, Sultan Parvis came from the Deccan wars in disgrace, and arrived with his train near Agimere; and the king commanded him to retire to Bengal, refusing to admit him into his presence. Having thus dispatched him, without the inconvenience dreaded from a meeting between the brothers, he now proposed to settle Sultan Churrum in the Deccan wars, although all the chief men of the court were averse from this measure; on which account, the king feared to send him down, as was formerly proposed, and had therefore delayed this measure until Prince Parvis was withdrawn, and now meant to establish Churrum by means of his own presence at Mundu, in the neighbourhood of the Deccan. If this resolution is executed, it will put us to much trouble and expence, as we must build a new house both for ourselves and goods, because that castle stands on a hill, and has no buildings near it.

The king returned from hunting on the night of the 30th, and about eleven o'clock sent me a very large and fat wild boar, desiring to have the tusks back, and accompanied by a message, saying it was killed by his own hand, and therefore desiring me to be merry, and to eat it with good cheer. On this occasion, I desired Jaddow, who brought this message from the king, to tell Asaph Khan, that I proposed to visit him next day, when I hoped to receive from him a firmaun of the privileges granted by the king. Asaph Khan sent me back word, that they would not be then ready, but it should be sealed some days after, and that he did not wish to see me till he had given me satisfaction.

§ *Of*

§ 3. *Of the Celebration of the King's Birth Day, with other Occurrences in September* 1616.

The 2d of September was the birth-day of the Great Mogul, which was solemnized with extraordinary festivities. He was then weighed against a variety of articles, as jewels, gold, silver, stuffs of gold and silver, silk, butter, rice, fruits, and many other things, of each a little, all of which is given to the Bramins. On this occasion, the king ordered Asaph Khan to send for me; who did so, and appointed me to come to the place where the king held his durbar. But the messenger mistook, so that I went not in time, and missed the sight. Being there before the king came out, he sent for me as soon as he noticed me, and enquired why I had not come to see the ceremony of weighing, for which he had given order. I explained the reason, as it actually was, on which he chid Asaph Khan publicly for the omission. He was at this time so richly ornamented with jewels, that I must confess I never saw at any one time such unspeakable wealth. He now amused himself in seeing his greatest elephants brought in before him. Some of these were lord-elephants, having their chains, bells, and furniture all of gold and silver, being attended by many gilt flags and streamers, and each having eight or ten inferior elephants to wait upon him, clothed in gold, silk, and silver. In this way there passed about twelve troops, all very splendidly furnished. The first lord-elephant had all the plates on his head and breast set with rubies and emeralds, being a beast of most wonderful stature and beauty. They all bowed down before the king, making their reverences very orderly, and formed as fine a shew of beasts as I had ever seen. The keepers of each chief elephant made a present to the king. After this was over, the king made me some gracious speeches, and went into the interior apartments.

About ten o'clock at night, after I was in bed, the king sent me a message, saying he had heard I had a picture which I had not shewn him, and desired I would come then to him, bringing the picture with me; and if I would not part with it, that he might see it, and have copies taken for his wives. I rose and carried the picture with me, and when I came to the presence, I found him sitting cross-legged on a little throne, his robes all covered over with diamonds,

 pearls,

pearls, and rubies. Before him stood a golden table, on which were above fifty pieces of gold plate, all set with precious stones, some of them being large and of great value. His nobles were all around him in their best attire, whom he commanded to drink cheerfully of several kinds of wine, which stood there in large flaggons.

On my approach he asked for the picture, on which I shewed him two. He seemed astonished at one of these, and asked whose it was; to which I replied, that it was the portrait of a friend who was dead. He asked if I would give it him. I replied, that I valued it more than any thing I had, as being the portrait of one I had loved dearly; but if his majesty would pardon my attachment to that picture, and accept the other, which was French and of excellent work, I would most willingly give it. He thanked me, saying it was that only picture which he desired, and which he loved as much as I did; and, if I would give it him, he would value it more than the richest jewel in his house. I answered, that I was not so much in love with any thing, but that I would part with it to satisfy his majesty, being extremely glad to have any opportunity to serve him, and was ready even to present him with my heart, if I could thereby demonstrate my affection. He bowed to me, saying he had never before seen so much art and beauty, and conjured me to tell him truly if ever such a woman had lived. I answered, that there certainly did once live a lady whom this portrait resembled in every thing but perfection. He then said, that he accepted my readiness to give him what I so valued as a great kindness; but would only shew it to his ladies, and cause his own painter make five copies, and if I knew my own I should have it back. I answered, that I had freely given it, and would be glad of his majesty accepting it: But he said he would not keep it, and loved me better for putting so much value on the image of my departed friend. He knew, he added, that it would be doing me an injury to take it from me, and would only have five copies taken, which his wives should wear, and would then return me the original with his own hand. In this art of limning or painting in water colours, his artists are wonderfully expert. But he liked not the other picture, which was painted in oil.

He then told me that this was his birth-day, and all men made merry, and asked me therefore if I would drink with them. I said I would willingly do whatever he was pleased to

to command, as I sincerely wished him many prosperous days, and that the ceremony of this day might be repeated for an hundred years. He asked me what wine I would have, whether that of the grape or made wine, and whether strong or weak. I said whatever he was pleased to order, hoping he would neither command me to have it too strong or in too large quantity. So he called for a gold cupful of mingled wine, half of the grape and half artificial, which he sent me by one of his nobles, with this message, that I should drink it off twice, thrice, four times, or five times, for his sake, and accept the cup and appurtenances as a present. On drinking a portion of it, I found it stronger than any I had ever tasted, insomuch that it made me sneeze, at which he laughed, and called for raisins, almonds, and sliced lemons, which he sent me on a gold plate, and desired me to eat and drink what I liked, and no more. I then made a reverence for my present, after my own manner, though Asaph Khan wanted me to kneel and knock my head upon the ground, but the king accepted it in my own way. The cup was of gold, set all over with small rubies and turquoises; the cover being likewise gold, and set with great rubies, emeralds, and turquoises; and there was likewise a suitable dish or salver on which to set the cup. I know not the value, because many of the stones are small, and the greater, which also are numerous, are not all clean; but there are above two thousand stones in all, and the gold weighs about twenty ounces. On giving me this splendid present, he sent me word that he esteemed me more than ever he had done a Frank, and asked if I were merry in eating the wild boar he had sent me, how I had it dressed, what I drank with it, and many such compliments; which public shew of his grace and favour did me much service in the eyes of all his nobles, who strove to shew me respect.

After this, he threw among those that stood below, two chargers of rupees, and among us who were round the throne two chargers of hollow almonds made of gold and silver mingled; but I would not scramble as did his great men, for I saw his son did not take any up. He then distributed sashes and girdles of gold tissue to all the musicians and servants, and many others. So drinking heartily himself, and commanding others to drink, he and his nobles became as jovial as could be, and of a thousand humours. But the prince, Asaph Khan, two old men, the former king of Candahar, and I, refrained from drinking. When the king

was

was not able any longer to hold up his head, he lay down to sleep, and we all departed. While going out, I moved Asaph Khan for the dispatch of our privileges, assuring him his majesty could give me no present so acceptable. I said farther, that I had no doubt it lay in his power to dispatch me; but if he did not think proper to do so, or if any other hinderance was in my way, I should on the morrow again apply to the king. He desired me not to do so, for the king loved me and had given orders for dispatching my business, which had been hindered by the preparations for this feast; but he would now send it to me with all speed, and do me all manner of service.

Seven months had now been vainly spent in soliciting the signing and sealing of the articles of amity and commerce, formerly detailed, and I had nothing but promises and delays, from day to day, and from week to week. Therefore on the 3d September, the English fleet being hourly expected to arrive at Surat, I delivered to him a memorial, containing the articles I desired to have an order for, that they might be observed in the unloading of the ships. These were, 1. That the presents coming for the king and prince, should not be opened at the port, but sent up to court under the seals of the customhouse officers. 2. That curiosities sent for presents to other persons, and for the merchants to sell, should also be sent to the court sealed, for the prince to make the first choice. 3. That the gross merchandize should be landed, reasonably rated, and not detained at the customhouse, but that the merchants, on paying the customs, should have full liberty to sell or dispose of it as they pleased; and that the ships should be fully supplied with provisions, without paying any custom for the same.

On the 4th, Asaph Khan sent me back my articles, after so long attendance and so many false promises, some of them altered, and others struck out, together with a letter, saying there was no need of any articles, as an order from the prince to trade at Surat was quite sufficient, he being lord there, and that no grant of trade at Bengal or Sinde could ever be allowed. Notwithstanding all this vexation, I durst not change my mode of proceeding, or wholly quit the prince and Asaph Khan. I therefore drew up other articles, leaving out what seemed displeasing in the former, and desired Asaph Khan to put them into form and procure them to be sealed, or else to allow me to apply to the king, that if he denied

nied me I might leave the country. The substance of these new articles was as follows :— 1. That all the subjects of the Great Mogul should receive the English in a friendly manner, suffering them to land their goods peaceably, and to procure provisions for their money without paying customs for them.—2. To have liberty, after paying customs for their goods, to sell them to any one they pleased, and none to force them to sell at an under rate.—3. To have liberty to pass with their goods to any part of the empire, without any farther exactions than those payable at the port.—4. To have the presents for the Mogul and prince sealed without being opened, and sent to the ambassador.—5. To have the goods of those that might die freed from confiscation, and delivered to the surviving English factors.—And finally, That no injury should be offered to any of the English.

On the 8th, Asaph Khan sent me word in plain terms, that absolutely he would procure nothing for me sealed, that in any respect concerned the government belonging to the prince, and that I must rest satisfied with a firmaun or order, signed by the prince, which was quite sufficient, and I needed not to apply any more to him. This clearly revealed the purpose he had so long intended, that we should be entirely dependent on the prince; and I now had just cause to look out for new friends, Asaph Khan having forsaken me. He that first took him for our solicitor engaged us in all this misery, for he was the known protector of our enemies, and a slave to their numerous bribes. I therefore determined to try the prince, and to seem entirely dependent upon him. So I went to the prince on the 10th, and desired he would grant his firmaun for the four articles formerly sent to his secretary, which he threw down to his secretary, so that I hoped to be at rest. I received it on the 11th, but on reading it over, I found two of the four clauses much altered, and one entirely left out; so I returned it, declaring roundly I could not accept it, neither would I suffer any goods to be sent ashore. Never was any man so distressed with such pride, covetousness, and falsehood.

At night, I rode to visit the prince's secretary, *Mirza Socorolla*, with whom I expostulated the business, declaring my resolution to depart. But I now found the firmaun quite different than I had been informed, and containing all the clauses I had required, though in some phrases rather ambiguous in my judgment, which the secretary interpreted favourably,

vourably, declaring it was the prince's intent to satisfy me entirely, and that every thing was quite sufficient for our purpose. After urging the obscurity of some points, and as he had declared the meaning of the prince to me, I requested he would explain them in the same sense to the governor of Surat, which he agreed to; and especially gave order that the customer should pay for fifty pieces of cloth, which he had bought many months before, and wished now to return upon the factors, to their extreme loss. At the close of our conference, he expressed the prince's desire that we would rely entirely on him, and not cross him in matters belonging to his government, by applying to the king, declaring that we should so find him a better friend than we expected. Being thus satisfied, I was in some hope of success, especially as this man is no taker of bribes, and is reputed honest, and pledged his credit that we should sustain no loss or injury, every thing being referred to him by the prince. So I accepted the firmaun, which, on having it translated, I found very effectual and satisfactory.

The 16th, I went to visit the prince, intending to seem entirely dependent upon him, till I heard what entertainment our ships were likely to meet with. But I found him in much perplexity, fearing the coming of Sultan Parvis to court, he being only at the distance of eight coss, anxiously desiring leave to kiss his father's hands. The king had even granted his desire, but by the influence of Nourmahal, the favourite queen, he had revoked the permission, and Sultan Parvis was ordered away directly to Bengal.[1] The resolution of the king to remove the court from Agimere still continued, but no one knew certainly where he intended to go.

§ 4. *Broils*

[1] At this place there is an expression in the Pilgrims, coupled with this sentence, which is quite inexplicable. "Yea, although the king had fallen down, and taken his mother by the feet, to obtain her leave to see her son." We are not sufficiently conversant in the secret history of the Zenana of Shah Jehan-guire to explain this; yet strongly suspect that this sentence ought to have run thus: Although the prince's mother fell at the king's feet to obtain leave to see her son.—E.

§ 4. *Broils about Abdala Khan and Khan-Khannan: Ambitious projects of Sultan Churrum to subvert his eldest Brother: Sea Fight with a Portuguese Carrack; and various other Occurrences.*

Several days now passed in soliciting the king and great men, and paying my court to them, without any remarkable occurrence; till on the 9th October, I had letters from Surat, giving me an account that four English ships had arrived there. On the 10th, Abdala Khan, the great governor of Ahmedabad, being sent for to court in disgrace, to answer for many insolent and contemptuous neglects of the king's commands, thought to stand upon his defence and to refuse compliance. But Sultan Churrum, whose ambitious views sought to turn every thing to his advantage, being desirous to oblige so great a man, who was reckoned one of the chiefest captains in the empire, prevailed upon him to submit, on his word to protect him. Abdala came therefore, in pretended humility, habited as a pilgrim, attended by forty servants on foot, until he arrived within a day's journey of the court, having 2000 horse attending him at some distance behind. He was this day brought to the *Jarruco*, the place where the king sits in public to see sports and hear complaints, and advanced towards the king, between two noblemen, having chains on his legs, and holding his turban over his eyes, that he might see no one till he had the happiness to behold the king. After making his humble reverence, and answering a few questions, the king forgave him, caused his irons to be taken off, and clothed him in a new vest of cloth of gold, with a turban and sash, as is the custom.

The prince, Churrum, now intended to establish his honour and power on the Deccan wars, which his elder brother Sultan Parvis had been recalled from in disgrace, and which the great commander, Khan-Khannan, had not conducted prosperously, being strongly suspected of a secret understanding with the princes of the Deccan, from whom he was believed to receive pensions. Churrum, therefore, induced his father to recall Khan-Khannan, who refused to obey; and wrote to the king, not to send Churrum to the war, but one of his youngest sons, then only about fifteen. This gave Churrum much uneasiness, as he was exceedingly intent upon having the conduct of this war, for which reason he promised to give the subordinate command of the army to Abdala

Abdala Khan, under himself, if he could contrive to get Khan-Khannan displaced. Fearing troubles from the ambition and factious practices of his son Churrum, the discontent of the two elder sons, Cuserou and Parvis, and the power of Khan-Khannan, the king was anxious to accommodate matters in the Deccan by accepting a peace, and continuing Khan-Khannan in his government; to which end he wrote him a letter of favour, and proposed to send him a vestment, as a sign of reconciliation, according to custom. Before dispatching these, he acquainted a kinswoman of Khan-Khannan, who lived in the seraglio, with his purpose. Whether she was false to her relation, through the secret influence of Sultan Churrum, or was grieved to see the head of her family so unworthily dealt with, who merited so highly, does not certainly appear: But she plainly told the king, that she did not believe Khan-Khannan would wear any thing the king sent, as he knew his majesty hated him, and had once or twice already sent him poison, which he had put into his bosom instead of his mouth, and proved by trials. For this reason, she was confident Khan-Khannan would not dare to put on any thing sent from his majesty. The king offered to wear the dress himself in her presence for an hour, which she might certify in a letter to her relative. To this she answered, that Khan-Khannan would trust neither of them with his life; but, if allowed to continue quietly in his command, would do his majesty good service. Upon this, the king altered his plans, and resolved to invest Sultan Churrum in the supreme command of the Deccan wars, and to follow after him with another army, to ensure his reception.

Khan-Khannan, having due notice of the storm preparing against him, practised with the Deccan sovereigns, who were at his devotion, to offer favourable terms of peace for a season, as he saw no other way of averting the cloud that hung over both him and them, unless by temporizing till the king and the prince were established farther off. For this purpose, there came two ambassadors at this time to court, from the princes of the Deccan, bringing horses richly caparisoned as presents. The king refused to listen to them, or to accept their gifts, and turned them over to his son, saying that peace or war rested entirely with him. The prince was so puffed up by this favour, though informed that the proposed conditions of peace were highly honourable, that he declared proudly he would listen to no terms, till he was in the field

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at the head of the army, being resolved that Khan-Khannan should not deprive him of the honour of finishing that war.

The ambitious views of this young prince are quite obvious, and form the common talk of the country, yet the king suffers him to proceed, although he by no means intends him as his successor. Sultan Cuserou, the eldest son, is highly beloved and honoured of all men, and almost adored, for his excellent parts and noble dispositions, with which the king is well acquainted, and even loves him dearly. But he conceives that the liberty of this son would diminish his own glory, and does not see that the ambition of Churrum greatly more tarnishes his own fame than would the virtuous character and noble actions of the other. Thus the king fosters division and emulation among his sons, putting so much power into the hands of the younger, which he believes he can undo at his pleasure, that the wisest here foresee much fatal division in this mighty empire when the present king shall pay the debt of nature, expecting that it will then be rent in pieces by civil wars.

The history of this country, for the variety of its incidents, and the many crooked practices of the present king during the reign of his father, Akbar Shah, and these latter troubles, were well worthy of being committed to writing. But, as the country is so remote, many would despise such information, and as the people are esteemed barbarous, few persons would give it credit. I content myself, therefore, with privately contemplating the singular history of this nation, although I could narrate so many singular and amusing state intrigues, subtle evasions, policies, answers, and adages, as could not be easily equalled in the history of one age or country. One incident, however, that occurred lately, I cannot omit relating, as it evinces the wisdom and patience of the emperor, the incorruptible fidelity of a servant, the detestable falsehood of a brother, and the impudent boldness of a faction, ready to dare every infamous action, when permitted by the supreme ruler to exercise an authority beyond the limits of their condition, and contrary to the dictates of reason and true policy.

The favourite Prince Sultan Churrum, together with the favourite Queen *Nourmahal*, aunt to his wife, Asaph Khan father-in-law to Churrum, and brother of *Nourmahal*, and *Etiman Dowlet*, father of *Asaph Khan* and *Nourmahal*, being the faction that now governed the emperor, and who believed their bad influence in danger of being overthrown if the prince

prince *Cuserou* were allowed to live, determined to use every effort for his destruction, and to endeavour to get him into their power, that they might end his days by poison, for they knew that he was universally beloved among the nobles, and that his remaining in life and restoration to liberty must some day overthrow and punish their ambitious projects. To attain their infamous purposes, Nourmahal was instructed to practise upon the king's weakness, by false tears and bewitching blandishments, to insinuate that Sultan Cuserou was not in sufficiently safe custody, and that he still meditated aspiring projects, contrary to the authority and safety of the emperor, who listened to all her insinuations, yet refused to understand her, as she did not plainly speak out her meaning.

As this plan failed, the prince, with Etiman Dowlet and Asaph Khan, took the opportunity of the emperor being drunk, to persuade him, as if for the greater safety and honour of Sultan Cuserou, that it were fitter he should be in the company of his brother Churrum, who would be more regardful of his safety and happiness than could be expected from an idolatrous rajput, to whose custody he had been committed by the emperor. They therefore humbly implored his majesty that Prince Cuserou might be confided to the care of his dear brother Churrum. This was granted by the intoxicated monarch, who immediately fell asleep.

They now deemed their project successful, as having the royal authority; and, considering their own greatness, they believed no one would dare to dispute the warrant, or to refuse delivering the prince into their hands. Accordingly, Asaph Khan went that same night with a guard to the house of *Anna-Rah*, a rajput Rajah, or prince, to demand from him, in the king's name and authority, the person of Sultan Cuserou, who had been confided to his custody by the king. Anna-Rah declared that he was the most humble slave of Prince Churrum, whose name Asaph Khan used upon this occasion; but having received charge of Prince Cuserou directly from the hands of the emperor, he would deliver him up to no other person. He therefore entreated that Prince Churrum would have patience till next morning, when he would discharge his duty to the king, whose pleasure, once known, he would implicitly obey. This answer overturned the whole contrivance. In the morning Anna-Rah went to the king, to whom he communicated the demand made upon him in the name of Prince Churrum, saying, That his majesty

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jesty had given his son Cuserou to his charge, together with the command of 4000 horse, with all of whom he was ready to die at the imperial gate, rather than resign the prince into the hands of his enemies: But, if his majesty required, he was ready at all times to obey his commands. To this the king replied, "You have done honestly and faithfully, and have answered discretely. Continue your purpose, and take no notice of any orders. I will not seem to know any thing of this, neither do you speak of it any farther. Preserve your fidelity, and let us see how far they will prosecute this affair."

Next day, finding the king silent on the subject, the prince and his faction took no notice of any thing, hoping the king might forget what had passed in his cups over night. I have communicated this incident, that you may beware of scattering your goods in this country, or of engaging your servants and stock too deeply; for the time will come when the whole of this empire will be in commotion, and it is not a few years war that will put a period to the inveterate enmity accumulated on all hands against a day of vengeance. Should Sultan Cuserou prevail in procuring his rightful inheritance, this empire will become a sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, being a patron of learning, and an encourager of true valour and just government, abhorring all covetousness, and despising the base custom of accepting bribes and presents, in use among his ancestors and the nobility of this empire. Should Sultan Churrum ascend the throne, it will be a great loss to us, as he is a rigid adherent to the superstition of Mahomet, a hater of all Christians, proud, subtle, false, and barbarously tyrannical.[1]

The king returned from hunting on the night of the 13th October, and sent me a wild pig. An ambassador is daily expected here from Shah Abbas, king of Persia. This day I received advice of the arrival of four of our ships in safety at Swally roads, and at the same time received letters from England. The fleet, originally consisting of six ships, left England on the 9th March, 1616, losing company of the Rose about the North Cape, in foul weather. The other five arrived safely in Saldanha bay on the 12th June, where the Lion was waiting for a wind, homewards bound, her officers and

[1] From this paragraph it appears that the journal of Sir Thomas Roe was addressed to the Governor and Committees, or Directors of the East India Company.—E.

and people all in good health. After staying some time at the Cape without news of the missing ship, they dispatched the Swan for Bantam, and sailed on the 29th June with the other four ships for Surat. On this passage, on the 6th August, when in lat. 12° 50′ S. near the Comora islands, they got sight of a carrack of 1500 tons burden, and 600 men, being the admiral of a fleet for Goa. The Globe fetched her to windward, and after the usual salutations of the sea, the carrack commanded her to leeward, and seconded this order with five shots through her hull, to which the Globe replied with eighteen, and then luffed off. The admiral of the English got now up with all his ships, and demanded satisfaction for the injury, which was replied to with scorn. On this an engagement ensued, in which the commander, Benjamin Joseph, was soon slain, but his successor continued the battle. Towards evening the carrack ran herself ashore on the rocks of *Angazesia*. Our fleet came to anchor in the offing to wait the event, and sent a boat to offer fair terms of battle. But about midnight the carrack was set on fire, and continued to burn all next morning. The English sent their boats to give assistance, but could not approach, and they had reason to believe that not one man was saved.[2] The new viceroy of Goa was in this ship, by whose obstinacy the death of all the rest was occasioned. Our fleet came to anchor off Swally on the 24th September, 1616.

The 14th October I waited on the emperor, to whom I imparted his majesty's salutations, which were courteously received, but he immediately began to enquire what presents had been sent to him. I mentioned our late fight and victory, at which he seemed to rejoice, and applauded the valour of our nation; but he immediately shifted the discourse, asking what our king had sent him. I answered, that he had sent many tokens of his love and affection; but knowing that his majesty was lord of the best portion of Asia, and the richest monarch of the East, my sovereign was satisfied the sending of rich gifts to his majesty were to cast pearls into the sea, their common mother and storehouse; but that my master, together with the warmest assurance of his love, had sent him many curiosities, which I hoped would give him entire satisfaction. He urged me to mention particulars, some of

[2] It was afterwards known that some few escaped with life and poverty. A more particular account of this fight will be found in the subsequent journal of Alexander Child.—*Purch.*

of which I named. He asked me for French *muffe* or velvet, to which I answered, that all my letters were not arrived. He then enquired if there were any dogs. To which I answered, that some had been slain in the battle at sea, but that two were preserved for him, at which he seemed much rejoiced. He then said, if I could procure him one of our great horses, such as I had described, being a *roan* or Dutch horse, he would value it more than an additional kingdom. I answered, that I should use my best endeavours to satisfy his majesty, but much feared it could not be effected, owing to the length of the voyage. He said he would willingly give a lack of rupees for such a horse. I then desired he would be pleased to give an order for the transmission of the presents without being searched, and for the good usage of our people. He answered, that the port belonged to his son, but sent for him, and publicly gave orders for what I required; that the presents should not be searched, nor pay any custom, but should be sent up safe to me with all expedition, that I might distribute them at my discretion. He likewise commanded the prince to give orders for the good usage of our people, and that I should be satisfied in all my demands. This order did not extend to the grant of a fort, as Asaph Khan had absolutely refused to deliver in that clause. This charge was very round and hearty on the part of the king, and a great grace to me. The prince called Asaph Khan forwards in my presence, and promised, before his father and the whole court, to give me all reasonable satisfaction. All this was on the strength of the new presents.

That same day I sent for the Portuguese jesuit who resided at court, and gave him an account of the engagement between our ships and the carrack, offering to make peace between our nation and the Portuguese upon equal terms. He promised to acquaint the viceroy of Goa with my offer, and so departed. The 15th I received accounts from Masulipatan that Captain Keeling had taken a Portuguese ship and two barks; one on the coast of Cochin, laden with tin, and the other freighted from Bengal, both of which were carried to Bantam. I was also informed that Sir Robert Shirley had been dismissed with disgrace from Goa, and was on his way overland to Masulipatan, to procure a passage; but am apt to believe this intelligence is untrue.

The 16th, being with the prince's secretary about the dispatch of our affairs, he proposed to me, by his master's orders,

ders, to procure him two gunners from our fleet to serve him in the Deccan war, offering good pay and good usage This I undertook to perform, knowing that indifferent artists might serve there. While at the prince's palace, Abdala Khan came to visit him, so magnificently attended, that I have not before seen the like. He was preceded by about twenty drums, and other martial music, on horseback, who made abundant noise. After them followed fifty persons bearing white flags, and two hundred well-mounted soldiers, all richly clothed in cloth of gold, velvet, and rich silks, who all entered the gate with him in regular array. Next his person were forty targeteers, in the richest liveries. After making his humble reverence, he presented a black Arabian horse, splendidly caparisoned, all his furniture being studded with flowers of enamelled gold, and set with small precious stones. According to custom, the prince returned a turban, a vest, and a girdle.

Still persisting in his purpose of personally finishing the war in the Deccan, he would give no answer to the ambassadors from that country, but detained them till he should come to the frontiers. Being now about to depart, he and his party thought themselves not secure if Sultan Cuserou remained under the safeguard of Anna-Rah, lest, during the absence of Churrum, the king might be reconciled to Cuserou, by whose liberty all the hopes and power of their faction would be overthrown, in which case their ambition and the injuries they had done could hardly escape punishment. In this view they continued to urge the king to deliver Sultan Cuserou into the custody of Asaph Khan, as deputy on that occasion to Churrum, under pretence that this measure would intimidate Khan-Khannan and the Deccan princes, when they shall learn that Sultan Churrum is so favoured that the king has delivered his eldest son into his keeping, giving him as it were present possession of the kingdom, and the certain prospect of succession. Accordingly, on the 17th of October, Sultan Cuserou was delivered up as they desired, the soldiers of Anna-rah were discharged, and those of Asaph Khan placed over him, assisted by 200 horse belonging to the prince. The sister of Sultan Cuserou, and several other women in the seraglio, have put themselves in mourning, refuse to take their food, and openly exclaim against the dotage and cruelty of the king; declaring, if Cuserou should die, that an hundred of his kindred would devote

devote themselves to the flames, in memory of the king's cruely to the worthiest of his sons.

The king endeavoured to sooth them by fair words, protesting that he had no evil intentions towards his son, whom he promised speedily to deliver from captivity, and even sent his favourite Nourmahal to endeavour to appease the enraged and disconsolate ladies; but they refused to admit her visit, loading her with curses and threatnings. The common people universally condemn the king's conduct, saying, that he has not only delivered his son's life, but his own into the keeping of an ambitious prince and treacherous faction, and that Cuserou cannot perish without extreme scandal to his father, unless he amply revenge his death, for which cause the party will dispatch the king first, and his eldest son afterwards, that through their deaths the ambitious and unnatural Churrum may mount the throne. Every hour new rumours are spread of the deliverance of Cuserou, which are speedily contradicted; for he still remains in the tyger's den, refuses food, and requires that his father may take away his life, and not leave him to be a sport and prey to his inveterate enemies. The whole court is filled with rumours and secret whispers; the nobles are sad, and the people full of turmoil and noise, without any head, having no one to direct their rage to any specific object. The issue seems involved in dangers, especially for us, as, in regard to themselves, it matters not who wins. Although the elder prince have more right, and is of a more honourable character, he is still a Mahomedan, and can hardly be a better prince than his father, whose dispositions are good, yet so facile that he allows all to govern at their will, which is even worse than if he were a tyrant, for we had better suffer injuries from one prince than from a host of ministers and subordinate agents.

The 19th of October *Mahomet Reza Beg*, the Persian ambassador, made his entry into the city with a great cavalcade, partly sent out by the king to meet him. There were at least an hundred elephants, with many musicians; but no man of quality went out on this occasion beyond the ordinary official receivers of strangers. His own train consisted of about fifty horse in splendid dresses of cloth of gold, their bows, quivers, and targets being richly adorned. Together with these he had about forty musqueteers, and about 200 ordinary *peons* and attendants on his passage. He was conducted

ducted to a room within the outer court of the palace, to rest himself till the evening, at which time I sent my secretary to the durbar, to give me an account of the ceremonial. On coming into the presence, and reaching the first rail, he made three *tessalims* and one *sizeda*, which is prostrating himself and knocking his head three times against the ground. On entering within the rail he did the same, and then presented the letter of his master, *Shabas*, [Shah Abbas.] This the king took with a slight inclination of the body, saying only, *How doth my brother?* without using any title of majesty. After some few words, the ambassador was placed in the seventh rank, close to the rail beside the door, and below many of the king's servants, which, in my opinion, was a very mean place for the ambassador of Persia; but he richly merited this degradation for doing that mean reverence to the dishonour of his master which all his predecessors had refused, and by which he gave much offence to many of his nation. It is reported that he had orders from Shah Abbas to give content in all things, and hence it is conjectured that he is sent to obtain some aid in money against the Turks, in which kind the court of Persia often finds liberal succour from the Mogul government. Others pretend that his object is to mediate a peace for the princes of the Deccan, whose protection Shah Abbas is said to have much at heart, being jealous of the extension of this empire.

According to custom, the king gave him a handsome turban, a vest of cloth of gold, and a girdle, for which he again made three *tessalims* and a *sizeda*, or ground courtesy. The present he brought consisted of three times nine Persian and Arabian horses, this being among them a ceremonious number; nine very large and handsome mules; seven camels laden with velvet; two suits of European *Arras*, or tapestry, which I suppose was Venetian; two chests of Persian hangings; one rich cabinet; four muskets; five clocks; a camel's load of cloth of gold; eight silk carpets; two balass rubies; twenty-one camel loads of wine made of grapes; fourteen camel loads of distilled sweet waters; seven of rose-water; seven daggers and five swords adorned with precious stones; seven Venetian mirrors, all so fair and rich that I was ashamed of the relation.

These presents were not now delivered, but only a list of them in writing. His own equipage was rich, having nine led horses, their trappings all studded with gold and silver. His

His turban was encircled by a chain of pearls, rubies, and turquoises, having three pipes of gold, in which were three plumes of feathers. Having thus caused accurate observation to be made of his reception, and compared it with my own, I find it in nothing more gracious than my own, and in many things inferior, except only in being met without the town, which, owing to my sickness, was not demanded; neither did the king receive the letter of Shah Abbas with so much respect as that of the king, my master, whom he called the king of England, his brother, naming the Persian barely his brother, without addition. This observation was made by the jesuit, who understood the language.

§ 5. *Continuation of Occurrences at Court, till leaving Agimere, in November,* 1616.

The 20th of October I received the prince's letter to send to Surat, with orders for the governor of that city to sit along with the judge of the custom-house, to take care that no wrong was done to the English. The clause about sending up the presents sealed and unsearched to me, was so obscure and unintelligible, that it was susceptible of various constructions, which I believed was done designedly, that they might come into the hands of the prince, so as to become his own. I sent it back therefore to his secretary to be altered; and getting it returned still more intricate than at first, I went to the prince on the 21st, and desired to have that clause of his letter explained, at which he stuck a little, and I perceived he was as hollow as I had imagined. He plainly asked, How then he should have his presents, or see such curiosities as came up? and proposed to accompany me to where they were. I answered, that I could not do this till I had delivered my master's message and presents to the king, after which I should wait upon his highness with his presents, and that every rarity that came to me should be sent after him. He pressed me to pass my word for the performance of this, which I did, and then I had the letter for Surat made out to my content.

At this interview the prince observed a white feather in my hat, and asked if I would give it to him. I answered, that I could not presume to offer any thing I had worn; but if he were pleased to command it, that or any thing else in my power was at his service. He then asked if I had any more;

to

to which I answered, that I had three or four others of different colours. He desired to have them all, as he was to shew his horses and servants to the king within two days, and wanted some, being rare in these parts. I therefore promised to bring all I had next day, when his highness might take what pleased him.

This day Abdalla Khan waited on the prince with a gallant equipage, himself and servants being anticly apparelled, yet soldier-like, according to their fashion. On this occasion he made a present to the prince of a handsome white horse, full of spirit and high mettled, the saddle and furniture all ornamented with enamelled gold. The prince returned him a plain sword with a leathern belt. Many other swords were brought before him, the hilts and scabbards being of silver, set with small stones, together with targets covered with gold velvets, some painted and embossed with gold and silver, all of which he distributed among his servants. Against this muster many saddles and other horse-furniture were provided, richly ornamented with gold and precious stones, intended for spare horses. His boots were embroidered, and every thing was of the highest magnificence, so that the expence is wonderful, and the wealth seen daily is inestimable. There is a report going, that, on the past night, six of the servants of Sultan Churrum went to murder Sultan Cuserou, but were refused the key by the porter who has charge of him. It is farther said that the queen mother is gone to the king to lay before him an account of this matter. But the truth of these things is hard to be found, and it is dangerous to ask questions.

In the evening I went to the durbar to wait upon the king, where I met the Persian ambassador with the first muster of his presents. He seemed a jester or juggler, rather than a person of any gravity, continually skipping up and down, and acting all his words like a mimic player, so that the *Atachikanne* was converted as it were into a stage. He delivered all his presents with his own hand, which the king received with smiles and a chearful countenance, and many gracious words. His tongue was a great advantage to the Persian in delivering his own business, which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousness, that he pleased as much that way as by his gifts, constantly calling his majesty king and commander of the world, forgetting that his own master had a share of it; and on every little occasion of favourable

 acceptance,

acceptance, he made his *tessalims*. When all was delivered for that day, he prostrated himself on the ground, making *sizeda*, and knocking his head on the floor as if he would have entered it.

The gifts this day were a handsome quiver for a bow and arrow, richly embroidered; all sorts of European fruits, artificially made, and laid on dishes; many folding purses, and other knacks, of leather, curiously wrought in coloured silks; shoes stitched and embroidered; great mirrors in richly inlaid frames; one square piece of velvet, highly embroidered with gold in panes, between which were Italian pictures wrought in the stuff, which he said were the king and queen of Venice, being, as I suppose, the hanging called Venetian tapestry, of which six were given, but only one shown. There were besides, many other curiosities of small value; after which came the three times nine horses and mules, the latter being very handsome, but the horses had lost their beauty and condition, as, except one or two, they were very unfit for being sent or accepted between princes. This done, the Persian returned, with many antic tricks, to his place, which was far inferior to mine, as I stood alone, and above all the subjects, though Asaph Khan at first wanted to put me from it, but I maintained it as my right, having been appointed me by the king. This was only the first act of the play presented by the Persian ambassador, which will not be finished in ten days.

The 22d I went to the prince's secretary for the promised Surat letter; but his highness had changed his mind, and, loth to let the presents pass without ransacking them, refused to seal the letter. The secretary pretended they could not be allowed to pass without search, lest the merchants, under that pretence, might defraud the customs. I was offended, and going away; but the secretary prevailed on me to go with him to the prince, to whom I delivered some feathers, being two *pluriaes* and two birds of paradise, which he graciously accepted; and having made known my determination not to have the presents opened, or to be sent up by any others than my own servants, he at last yielded, and commanded his secretary to make out the dispatch in my own way.

At night I went to the durbar to observe the Persian ambassador, whom I found standing in his place, but often removed and set lower, as the great men came in. The king once

once spoke to him, on which he played off his monkey tricks, but gave no present; only the king gave command that he should be feasted by the nobles. Most of the time was spent in seeing saddles and furniture, against the removal of the court, some of which the king presented to his followers, as the court was daily expected to move; the king's tents having been pitched four days. I sent that night to the secretary for my firmaun, but was put off with excuses.

The 24th the king removed to Havar Gemal, and called for the Persian ambassador, who at night eat and drank before the king along with the nobles, as I had done on the birth-day. On this occasion the king gave him 20,000 rupees for his expences, for which he made innumerable *tessalims* and *sizedas*, which greatly pleased the king, being base yet profitable idolatry. As the prince was in attendance on the king, I could not get my business dispatched.

The king returned to the city in the evening of the 25th, having been far gone in wine the night before. Some person, either by chance or from malice, spoke of the last merry night, when many of the nobles had drank wine, which none may do without leave. Having forgot his own order, the king demanded to know who gave? It was answered that it had been given by the *buxy*, as no one dared to say it was the king, seeing he doubted it. The custom is that the king drinks alone, though sometimes he will give command that the nobles shall drink also, which to refuse is likewise an offence, so every one who takes the cup of wine from the officer has his name written down, and makes *tessalim*, though perhaps the king's eyes are misty. The king called for the *buxy*, and asked if he gave the order, which he falsely denied; though he actually gave it as ordered, calling by name such as were to drink with the ambassador. The king then called for the list, and fined the delinquents, some 1000, some 2000, and others 3000 rupees. Some that were near his person, he caused to be whipped in his presence, receiving 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument of torture, having at the ends of four cords irons like spur-rowels, so that every stroke made four wounds. When they lay for dead, he commanded the standers-by to spurn them with their feet, and the door-keepers to break their staves upon them. Thus cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carried away, one of them dying on the spot. Some would have excused themselves, by blaming the ambassador; but the king

king said he had only ordered a cup or two to be given to him. Though drunkenness be a common and frequent vice in the king, it is yet strictly forbidden; and no one can enter the *guzelkhan* where the king sits, till the porters have smelt his breath, and if he have only tasted wine he is refused admittance; and if this reason of his absence be known, he shall scarcely escape the whip. When the king has taken offence at any one, even a father dares not speak for his son. Thus the king made all the company pay for the Persian ambassador's reward.

The 26th, I went to *Sorocolla*, the prince's secretary, to get the promised firmaun; when he sent me a copy as fraudulent and ambiguous as the former, which I refused to accept. I drew up the clause I so much disliked myself, which I sent back, and was promised to have it sealed next day.

The day of the king's removal being at hand, I sent on the 28th to Asaph Khan, to have a warrant for carriages, as our merchants had sought all over the town for carriages to convey their goods to Agra, and could not procure any. As I was enrolled by the king, I received an order for twenty camels, four carts, and two coaches, to be paid for at the king's price; of which I appointed for the use of the factors as many as they needed.

At this time the following incident took place, being either a wonderful instance of baseness in this great monarch, or a trial of my disposition. The king had condemned several thieves to death, among whom were some boys, and there was no way to save their lives, except by selling them as slaves. On this occasion, the king commanded Asaph Khan to offer two of them to me for money, which he directed to be done by the *cutwall*, or marshal. He came accordingly and made the offer to my interpreter, who answered without my knowledge, that the Christians kept no slaves, and, as I had already set free those the king had given me, it was in vain to propose the matter to me. I afterwards suspected this were done to try me whether I would give a little money to save the lives of two children, or, if it even were in earnest, I thought there was no great loss in doing a good deed. So, to try the scope of this affair, I directed my interpreter to inform Asaph Khan, that being made acquainted with the offer, and the answer my interpreter had given, I had reprehended him for presuming in any case to answer for me; and that, if any money were to be given to save the

lives

lives of the children, either to those whom they had robbed, or to redeem them from the law, I was ready to give it, both out of respect for the king's command, and for charity; but I would not buy them as slaves, only meaning to pay their ransom, and set them free; and, if he would let me know the king's pleasure, that I might give them their lives and liberties without offence, I was very willing to do it.

Asaph Khan agreed to accept the money, making many commendations of my extraordinary goodness, and said I might dispose of the boys as I thought fit, desiring me to send the money to the *cutwall*, yet made no offer of informing the king, which was one chief purpose of my liberality. I had no inclination to be cheated, yet resolved to pay the money in such a way that the king should learn I had more mercy than he, and that a Christian valued the life of a Mahomedan beyond money. I sent therefore a factor and my interpreter to the *cutwall*, to acquaint him with my communication to Asaph Khan, and that, if he informed the king of my offer to redeem the prisoners for charity, and his majesty consented to give them their pardon and liberty, I was ready to send the money; but that I would not buy them as slaves, even for an hour. Thus I put them to the test as to their base offer. This sum did not exceed ten pounds, a poor affair for which to impose upon a stranger, or to be gained by so great a king The *cutwall* answered that he would enquire the king's pleasure, and let me know the result. Some would have me believe, that this was a signal favour of the king, chusing out any great man to do this good and honourable work of redeeming prisoners, as the money is given in satisfaction to the person robbed, and that those who are thus appointed to ransom them, make *sizeda* to the king, as for a mighty benefit: But I see no honour in a king thus to impose upon a stranger, to whom he gives neither maintenance nor liberality. I went to the durbar, to see if the king would himself speak to me, that I might declare my own offer. The *cutwall* made many motions, and brought in his executioner, who received some commands, but I understood them not.

I this day sent my secretary with a message to the Persian ambassador, to say I would visit him, if he gave his word to return my visit. He sent me for answer, with much respect, that it was not the custom of the country for ambassadors to visit each other without leave of the king, which he would ask;

ask; and which given, he would thankfully accept my visit, and repay it with all manner of pleasure.

On the 1st November, Sultan Churrum took his leave and went to his tents. On this occasion the king sat in his durbar at noon, when the prince passed his establishment in review before his father, consisting of about 600 elephants richly caparisoned, and about 10,000 horse, all splendidly arrayed, many of his followers being clad in cloth of gold, and their turbans adorned with herons plumes. The prince himself was in a dress of cloth of silver, all over embroidered, and splendidly decorated with pearls and diamonds, shining like the firmament in a clear night. The king embraced and kissed him with much affection, presenting him with a rich sword, the hilt and scabbard all of gold set with precious stones, valued at 100,000 rupees, a dagger valued at 40,000, together with an elephant, and a horse, the furniture of both magnificently adorned with gold and jewels. At his departure, he gave him a coach, made in imitation of that sent by the king my master to the emperor, and commanded the English coachman to drive the prince to the tents. Churrum went accordingly into the coach, sitting in the middle thereof, all the sides being open; and was attended by all his chief nobles a-foot, all the way to the camp, which was about four miles. Being followed by a vast concourse of people, he scattered all the way among them handfuls of quarter rupees. At one time he reached his hand to the coachman, and put about 100 rupees into his hat.

On the 2d, the king removed, with his women and all the court, to the tents, about three miles from town. I went that morning to attend upon him at the *Jarruco* window of the palace, and went up to the scaffold under the window, being desirous to see this exhibition. Two eunuchs stood upon tressels, having long poles headed with feathers, with which they fanned him. On this occasion, he dispensed many favours, and received many presents. What he gave was let down by a silk cord, rolled on a turning instrument; and what he received was drawn up in the same manner, by a venerable, fat, and deformed old matron, all hung round with *gymbals* like an image. Two of his principal wives were at a window on one side, whose curiosity led them to break holes in a lattice of reeds that hung before the window, to gaze on me. At first I only saw their fingers; and afterwards, applying their faces to the holes, I could at times see

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an eye, and at length could discern their entire countenances. They were indifferently fair, having their black hair smoothed up from their foreheads; and they were so adorned with pearls and diamonds, that I might have seen them without the help of any other light. On my looking at them, they retired very merry, and, as I supposed, laughing at me.

After some time, the king departed from the window, and we all went to the durbar, to wait his coming out of the inner apartments. He came not long after, and remained in the durbar for about half an hour, till his ladies had mounted their elephants, which were in all about fifty, all richly caparisoned, especially three, which had turrets or *howders* of gold, with grates of gold wire for the ladies to see through, and rich canopies over head of cloth of silver. The king then descended the stairs, amid such acclamations of *health to the king*, as would have drowned the noise of cannon. At the foot of the stairs, where I contrived to be near him, a person brought to him a large carp, and another presented a dish of some white stuff like starch, into which the king dipped his finger, with which he touched the fish, and then rubbed it on his forehead. This ceremony was said to presage good fortune. Then came another officer, who buckled on his sword and buckler, all set with large diamonds and rubies. Another hung on his quiver with thirty arrows, and his bow-case, being that which had been presented by the Persian ambassador. On his head, the king wore a rich turban, with a plume of heron's crests, not many but long: On one side hung a rich unset ruby as large as a walnut; on the other side a diamond of equal size; and in the middle an emerald much larger, shaped like a heart. His sash was wreathed about with a chain of great pearls, rubies, and diamonds, drilled. A triple chain of excellent pearls, the largest I had ever seen, hung round his neck. He had armlets above his elbows, richly set with diamonds; and three rows of diamonds round each wrist. His hands were bare, having a rich ring on almost every finger; and a pair of English gloves were stuck into his girdle. His coat, without sleeves, was of cloth of gold, over a fine robe as thin as lawn. On his feet he wore buskins embroidered with pearls, the toes being sharp and turned up.

Thus richly accoutred, he went into the coach, which waited for him under the care of his new English servant, who was dressed as gaudily as any player, and more so, and had

had trained four horses for the draught, which were trapped and harnessed all in velvet and gold. This was the first coach he had ever been in, made in imitation of that sent from England, and so like it that I only knew the difference by the cover, which was of gold velvet of Persia. Having seated himself at one end, two eunuchs attended at each side, carrying small golden maces set all over with rubies, to which horse-tails were fastened, for driving away flies. Before him went drums, bad trumpets, and loud music; with many canopies, parasols, and other strange ensigns of majesty, all of cloth of gold, and adorned with rubies. Nine spare horses were led before him, some having their furniture garnished with rubies, some with pearls, and others with diamonds, while some had only plain gold studs. Next behind the coach came three palanquins, the carriages and feet of one being plated with gold, set with pearls, and a fringe of great pearls in strings a foot long, the border being set all round with rubies and emeralds. Beside this, a man on foot carried a stool of gold, set with precious stones. The other two palanquins were covered and lined with cloth of gold.

Next followed the English coach, newly covered and richly trimmed, which he had given to his favourite queen, Nourmahal, who sat in the inside. After this came a coach, made after the fashion of the country, which I thought seemed out of countenance, in which were his younger sons. This was followed by about twenty spare royal elephants, all for the king's own use, all so splendidly adorned with precious stones and rich furniture, that they outshone the sun. Each elephant had several flags and streamers of cloth of silver, gilded sattin, or rich silk. His noblemen accompanied him on foot, which I did likewise to the gate, and then left him. His women, who accompanied him on elephants, as before mentioned, seemed like so many parroquitos in cages, and followed about half a mile in the rear of his coach. On coming to the door of the house in which his eldest son was kept prisoner, he caused the coach to stop, and sent for prince Cuserou; who immediately came and made reverence, having a sword and buckler in his hands, and his beard grown to his middle, in sign of disfavour. The king now commanded his son to mount one of the spare elephants in the royal train, so that he rode next his father, to the great joy and applause of the multitude, who were now filled with new hopes; and on this occasion, the king gave him

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1000 rupees to throw among the people; his gaoler, Asaph Khan, and all the ministers, being still attendant on foot.

To avoid the press and other inconveniences, I took horse and crossed out of the *leskar*, getting before the king, and then waited for him till he came near his tents, to which he passed all the way from the town between a guard of turreted elephants, having each on the four corners of their howdars a banner of yellow taffety, and a *sling*[1] mounted in front, carrying a bullet as big as a tennis-ball. There were about three hundred elephants armed in this manner, each having a gunner; besides about six hundred other elephants of honour, that preceded or followed the king, all covered with velvet or cloth of gold, and all carrying two or three gilded banners. Many men afoot ran before the king, carrying skins of water with which to sprinkle the road to prevent dust from annoying him; and no one was allowed to approach the coach on horseback by two furlongs.

Having gone before a-horseback, as before mentioned, I hastened to the tents, to await the king's arrival. The royal encampment was walled round, half a mile in circuit, in form of a fortress, with high screens or curtains of coarse stuff, somewhat like Arras hangings, red on the outside, the inside being divided into panes or compartments, with a variety of figures. This inclosure had a handsome gateway, and the circuit was formed into various coins and bulwarks, as it were; the posts which supported the curtains being all surmounted with brass tops. The throng was very great, and I wished to have gone into the enclosure, but no one was allowed, even the greatest of the land having to sit down at the gate. At length I was admitted, but the Persian ambassador and all the nobles were refused. At this gate, and for the first time, I was saluted by the Persian ambassador as I passed, by a silent *salam*.

In the midst of this enclosure, there stood a throne of mother-of-pearl, borne aloft on two pillars, under cover of a high tent or pavilion, the pole of which was headed by a golden knob, the roof being of cloth of gold, and the ground covered by carpets. When the king came near, several noblemen were admitted, together with the Persian ambassador; all of us making a kind of lane, the ambassador being on one side, and

[1] The sling in the text appears to have been a *slung* musquetoon, or small cannon, mounted in that manner to avoid recoil.—E.

and I on the other. As the king came in, he cast his eye on me, whereupon I made him a reverence, to which he answered by bowing and laying his hand on his breast. Turning to the other side, he nodded to the Persian. I followed close at his heels till he ascended the throne, every one calling out, *joy, health, and good fortune!* The king then called for water, with which he washed his hands, and then retired into an interior tent, to join his women, who had entered by another gate to their own quarters; there being about thirty divisions with tents within the royal inclosure. His son I saw not. All the noblemen now retired to their quarters, which were all very handsome, some having their tents green, others white, and others again of mixed colours, all handsome in form and arrangement, and all as orderly inclosed as their houses in the city, so that the whole composed the most curious and magnificent sight I had ever beheld. The whole vale seemed like a magnificent city, no mean tents or baggage being allowed to mix among these splendid pavilions. I was utterly unprovided with carriages or tent, and ashamed of my situation, for indeed five years of my allowances would not have enabled me to take the field any thing like the others; every one having a double set of pavilions, one of which goes before to the next station, where it is set up a day before the king removes. On this account, I was obliged to return to my poor house in the town.

On the 5th November I rode about five miles, to the tents of the prince, Sultan Churrum. I made him my compliments of leave taking, wishing him all prosperity and success; but he ordered me to return and take my leave two days afterwards, as I had moved him on some business, respecting debts due to the English, which he promised to examine and dispatch. He sat in state, in the same greatness and magnificence I have mentioned of his father; his throne being plated all over with silver, inlaid with gold flowers, having a square canopy over head, borne up by four pillars covered with silver; his arms, such as his sword, buckler, bows, arrows, and lance, being on a table before his throne. I observed him curiously, now that he was in absolute authority, and took especial notice of his actions and behaviour. He had just received two letters, which he read standing, before he ascended his throne. I never saw any one having so settled a countenance, or maintain a so constant gravity of deportment, never once smiling, or shewing by his looks any

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respect or distinction of persons, but evincing an extreme pride and thorough contempt for all around him. Yet I could perceive that he was every now and then assailed by some inward trouble, and a kind of distraction and brokenness in his thoughts, as he often answered suitors in a disjointed manner, as if surprised, or not hearing what they had said. If I can judge, he has left his heart among his father's women, with whom he is allowed to converse. The day before, Noormahal went to visit him in the English coach; and, on taking leave of him, she presented him with a robe, all embroidered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls; and, if I do not mistake, she carried away with her all his attentions from other business.

The 6th I had a letter from Mr Brown at Ahmedabad, giving an account of a fray begun by the Portuguese. Five of them assailed an English boy at Cambay, whose arms they took from him. On notice of this, John Brown and James Bickeford went to rescue the boy, and were set upon by seven Portuguese, one of whom fired a pistol and wounded Brown in the hand. They defended themselves bravely and honourably like Englishmen, killed one, wounded some others, and chaced the rest up and down the town like cowards, to the great shame of such villains, and the reputation of our nation. To revenge this, the Portuguese came ashore in considerable numbers from their frigates, no more English being in the town except the three already mentioned. The governor, being informed of this affair, sent the cutwall with a guard to our house, and ordered the water port to be shut, expelling the Portuguese from the town, and commanding them, on pain of chastisement, not to meddle with the English, whom he dismissed in safety from Cambay, and they are now returned to Ahmedabad.

The 9th, the prince being to remove, sent one of his guards for me in haste. I was not prepared for going, but the messenger pressed me, urging that his master waited for me, and he had orders not to return without me. He added, that the whole court talked of the prince's favour for me, and it was reported he had asked leave from the king for me to accompany him to the war, and had promised to use me so well that I should be forced to acknowledge his favour to our nation. I accordingly took horse after dinner; but on my arrival, I found the prince already under march. I met a Dutchman, the prince's jeweller, who confirmed every thing

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the soldier had said, and added so much more in the same strain, that I disbelieved the whole. I sent word to the prince of my arrival, when he returned for answer, That I should go on before to the tents, and wait his arrival, when he would speak with me. It was night when he came. He sat a short while, only giving me a look, and arose to retire among his women. As he passed, he sent a servant to desire me to wait a little, till he came out to hold his guzalcan, when he should take leave of me.

He came out in half an hour, but I could not get any one to remind him of me, and he was fallen to play, and either forgot me, or proposed to play me a state trick. I then told the waiters, that I had been sent for by the prince, and only waited his orders, for which I had too long waited, as it was late, and I must return to my house; and therefore, if the prince had any business for me, I desired it might be sent after me, as I scorned to be so used. Before I could mount, messengers came running after me, and called me back to wait upon the prince. Going in, I found him earnestly engaged at cards, but he excused himself of forgetfulness, blaming the officers formally for not reminding him, and shewed more than ordinary attention, calling me to see his cards, and asking me many questions. I expected he would have spoken of my going along with him; but, finding no such discourse, I told him I had come only in obedience to his commands, and to take my leave, and craved his pardon for being in haste, as I had to return to Agimere, having no convenience for staying all night in camp. He answered, that he had sent to speak with me before his departure, and that I should be presently dispatched. He then sent in an eunuch into the interior apartments, and several of his officers came to me smiling, who said that the prince meant to give me a magnificent present, and if I feared to ride late, I should have a guard of ten horsemen to see me safe home, making as much of the matter as if I had been to get his best chain of pearls. By and by came a cloak of cloth of gold, which the prince had once or twice worn, which he caused to be put on me, and for which I made my reverence very unwillingly; yet I urged some business, and having an answer, took my leave. It is here reputed the highest favour, to give one a garment that has been worn by a prince, or that has merely been laid on their shoulders. The cloak now given me might have answered well for an

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actor who had to represent the character of his ancestor, Tamerlane, on the stage, but was to me of no importance. On my way out, I was followed by his porters and waiters, begging in a most shameless manner, so that I half paid the value of the cloak before I could get out from among them.

On the 10th November, almost every body had removed from the town of Agimere, so that I was left nearly alone, and could neither get carts nor camels for my removal, notwithstanding my warrant. The Persian ambassador was in a similar predicament, but complained, and was soon redressed. I therefore sent to court, and on the 11th I received two warrants, for being supplied with carts and camels at the king's price; but it was not easy to procure either, as the great men had soldiers in every direction, to take up all for their use; and indeed it was wonderful, how two leskars or camps, belonging to the king and prince, could both remove at once.

The 16th, an order was given by the king, to set fire to the whole leskar at Agimere, that the people might be compelled to follow, which was duly executed. I was left almost destitute; and the Persian ambassador, who had fought, chid, brawled, and complained, without any remedy, was in the same state with me. We sent messages of condolence to each other; and, by his example, I resolved to buy, as many were disposed to sell, who would not hire at the king's price, and I calculated that by purchasing I should almost save hire, though carts were dear, as the hire of three months would have exhausted the price of purchase. Necessity enforced me to remove, as the town was burnt and utterly desolate, and I was in great danger from thieves, as the soldiers came from camp and robbed during the night. So desolate was the town, that I could not even procure bread. Yet I sent again to court, to make one trial more, before I purchased.

The 17th I received accounts from Goa, which were said to be true, that Don Emanuel de Meneses, with about 300 of those who were saved ashore out of the Admiral, had arrived at Goa in a very poor condition, having been robbed and plundered by the inhabitants of Angazesia, who had also slain many. On the 24th October, not one of the Lisbon fleet had reached Goa, to their great wonder and disappointment. The Mosambique galleon was fought with by the Hollanders that lately went from Surat, and had cruised

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off Goa to meet the expected ships. This galleon was very rich in gold and other commodities, but she escaped.

I received an order for camels and carriages, but was continually delayed and disappointed; and being afraid to remain, I bought two carts, and was continually promised camels, yet none appeared. Mr Bidulph remained in the prince's leskar to receive money. The leskar of the king was still only twelve cosses from Agimere. The 18th, the Portuguese jesuit took leave of me, being under the necessity of purchasing a carriage, although he had an order for one out of the king's store; but every one was distressed, owing to the scarcity. Having nothing material to say, respecting my own affairs, during my solitude at Agimere, I shall here digress, to mention the state of Sultan Cuserou, of whose new delivery into the hands of his enemies, the hearts and mouths of all men were now full.

Though the king had so far condescended to satisfy his proud son Churrum at his departure, as again to place Cuserou in confinement, yet it seems that he did not mean to wink at any injurious behaviour to his eldest son: And, partly to render his situation the more secure, in the custody of Asaph Khan, and partly to satisfy the murmurs of the people, who feared some treachery against him, he took occasion to declare his mind respecting him in the public durbar. Asaph Khan had been to visit his new prisoner, and in his behaviour towards him, did not treat him with the respect due to a prince, but rudely pressed into his presence against his will, and in a disrespectful manner. Some are of opinion he did this purposely to pick a quarrel, knowing the bravery of the prince, who would not suffer an indignity, meaning to tempt him to draw his sword, or to use some violence, which the guard might suddenly revenge; or that he might have opportunity to represent to the king, that the prince had attempted to kill his keeper, on purpose to escape. But the prince acted with patient prudence, and only procured a friend to acquaint the king with the rude behaviour of Asaph Khan. Accordingly, one day at the durbar, the king called Asaph Khan before him, and asked when he had seen his charge? To which he answered, he had seen him two days before. The king then asked, What he had then done to him? He said he had only visited him. But the king pressed to know what reverence and fashion he had carried towards the prince. Asaph Khan then saw that

that the king knew what had passed. He therefore said, That he had gone to wait upon the prince, in all reverence and affection, to offer his service, but that the prince refused him admittance into the apartment; wherefore, as he was entrusted with his safety, he thought it both necessary for him to see the prince, and discourteous in him to deny, and had therefore pressed in. On this, the king quickly asked, "And when you were in, what did you say and do?" Asaph Khan stood confounded, and confessed that he did not make any reverence. Whereupon, the king told him roundly, "That he would make his proud heart know the prince as his eldest and beloved heir, and his prince and lord; and, if he ever heard again of the smallest disrespect or want of duty in his behaviour towards the prince, he would command his son to trample him under his feet." He added, that he loved his son Prince Churrum, yet did not entrust his eldest son Cuserou among them for his ruin and destruction.

The 20th I received a new warrant for carriages, which procured me eight camels, but such poor ones as were quite unable to suffice for our baggage, and I was therefore under the necessity of purchasing the rest. The 22d I removed to my tents. The 23d and 24th I waited for the merchants; and on the latter of these days I had a letter from Ispahan, saying that my letters had been dispatched for Aleppo, and that we were expected in Persia, but on condition that we seconded the wishes of Shah Abbas, by diverting the sale of his silks from Turkey. My letters added, that the general of the Turks lay with a mighty army at *Argerone*, [Arzerom,] six days march short of Tauris, as if uncertain whether to attack that city, or to enter Gurgestan and Gilan, the provinces in which silk is produced, so as to win that by conquest which was refused in the way of trade. To guard against both attempts, Shah Abbas was encamped at *Salmas*, whence he could march either way as might be required. But, it was farther said, if the armies did not come to battle in two months, the approach of winter, and the wants attendant on such numerous bodies of men, would constrain both to quit the field. It is thought the Persians will not adventure a battle, though 180,000 strong, as, being light, and unencumbered with cannon or baggage, they are fitted for rapid marches, and can harass the Turkish army with perpetual skirmishes and assaults on all sides, hovering round

round about, and wasting them, without hazard to themselves.

§ 6. *Sir Thomas Roe follows the Progress of the Court, and describes the King's Leskar, and some Places through which he passed; with instances of the King's Superstition and Drunkenness, and some curious Incidents respecting a Present.*

The 25th of November I removed four cosses from Agimere, but waited during the remainder of that month, for the arrival of a caravan, going from Agra to Surat, by which I might transmit my papers in safety. The caravan departed from Agimere at midnight of the 30th November; and on the 1st December I went six cosses to *Ramsor*, where the king had left the naked bodies of an hundred men, put to death for robbery. The 2d I travelled seven c. I rested the 3d, because of rain. The 4th I went five c. and this day I overtook a camel, laden with 300 heads, sent from Candahar to the king, the people to whom these heads had belonged having been in rebellion. Travelling five c. on the 5th, and four c. on the 6th, I that day overtook the king at a walled town called *Todah*, in the best and most populous country I had seen in India since I landed. The district was quite level, having a fertile soil, abounding in corn, cotton, and cattle, and the villages were so numerous and near together, as hardly to exceed a coss from each other in any direction. This town was the best built of any I had seen in India, many of the houses being two stories high, and most of them good enough for decent shop-keepers, all covered with tiles. It had been the residence of a Rajput rajah, before the conquests of Akbar Shah, and stood at the foot of a great and strong rock, about which were many excellent works of hewn stone, well cut, with many tanks, arched over with well-turned vaults, and large and deep descents to them. Near it was a beautiful grove, two miles long and a quarter of a mile broad, all planted with mangoes, tamarinds, and other fruit-trees, divided by shady walks, and interspersed with little temples, and idol altars, with many fountains, wells, and summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched, so that I must confess a poor banished Englishman might have been content to dwell here. But this observation may serve universally for the whole of this

this country, that ruin and devastation operates every where; for, since the property of all has become vested in the king, no person takes care of any thing, so that in every place the spoil and devastations of war appear, and no where is any thing repaired.

On the 7th the king only removed from one side of Todah to the other. The 8th I was at the guzalcan, but found the king so nearly drunk, that he became entirely so in half an hour, so that I could not have any business with him. The 9th I took a view of the royal *leskar*, or camp, which is one of the greatest wonders I had ever seen, and chiefly as I saw it finished and set up in less than four hours, all except the tents of some of the great men, who have double suits. It could not well be less in circuit than twenty English miles, the extent in some directions being three cosses, including the out-skirts. In the middle, where the streets are orderly and the tents joined, there are all sorts of shops, so regularly disposed, that all persons know where to go for any thing they want. Every man of quality, and every trade, is regularly appointed how far they are to be from the king's tents, in what direction, and what ground they shall occupy, which continues ever the same without alteration. All this may equal almost any town in Europe for size. But no person must approach on any side within a musket shot of the *ataskanha,* or royal quarter, which is so strictly observed that no one is ever admitted but by name. The evening durbar is omitted, the time being spent by the king in hunting or hawking rather, on tanks, by means of boats, in which he takes great delight, his barges being moved along with the leskar on carts. On these occasions he sits by the sides of the tanks, to view the sport, these tanks being often a mile or two over. The king is seen every morning at the *Jaruco,* formerly mentioned; but business or speaking to him at this time is prohibited; all business being conducted at night in the *guzalcan,* and there the opportunity is often missed, his majesty being so frequently overcome by drowsiness, proceeding from drunkenness.

There was now a whisper about the court of a new affinity between Sultan Cuserou and Asaph Khan, and great hope was entertained of the prince recovering his liberty. I will find an opportunity to discourse of this hereafter, because the particulars are worthy of being preserved, as the wisdom and goodness of the king were manifest above the malice of

others: And, in this affair, Noormahal made good the observation, that women have always great influence in court factions, and she shewed that they are not incapable of managing business. This history will discover a noble prince, an excellent wife, a faithful counsellor, a crafty step-mother, an ambitious son, a cunning favourite; all reconciled by a patient king, whose heart was not understood by any of them all. But this will require a separate place, [2] as not fit to be mingled with matters of ordinary business. At this time the English complained of being ill used at Surat; but their drunkenness, and riotous behaviour proceeding from that cause, were so notorious, that it was rather wonderful they were not all put to death.

The 16th of December I visited the king, who was just returned from his sports, having all his game laid out before him, both fish and fowl. He desired me to take my choice, and then distributed all the rest among his nobles. I found him sitting on his throne, having a beggar at his feet, a poor silly old man, all in rags and ashes, attended on by a young one. The country abounds in these professed poor and holy men, who are held in great reverence, and who, in voluntary sufferings and mortified chastisements of their bodies, exceed all the boasted performances of heretics and idolaters in all ages and countries. With this miserable wretch, who was cloathed in rags, crowned with feathers, and covered with filth, his majesty conversed for about an hour, with such kindness, as shewed a humility not common among kings. All this time the beggar sat before the king, which is not even permitted to his son. The beggar gave the king as a present, a cake made by himself of coarse grain, burnt on the coals, and all foul with ashes; which yet the king accepted, broke off a piece and eat it, which a dainty person would hardly have done. He then wrapt up the rest in a clout, and put it into the poor man's bosom, and sending for 100 rupees, he poured them into the beggar's lap, gathering up with his own hands any that fell past, and giving them to him. When his collation or banquet was brought in, whatsoever he took to eat, he gave half of to the beggar. Rising, after many humiliations and charities, and the old wretch

[2] This story does not however appear, the journal of Sir Thomas Roe being left imperfect, both in the Pilgrims and in the Collection of Churchill.—E.

wretch not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, though a dainty person would have scrupled to touch him, and embraced him three times, laying his hand on his heart and calling him father, and so left him, all of us greatly admiring such virtue in a heathen prince. This I mention with emulation and sorrow; wishing, as we have the true vine, that we should not produce bastard grapes, or that this zeal in an unbeliever were guided by the true light of the gospel.

The 23d, being about three cosses short of a city called *Rantepoor*, [Rantampoor,] where it was supposed the king would rest, and consult what way to take in his farther progress, he suddenly turned off towards *Mundu*, but without declaring his purpose. I am of opinion, he took this way for fear of the plague at Agra, rather than from any purpose of being near the army; for we only marched every other day no more than four cosses, and with such a train of baggage as was almost impossible to be kept in any degree of order.

The 26th we passed through woods and over mountains, torn with bushes and tired by the incommodiousness of an almost impassable way, in which many camels perished, and many persons, wearied of these difficulties, went away to Agra, and all complained. In this laborious day's march, I lost my tents and carts, but by midnight I again fell in with them. The king now rested two days, as the leskar could not again recover its order in less time; many of the king's women, and thousands of camels, carts, and coaches, being left in the woody mountains, where they could neither procure food nor water. The king himself got through upon a small elephant, which beast can climb up rocks, and get through such difficult passes, that no horse or other animal I have seen can follow. The 29th we encamped beside the river *Chambet*, [Chumbull.]

The first of January, 1617, I complained to Asaph Khan of the injuries offered to the English at Surat, though I was at the same time much perplexed by various relations, giving me a bad account of the disorderly and outrageous behaviour of my countrymen. Asaph Khan advised me not to carry my complaint to the king, which would incense the prince; but desired me to ask leave of his majesty to go to visit Sultan Churrum, with a letter from him recommending the dispatch of my business, and good usage to our nation; so that,

that, carrying a present to the prince, I should please both, and succeed in my business. This was the same plan I had already formed, and therefore pleased me the better; more especially as the king now certainly designed to go forwards to Mundu, which is only eight days journey from Burhanpoor, where the prince was; and I thought I might as well ride over to him, as remain idle in the fields. At noon this day I visited the Persian ambassador, being the first time we had leisure for this ceremony, and was received by him with much respectful civility. After compliments on both sides were over, I proposed to him the settlement of trade in his master's dominions, which he engaged to promote as much as lay in his power. He gave me a banquet of bad fruit, but being a good fellow, it went off well, and he outdid in courtesy every thing I had met with in India. He railed loudly against the court, and the king's officers and council, using most unusual liberty. He offered to be my interpreter, desiring that I might pitch my tents beside his, and he would impart whatever I thought proper to the king. When about to part, after long discourse, he pressed me to accept a horse with handsome furniture, which was brought to the door, but I refused. He then sent for nine pieces of Persian silks, and nine bottles of wine, that I might not depart without some testimony of his love, but these also I refused to accept, with many protestations of affectionate regard. I observed him looking earnestly at my sword, which I offered to give him; but, following my example, he refused.

At night I visited the king, who spent his time sadly with an old man, after reading long letters, and few spoke with him. At his rising, he presented to this person, who was a cripple from age, 5000 rupees, and took his leave of him with many embraces. I here again met the Persian ambassador, who, after some compliments, repenting that he had refused my sword, and having a liking to it, now asked it from me, saying, that such liberty among friends was reckoned good manners in his country. We continued to remove four or five c. every other day, and came on the 7th to the goodly river *Shind*. The 18th, the king passed through between two mountains, the road having been cut through the woods, but with so much trouble and difficulty, and so much encumbrance to the baggage, that it was left behind. without provisions for man and beast. This day likewise I lost my tents and baggage, but found them again at midnight,

night, having been obliged till then to take up my lodging under a tree. This part of the country is much infested by thieves, and is hardly under obedience to government, except so far as it is kept under by force. It belongs to a rajah, who has no desire to see the king. The exactor complained, and some few of the people that fled being taken, were chained by the neck and brought before the king, all the rest having fled into the mountains. At night the king caused the town near which he was encamped to be set on fire, appointing a new governor, with orders to re-build and new-people the town, and to reduce the district under more regular government and better civilization. He left a party of horse with the new governor, to enable him to perform this service.

On the 20th, the people who had fled to the mountains, being enraged at the burning of their town, set upon a number of stragglers who had been left behind, killing many of them, and plundering the rest. The 22d, having no accounts of the presents I expected from Surat, I went at night to visit the king, to observe how he might receive me. I found him seated in an unusual manner, so that I knew not what place to occupy, and not willing to mix among the great men, as was offered me, and doubting whether I might go into the apartment where the king was, which was cut down in the bank of a river, I went to the brink and stood alone. There were none near the king, except *Etiman Dowlet* his father-in-law, Asaph Khan, and three or four others. The king observed me, and having allowed me to stay a while, he called me in with a gracious smile, and pointed with his hand for me to stand beside him, a favour so unusual, that it pleased and honoured me, and of which I soon experienced the good effects, in the behaviour of the great men of the court. He led me to talk with him, and when I called for an interpreter, he refused it, pressing me to use such Persian words as I had learnt. Our discourse, in consequence, had not much sense or coherence, yet he was pleased with it, and shewed his approbation in a very courteous manner.

On the 24th of January, news came to court, that the Deccaners were not to be frightened out of their dominions, as had been pretended by Asaph Khan and Noormahal, on purpose to persuade the king into this expedition. For they had sent off all their baggage and other impediments into the interior of their country, and lay upon the frontiers with

50,000

50,000 horse, resolved to fight in defence of their dominions; while Sultan Churrum had hitherto advanced no farther than Mundu, afraid both of the enemy and Khan Khana. The king's councellors now changed their advice, declaring that they expected the Deccaners would have been so alarmed by his majesty's passage over the last hills, as to have submitted at the terror of his approach; and as they now found the contrary, they advised the king to convert his journey into a hunting excursion, and to turn his course towards Agra, as the Deccaners were not worthy of exposing his sacred person. He answered, that this consideration came now too late, as his honour was engaged by having advanced so far, and he was resolved to prosecute their former advice and his own purpose, whatever might be the hazard. He now daily dispatched fresh troops to reinforce the army of his son Churrum, partly from his own followers, and the rest commanded from different governments. These reinforcements were said to be 30,000 horse, but the actual musters were not so numerous. Water was sometimes very scarce in camp, and provisions grew daily scarcer and dearer, the part of the country in which we now were not being well reduced to good government. Not feeling these distresses, the king took no care to have them alleviated; and as his khans, or great men, had their provisions brought after them, they neglected to inform the king. The whole burden fell upon strangers, the soldiers, and the poor followers of the camp, who were worst able to endure the hardships. Every alternate day, as formerly, the king removed his camp, three, four, or five cosses; yet on the 29th of January, we were still sixty cosses short of Mundu.

On the 3d of February, having left the road of the leskar for my own ease, and for the benefit of the shade, and while resting me under a tree, Sultan Cuserou came upon me suddenly, seeking the same conveniences. This is the king's eldest son, formerly mentioned as in confinement by the practices of his brother Churrum and his faction, and taken out of theit hands by the king at his leaving Agimere. He was now riding on an elephant, with no great guard or attendance. His people called out to me to give place to the prince, which I did, yet I staid to look at him, and he called on me to approach; and, after asking some familiar and civil questions, I departed. His person is comely, his countenance chearful, and his beard hung down as low as his middle

middle. This I noticed, by his questions, that he seemed quite ignorant of all that passed at court, insomuch that he had never heard of any English, or of me their ambassador. The 4th and 5th we continued our march without halting, and on the 6th at night, we came to a little tower, newly repaired, where the king pitched his tent in a pleasant place, on the banks of the river *Sepra*, one coss short of the city of *Ugen*, [Oojain,] the chief city of Malwa. This place, called *Callenda*, was anciently a seat of the Gentoo kings of Mundu, one of whom was there drowned while drunk. He had once before fallen into the river, and was taken out by the hair of his head, by a person who dived for him. When he came to himself, it was told him how he had been saved from drowning, in hopes of having the slave rewarded. He called his deliverer before him, and asking how he dared to be so bold as to touch his sovereign's head, caused his hands to be cut off. Not long afterwards, while sitting drunk beside his wife, and no other person near, he had the same misfortune to tumble into the water, at which time she might easily have saved him, but did not. Being afterwards asked why she had not, she said she knew not but she likewise might have had her hands cut off for her reward.

The 10th we removed one coss beyond Oojain; and on the 11th, the king rode to that city, to speak with a dervise, or holy man, who dwelt upon a hill, and was reported to be 300 years old, but I did not think this miracle worth my examination. At noon this day, I received news by a foot-post, that the prince, notwithstanding all the firmauns and commands of his father, had intercepted the presents and goods on their way up, to satisfy his own base and greedy inclinations; and no entreaty, gifts, or persuasions, that Mr Terry could offer, who had the charge of them, could prevail on him to part with them, and he compelled them by force to follow him towards Burhanpoor. Yet he forbore to break open the packages, but pressed the English to consent, which they refused by my orders, and he thought to win them to his purpose by vexatious usage. For it is the custom in this country, for the great men to see all merchant goods before even the king, that they may chuse first; but I resolved, if possible, to break that bad custom, in our behalf.

That he might satisfy his own cupidity, the prince sent up a courier to the king, before I could get intelligence, giving

giving notice of having detained the goods, but without mentioning that they were presents, and requested his authority to have them opened, that he might purchase what he fancied. This faithless proceeding of the prince, contrary to his promise and his own written orders, satisfied me that I was justifiable in the eyes of all, if I carried my complaint directly to the king, having used every possible means to procure favour from the prince, and having already suffered beyond the patience of a free-born man; so that I must now be blameless by using rougher means, having already fruitlessly proved all smoother expedients. I therefore resolved to appeal for justice, by complaint to the king in person, yet as calmly and warily as possible. I feared to go to Asaph Khan on this occasion, lest he might oppose my purpose, yet thought my neglect of him might be displeasing; wherefore, if I sent to acquaint him that I proposed to visit the king at the guzalcan, I dreaded he might suspect my purpose, if he had learnt the injury I meant to complain of. For all which reasons, I considered how best to avoid being counteracted.

The visit of the king to the dervise, just mentioned, gave me a good opportunity, and my new linguist, who was a Greek I had sent for from Agimere, being ready, I rode out to meet the king, who was returning from the holy man on his elephant. On his majesty's approach, I alighted, and made a sign that I wished to speak to the king, who immediately turned his monster towards me, and prevented me, by saying, "My son has taken your goods and my presents; be not therefore sad, for he shall not touch nor open a lock or a seal; for at night I shall send him an order to set them free." He made other gracious speeches, intimating that he knew I had come brim-full of complaints, and that he had spoken first to ease me. At this time, seeing that the king was on the road, I could do no more; but at night, without farther seeking to Asaph Khan, I went to the guzalcan, determined to proceed with my complaints, to get back my goods, and to seek redress for the charges, troubles, and abuses at Surat, and all our other grievances.

As soon as I came in, the king called my interpreter before him, and, by means of his own, intimated that he had already dispatched his orders so effectually, that not even to the value of a hair should be abstracted from our goods. In reply, I stated that the injuries, charges, and abuses we suffered

fered from the prince's officers, were so numerous and intolerable as could not be endured, and that I craved effectual redress. To this it was answered, that I must apply to his son for all past matters; but I could obtain nothing except fair words, through the intermediation of Asaph Khan, so that I was forced to seem satisfied, and to seek opportunities as might be for redress, when this false friend and pretended advocate was out of the way. The good king fell at length to dispute about the laws of Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet; and, being in drink, turned lovingly to me, saying, "As I am a king, you shall be all welcome, Christians and Jews as well as Mahometans, for I meddle not with their faiths; they all come in love, and I will protect them from wrong while they are under my dominion, and no one shall be allowed to molest or oppress them." This he frequently repeated, but being extremely drunk, he fell a-weeping, and into various passions, and so kept us till midnight.

Any one may easily conceive how much I was now disconcerted by the unjustifiable conduct of the factors, who had detained the presents for four months at Surat, and now sent them to fall into the hands of the prince, who was then within two days march of Burhanpoor, by which my trouble was infinitely increased. But having now begun, and suspecting that the prince was already sufficiently exasperated upon matters of small importance, I thought I might as well lose his favour upon great as small matters, so I resolved to try what I could do with the king; and, while I waited the result, I sent back the messenger to Mr Terry, who was with the presents, desiring him to remain firm, waiting for the king's ultimate orders, which I should send him soon.

During this interval, the king had caused the chests to be privately brought to him, and had opened them, which came to my knowledge, on which I determined to express my dissatisfaction at this usage, and having obtained an audience, I made my complaint. He received me with much mean flattery, more unworthy even of his high rank than the action he had done, which I suppose he did to appease me, as seeing by my countenance that I was highly dissatisfied. He began by telling me that he had found some things that pleased him much, particularly two embroidered cushions, or sweet-bags, a folding glass cabinet, and the mastiff dogs, and desired me not to be discontented, for whatever I was not disposed to give him, he would return. I answered, that

most

most of these things were intended for his majesty, but that it was a great indignity to the king my master thus to seize upon what was meant to be presented, and not permitted to come through my hands, to whom they were sent in the first place. I added, that besides what were destined for his majesty, some of these things were intended for Noormahal, some for the prince, and the rest to remain in my hands, to serve as occasion might require, to bespeak his majesty's favour to protect us from injuries daily offered to us by strangers, and some for my friends, or my own use, while the rest belonged to the English merchants, with which I had no concern. He desired me not to be grieved that he had thus got his own choice, as he had not patience to forbear from seeing them, in which he did me no wrong, as he believed I wished him to be served first, and that he would make satisfaction to the king my master, to whom he would justify me. As for the prince and Noormahal, they were all one with himself. As to bringing any presents hereafter to procure his favour, I might be easy on that score, as it was merely a needless ceremony, for I should be always welcome to come to him empty-handed, and he would hear me, as it was not my fault, and he would see me righted at all times. That he would return me some things to enable me to go to his son, and he would pay the merchants for such things as belonged to them. He concluded by desiring me not to be angry with the freedom he had taken, as he meant well. As I made no reply, he pressed to know if I were pleased, to which I answered, that his majesty's satisfaction must always please me.

He then began to enumerate all the things he had taken, beginning with the mastiffs, embroidered sweet bags, the case of combs and razors, and so forth; saying, with a smile, "You would not have me to restore these things, and I am delighted with them?" To which I answered in the negative. He then mentioned two glass-cases, as mean and ordinary, asking me for whom they were intended. I answered, that one was intended for his majesty, and the other for Noormahal. "Why then," said he, "you will not ask me for that I have, but will be satisfied with one?" To this I was under the necessity of yielding. He next asked for whom certain hats were intended, which his women liked? I answered, that three were for his majesty, and one for myself. He then said, I surely would not take back those meant for him, and that he would return mine if I needed it, and would

would not bestow it upon him. To this likewise I had to agree. He then asked, whose were the pictures? I answered, that they were sent me to use as occasion offered, and to dispose of as my business might require. So he called for these, and caused them to be opened, examining me about the women, and other little questions, asking my judgment and opinions concerning them. The third was a picture of Venus leading a satyr by the nose. Commanding my interpreter not to tell me what he said on this subject, he shewed it about among his nobles, asking them to expound its moral or interpretation, pointing out the satyr's horns and black skin, and many other particulars. Every one answered according to his fancy; but, liking none of their expositions, he reserved his own opinion to himself, and commanding that all these notions should be concealed from me, he ordered the interpreter to ask me what it meant. I answered, that it was an invention of the painter, to shew his art, and that it represented some poetical fable, which was all I could say, having never seen it before. He then called upon Mr Terry to give his opinion, who could not; on which the king asked him, why he brought up with him an invention in which he was ignorant? On this I interposed, saying Mr Terry was a preacher, and did not meddle with such matters, neither had he any charge of them, having only come along with them.

I have related this anecdote of the picture for the instruction of the gentlemen of the East India Company, and for him who may succeed me, to be very careful that what they send into this country may not be susceptible of an evil interpretation; for the king and people are pregnant with, and full of, scrupulosity and jealousy. For, though the king concealed his opinion, yet I had ground, from what he did say, to believe he thought the picture was meant in derision of the Asiatics, whom he conceived to be represented by the satyr, as being of their complexion; and that Venus leading him by the nose denoted the great influence exercised by the women of that country over the men. He was satisfied that I had never seen the picture, and therefore pressed me no farther about its explanation; yet he shewed no discontent, but rolled up the pictures, saying he would accept even the satyr as a present from me. As for the saddle, and some other trifles, he said he would have them sent to his son, for whom they were fit, as a present from me, to whom he would write

write so effectually, pursuant to his promise, that I should stand in no need of a solicitor near him in any of my affairs. He added many compliments, excuses, professions, and protestations, such as might proceed either from a very noble or very base mind.

He then enquired what was meant by the figures of the beasts, and whether they had been sent for me to give him? I had understood that they were very mean and ill-shaped images, from which the varnish had come off, and were ill-formed lumps of wood. I was really ashamed of them, and told him this was no fault of mine, those who had seized them being guilty of the affront, in conveying them to his majesty, for whom they were not intended, having only been sent to shew the forms of certain animals in our country. He quickly replied, "Did you think in England that a horse or a bull were strange to me?" I answered, that I thought not upon such mean matters, the sender being an ordinary man, who had sent these things out of good-will to me, and that I could not know what might have been his thoughts. The king then said he would keep them all; but that he desired I would procure for him a horse of the largest size, a male and female mastiff, some tall Irish greyhounds, and such other hunting dogs as we had in England, adding, on the word of a king, if I would procure him these, he would fully recompense me, and grant every thing I desired. I answered, that I would engage to have them sent by the next ships, but could not answer for their lives in so long a voyage, but should direct their skins and bones to be preserved if they died, to convince his majesty I had obeyed his commands. Upon this he bowed to me repeatedly, laid his hand on his heart, and shewed me so much kindness, favour, and familiarity, that all present declared they had never seen him use the like to any man before.

This was all my recompence, except that he often desired me to be merry, as he would royally requite the wrongs he had done me, and send me home to my country with grace and rewards befitting a gentleman. Thus, seeing nothing returned of all that was seized but words, I requested his majesty would order the velvets and silks to be delivered back, as these were merchant goods sent up among mine by the command of his majesty, by which they had escaped the rapacity of the prince's officers. He then desired Mr Bidulph to be called for, that he might agree with and pay him for their

their value. I then delivered in a memorial, which I had ready written, containing my demands for privileges and justice, as otherwise I should return home a mere useless person, and under disgrace with my sovereign. I pressed likewise to have justice in regard to a debt due by Zulphecar Khan, lately deceased. He replied, that he would take such order with his son, in regard to our affairs at Surat, that I should have no cause to complain, and would give such orders for other places as should in every respect shew his regard for me; and, that I might return to my master with honour, he would send by me a rich and worthy present, together with his letters certifying my good behaviour, and giving me much praise. He likewise commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable. To this I answered, that I could not crave, as that was not our custom, neither was it consistent with the honour of my sovereign; but I had no doubt that whatever he was pleased to send would be acceptable from so potent a monarch, who was already so much loved by my master. He then said, that I thought he only asked in jest to please me, as he saw I was still discontented; but he assured me he was my friend, and would prove so in the end, and swore by his head that he spoke sincerely in regard to the presents, and that therefore I must not refuse to name some for his satisfaction.

This earnestness forced me to say, that, if his majesty pleased, I thought some large Persian carpets might be fittest, as my master did not look for gifts of cost and value. To this he answered, that he would provide them of all sorts and sizes, and should add to them what else he thought fit, that my master might know how great was his respect. Having venison of various kinds before him, he gave me half a stag, which he said he had himself killed, and that I should see the rest bestowed on his ladies. This was presently cut up into four pound pieces, and was sent into the interior apartments by his young son and two women in their bare hands, just as if he had been doling out such small fragments to the poor by way of charity. I had now as abundant grace and fair words as might have flattered me into conceit, but our injuries were not to be compensated by words, though I was glad of these as a colour for dissembling my discontent. In conclusion, he repeated his expressions of desire to satisfy me, saying, he hoped I went away contented. To which I

answered,

answered, that his majesty's favour was sufficient to make me any amends. He then said that he had only one farther question to ask: "How comes it, now that I have seen your presents for two years, that your master, before you came, sent by a mean man, a merchant, five times as many and more curious toys, and having sent you his ambassador, with a commission and his letters mentioning presents, that you should have brought so little, so mean, and so much inferior to the other? I acknowledge you as an ambassador, and have found you a gentleman in your behaviour, but am amazed you are so slightly provided."

I was about to reply, when he cut me short, saying, "I know that all this is not your king's fault nor yours, but I shall shew you that I esteem you more than those who employed you. At your return, I shall send you home with honour and reward, according to your quality and merit, not regarding what you have brought me, and shall send a present to your lord and master, befitting a king to send. Only this will I require from you, and do not expect it from the merchants, that you will take with you patterns of the following articles: a quiver and bow-case, a coat of mail, a cushion to rest my head upon in our fashion, and a pair of boots, which you shall cause to be embroidered for me in England in the richest manner, as I know they can do these things in your country better than any I have seen. These things I shall expect from you, and if you send them, I promise you, on the word of a king, that you shall be no loser." This I most chearfully undertook, and he commanded Asaph Khan to send me the patterns. He then asked if I had any grape wine, which I said I had. He desired to have some of it to taste next night, and if he liked it, he would be obliged to me to let him have it, otherwise I might make merry with it myself. Thus the whole of this night being spent in discourse only with me, he rose up, and I departed.

On the 3d of March we arrived at Mundu, into which the king was expected to make his entry; but the day for that was not yet fixed, as he waited till the astrologers had determined upon an auspicious hour for the ceremony, so that we had all to remain without, waiting for the good hour. The 6th I entered Mundu, and my servants, whom I had sent before to seek out for quarters, had taken possession of a fair court, well walled round, in which was a goodly temple and a tomb. Some of the king's servants had already taken up

their

their quarters there, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within the whole circuit of Mundu, though two miles from the king's house; yet it was so nearly sufficient, that a very small charge was sufficient to make it defensible against the rains, and save me 1000 rupees. The air was wholesome, and the prospect pleasant, as it was on the very edge of the hill.

I went at night of the 11th to meet the king, but was told, that, on the news of a lion[3] having killed some horses, the king had gone out to hunt for that animal. I thus had leisure to look out for water; for such was the unaccountable want of foresight, that we were brought, with a multitude of people and beasts, to a hill on which was no water, so that the men and cattle were ready to perish. What little was to be found in certain wells and tanks had been taken possession of by the great men, and kept by force, so that I could not procure any. The poor forsook the city; many more were commanded away by proclamation, and all horses or other cattle were ordered to be removed. Thus, those who were in hopes of rest, were enforced to seek out new dwelling places, and had to go away some two, three, and even four cosses, to the extreme trouble and inconvenience of all, and occasioning provisions to rise greatly in price. For my own part, I was greatly troubled how to determine. My house was very good, and, though far from markets, it was still less inconvenient to submit to that trouble than to remain in the fields without house or shelter, where I must have gone to encamp, but then I was in want of water. Riding about with this view, I came to a great tank or pool, which was guarded for a khan, to whom the king had granted its use. I sent to acquaint him of my needs, and asked leave to draw water at his tank, when he was pleased to allow me to have four loads daily. This satisfied me in some sort; and, by selling off some of the goods that had been sent me from Surat, and putting away some of my cattle, I had hope of being able to live; for which purpose I sent two of my carriages, with their servants and cattle, to remain out of town, and thus relieved myself from this public calamity. There was not a misery or inconvenience that I was not subjected to, in thus following the court of the Mogul, owing to the

[3] It is almost certain that the lions of these early voyages and travels, at least in India, were tigers.—E.

the want of good management in the government, and the intemperature of the climate.

§ 7. *A New-Year's Gift.—Suspicions entertained of the English.—Trade of Dabul.—Dissatisfaction of the Persian Ambassador.—English Ships of War in the Indian Seas.*

On the 12th March, 1617, I carried, as a new-year's gift to the king, a pair of very handsome knives belonging to myself, and six glasses belonging to the Company, making an apology for the smallness of the present, which was well received, and the king used me very graciously, saying, that whatever came from my hands he looked on as a sufficient present, and as a proof of my love, and that it was now his part to give me. He gave orders to an officer to send for Mr Bidulph, to pay him his demands to his satisfaction, and all others who were indebted to us were ordered by name to pay what they owed to the Company. The king said likewise, that he would write to the prince in our favour. But I found him unwilling to part with any of our things, of which the best sweet bag then lay before him. I replied, that I was very unwilling to go empty-handed. The king then commanded that I should come up and stand beside him on the steps of the throne, where stood on one side the Persian ambassador, and the old king of Candahar on the other, with whom I ranked. As soon as I had taken my place, the king asked me for a knife, which I sent him next day. The king then called the Persian to stand before him, to whom he gave a jewel and a young elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head.

On this occasion the same throne and furniture were used as last year, the upper end of the hall being adorned with the pictures of the king my master, the queen, the princess Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Smith, and some others, with two pieces of beautiful Persian tapestry hung below them. The throne was of gold, bespangled all over with rubies, emeralds, and turquoises. On one side, on a little stage or scaffold, was a company of women-singers. I this day sent a dispatch to Surat, giving my advice respecting the trade of Persia, and of what had passed on that subject with the ambassador, and sent some remembrance to the governor, Ibrahim Khan. I had a letter from him in return, stating that the English nation had been wronged without his knowledge; but as his authority

authority was now augmented by Prince Churrum, we might rest confident in his protection, as while he lived and held authority at that place, we should never more be liable to abuses, but should be allowed to reside and trade in perfect freedom and security.

The 13th I sent as a present to Asaph Khan a richly embroidered pair of gloves, and a fair wrought night-cap of my own. He received the cap, but returned the gloves, as useless in this country, and requested to have some Alicant wine, which I sent him next night. Aganor, whose diligence now gave me great hope of success in my desires, sent his Banian secretary to inform me that he had orders for the dispatch of the merchant goods, and that his man should attend Mr Bidulph to finish that business; that the patterns should be sent me, and that the Mogul meant to give me a robe, and money to bear my charges in going to wait upon the prince. I returned for answer, that I had no need of a garment or of money, but begged his majesty would graciously consider the injuries of which I had complained, and of which I had already given an account in writing, and that he would please to give me a letter to the prince, with some of our own presents which were intended for him, or else state my excuse in writing, that his majesty had intercepted and appropriated the whole. This was all I wished, as instead of gifts from the king, I only required justice.

The 21st I discovered that the Mogul suspected that I meant to steal out of the country. These doubts had been insinuated by the prince, either as a cover for his own guilt, or out of fear, or perhaps as a cunning pretence to cover his own designs. He had informed the king that the English meant next year to surprise Surat, and retain possession of that place. Indeed, their own folly gave some colour to the idea; as lately, upon one of the usual brawls at that place, our people had landed 200 musqueteers, with whom they marched towards Surat; and, during their march, some of the jovial tars gave out to all they met that they meant to take the place. This was a most absurd bravado, for a handful of men to march twelve miles against a walled town that was able to oppose them with 1000 horse, and as many foot armed with match-locks, and having besides to pass a river which could be defended by a handful of men against an army. It gave, however, just occasion both of scorn and offence; and the prince, perhaps to serve some ends of his

own, took occasion from it to strengthen the fortifications of the town and castle, and to send down ordnance for their defence; perhaps a good precaution to have an open door to flee to in case his brother should live, and have the means of checking his ambitious views. But this information concurring with my discontents here, and some free language on that occasion, and my pressing demands to be allowed to go to Burhanpoor, together with flying reports that we had taken Goa, and were preparing a great fleet in England, raised suspicions in the mind of the king, though he concealed them as well as he could from me. By my explanations, however, I satisfied the king thoroughly, though I was by no means so, having been fed only with words, and knew well that our residence was only permitted out of fear. The complaints I was enforced to make at this court against the misconduct of its officers towards us, greatly offended all the great men, as being in some sort their own case; for they all live by farming the several governments, in which they all practise every kind of tyranny against the natives under their jurisdiction, oppressing them with continual exactions, and are exceedingly averse from any way being opened by which the king may be informed of their infamous proceedings. They grind the people under their government, to extract money from them, often hanging men up by the heels to make them confess that they are rich, or to ransom themselves from faults merely imputed with a view to fleece them. Thus my complaints against exaction and injustice made me hated of all about the court, as an informer.

The 25th I received a letter from Captain Pepwell, then in Dabul roads, stating,—That, according to advice, he had stopped the junk bound for Mokha; but having well weighed the caution I had given him respecting the correspondence between that prince and Masulipatam, where the Solomon then was, he had freed her without spoil. By this courtesy he had procured such good entertainment as is seldom had in the Indies, being allowed free trade, with a promise of taking 300 pieces of broad-cloth yearly, and had sold a good quantity of lead for ready money, besides some ordnance. This part of his procedure I do not like much, as tending to arm the Indians, and the Portuguese, their friends, against the Moguls. If these courtesies proceeded not from the junk being still under his command, they give good prospect of an yearly sale at that port. However, the freeing of this

junk

junk gives me good assurance that Captain Pepwell will do nothing prejudicial to the Company, and will deliver himself honestly from the jealousies entertained of him at Dabul. He signifies his intention of proceeding to Calicut, and if that factory be not likely to succeed, he proposes transferring it to Dabul.

The 27th, by a foot-post from Masulipatam, I received advice that the Solomon had put to sea, and that the Hosiander was arrived from Bantam, with the bad news of the loss of the Hector and Concord, while careening in the roads of Jacatra, in the island of Java; but with the good news that the Dragon, Clove, and Defence were laden homewards from Bantam. I took the opportunity of this post to convey a letter to the governor of Dabul respecting the overture made by him of trade to that port; and, though I had no great opinion of the place, I would neither have it entirely neglected, nor would I encourage the next fleet to proceed there, unless on better assurance than a forced friendship, and offers made when their junk was in our power. I signified the causes of our having stopped their goods formerly for refusing trade to Sir Henry Middleton; but finding him now better disposed, and willing to establish a league of trade and amity, and to take a good quantity of our cloth, I required to know if he were hearty in these motions, and willing to act as a man of honour; as a pledge of which, I requested him to procure for us a firmaun from his sovereign, with such privileges as were fit for merchants, with a royal engagement under his seal to fulfil all the friendly offers made to us by this officer; desiring this firmaun might be transmitted to me with all expedition, to my present residence at the Mogul court. By this, I said, I should be satisfied that they meant to treat us with good faith, and, on its reception, I would undertake, on the behalf of the king of England, that a firm and lasting peace should be established with his master, whose subjects should have free passage on the seas without molestation from our ships; and should send yearly a ship to trade at his port, or, if desired, should establish a resident factory there. I have no doubt, either through fear or favour, that some good sales may be made there yearly, but I doubt of being able to procure any valuable investments.

In this I proceed cautiously, as all men ought on such occasions, not with too eager apparent desire, nor swallowing hungrily

hungrily any offered conditions, without due assurances. Strict care in the first settling is of the utmost importance, as you can never mend your first establishment, and may often impair it. Every man succeeds best at first, when new and a stranger; for, by the natural levity of these barbarians, they are fond of changes, and grow weary of things in their usual train. I have committed this dispatch to the care of Mr Bangham, whom I have directed to make diligent enquiry into the commodities, advantages, and inconveniences attendant on our projected trade, and to make himself acquainted with the humours and affections of the Deccaners towards us.

On the 30th of April the Persian ambassador sent to excuse himself for going away without paying his respects to me, alleging illness, but his messenger said he was not so sick as he pretended: but, finding no success in his negociations with the king, he had taken his leave, and made a present of thirty-five horses at his departure. In return, the king gave him 3000 rupees, which he took in great scorn. Upon which, to justify himself, the king caused two lists to be drawn up, in one of which all the presents made by the ambassador were enumerated, with their values, meanly rated, much lower than their real worth; and, in the other, all the gifts the king had presented to him since his arrival,—as slaves, melons, pine-apples, plantains, hawks, plumes of feathers, the elephant, and not even forgetting the drink he had received, all charged at extremely high prices, much above their value. These two lists were laid before the ambassador, with their amounts summed up, offering him the rest of the money to make up the balance. Owing to this bad usage, the Persian feigned himself sick of a fever, as an excuse for not waiting upon Asaph Khan and Etemon Dowlet, for which reason he could not come through the town to visit me, without discovering the counterfeit, but desired his messenger to acquaint me with the truth, which Aganor as freely delivered, and with no small bitterness against the king, and to which I seemed unwilling to listen. The ambassador also desired him to assure me that he was ready to serve my nation in his country, to the utmost of his power. I presented him with some Alicant wine, and a few knives, to be taken to his master, and so we parted. The 12th May I received news of a great blow given by the Turkish army to the Persians, the former having taken and utterly destroy-
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ed Tauris, and that Shah Abbas was unable to keep the field.

On the night of the 25th, a lion and a wolf[1] broke into my quarters, and gave us great alarm, carrying off some sheep and goats that were in my court-yard, and leaping with them over a high wall. I sent to ask leave to kill them, as in that country no person may meddle with lions except the king. Receiving permission, and the animals returning next night, I ran out into the court upon the alarm, and the beast missing his prey, seized upon a little dog before me, and escaped; but my servants killed the wolf, which I sent to the king.

The 14th of June, a cabinet belonging to the jesuits was sent up from Cambay, containing medicines and other necessaries, and a letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and delivered to the king. He opened the cabinet, and sent for the *padre* to read the letter, and to see every thing contained in the boxes; but, finding nothing to his liking, he returned all. I mention this circumstance as a caution to all who deal in this country, to be careful of what they write or send, as it is the humour of this prince to seize and see every thing, lest any curiosity or toy should escape his greed.

The 18th, I had letters from Ahmedabad, advising that indigo had greatly fallen in price, in consequence of the non-arrival of the flotilla from Goa. The unicorn's horn had been returned, as without virtue, concerning which I sent new advice.[2] Many complaints were made concerning Surat and others, which I do not insert. I received two letters from Burhanpoor, stating the doubtfulness of recovering the debt due to Mr Ralph Fitch. Spragge had returned from the leskar or camp of the Deccan army, where Melick Amber, with much show of honour, had given instant orders for searching the whole camp; but the Persian had fled to Visiapour, so that the business was referred by letter to a Dutchman who resided there. The general of the Deccan army desired Spragge to be the means of sending English cloth and swords to his camp, which is within six days march of Burhanpoor; and, in my opinion, this might be

[1] More likely to have been a tyger and hyena.—E.

[2] This of the unicorn's horn, or rather the horn of a rhinoceros, may allude to some supposed inherent virtue of detecting poison, anciently attributed to cups made of that material.—E.

be a good employment for some idle men, and an excellent opportunity to get vent for our dead commodities.

The 30th of July I received news from Surat of two Dutch ships being cast away on the coast near Damaun. They were from the southwards, laden with spices and China silks, and bound for the Red Sea; but losing the season, with much bad weather, they had tried to take shelter in Socatora, or some other port on the coast of Arabia, but failing after beating about many weeks, they bore away for Surat, hoping to be able to ride out the adverse monsoon in safety, as they had done in other years. But the years differ, and being forced to come to anchor, they had to cut away their masts by the violence of the gale; the smaller vessel of sixty tons was beaten to pieces, and the cables of the other breaking, she was driven ashore in oosy ground, within musket-shot of the land. The ship kept upright; but having lost their long-boat, and the skiff being unable to live, four men got ashore on a raft. The spring-tides heaved her up so near the shore, that much of her goods and all her people were saved.

Maree Rustam, who had been king of Candahar, came to visit me on the 21st of August, and brought a present of wine and fruit, staying about half an hour, and concluded his visit by begging a bottle of wine. This day Sultan Cusero had his first prospect of long-hoped liberty, being allowed to leave his prison, and to take the air and his pleasure in a banqueting house near mine. Sultan Churrum had contracted a marriage at Burhanpoor, without waiting for the king's consent, for which he had fallen under displeasure; and some secret practices of his against the life of his brother had been discovered, on which he was ordered to court in order to clear himself. By the advice of their father, Etimon Dowlet, Noormahal and Asaph Khan now made proposals of friendship and alliance with Cusero. This news has diffused universal joy among the people, who now begin to hope that their good prince may recover his full liberty. The 22d the king feasted Asaph Khan. The 25th Asaph Khan feasted Noormahal. It is reported the Prince Cusero is to make a firm alliance, as above stated, and is to take a wife of his father's choice. This will produce his entire liberty, and the ruin of our proud oppressor, Churrum.

The 1st of September was the solemnity of the king's birth-day,

birth-day, when he is publicly weighed, to which I went. I was conducted into a beautiful garden, in the middle of which was a great square pond or tank, set all round with trees and flowers, and in the middle was a pavilion or pleasure-house, under which hung the scales in which the king was to be weighed. The scales were of beaten gold, set with many small stones, as rubies and turquoises. They hung by chains of gold, large and massy, yet strengthened by silken ropes for more security. The beam and tressels from which it hung were covered with thin plates of gold. In this place all the nobles of the court attended, sitting round on rich carpets, and waiting the king's arrival. He appeared at length, cloathed, or laden rather, with diamonds, rubies, pearls, and other precious vanities, making a great and glorious shew. His sword, target, and throne were corresponding in riches and splendour. His head, neck, breast, and arms, above the elbows, and at the wrist, were all decorated with chains of precious stones, and every one of his fingers had two or three rich rings. His legs were as it were fettered with chains of diamonds, rubies as large as walnuts, and some larger, and such pearls as amazed me. He got into one of the scales, crouching or sitting on his legs like a woman; and there were put into the other scale, to counterpoise his weight, many bags said to contain silver, which were changed six times, and I understood his weight was 9000 rupees, which are almost equal to a thousand pounds sterling. After this, he was weighed against gold, jewels, and precious stones, as I was told, for I saw none, as these were all in bags, and might only have been pebbles. Then against cloth of gold, silk stuffs, cotton goods, spices, and all sort of commodities; but I had to believe all as reported, as these were all in packages. Lastly, against meal, butter, and corn, all of which is said to be distributed to the Banians, with all the rest of the stuff, but I saw all carefully carried away, and nothing distributed. The silver only is reserved for the poor, and serves for the ensuing year, as it is the king's custom at night frequently to call for some of these before him, to whom, with great familiarity and humility, he distributes some of this money with his own hands.

While the king was sitting in the scale, he looked upon me and smiled, but spoke not, as my interpreter could not be admitted. After he was weighed, he ascended the throne, and had basins of nuts, almonds, and spices of all sorts, artificially

ficially made of thin silver, which he threw about, and for which his great men scrambled prostrate on their bellies. I thought it not decent for me to do so, which seeing, he reached one basin almost full, and poured the contents into my cloak. The nobles were so bold as to put in their hands to help themselves, and so thick, that they had soon left me none, if I had not pocketed up a remainder. Till I had myself been present, I was told that he scattered gold on this occasion, but found it to be only silver, and so thin, that all I had at first, being thousands of small pieces, had not weighed sixty rupees, of which I saved to the amount of twenty rupees, yet a good dishful, which I keep to shew the ostentation of this display of liberality; for, by my proportion, I think all he cast away could not exceed the value of an hundred pounds. At night he drinks with his nobles from rich plate, to which I was invited; but, being told that I must not refuse to drink, and their liquors being excessively hot and strong, I durst not stay to endanger my health, being already somewhat indisposed with a slight dysentery.

On the 9th September the king rode out to take the air on the banks of the river *Darbadath*, [Nerbuddah] a distance of five cosses. As he was to pass my house, I mounted my horse to meet him; and, as it is the custom for all men whose gates he passes, to make him some present, which is taken as a good sign, and is called *mombareck*, or good news; and as I had nothing to give, neither could go with nothing, nor stay without offence, I ventured to take with me a fair book, well bound, filleted, and gilt, being the last edition of Mercator's Maps of the World, which I presented, saying, That I had nothing worthy the acceptance of so great a king, but begged to offer him the world, in which he had so great and rich a share. He accepted it in good part, laying his hand repeatedly on his breast, saying, that every thing which came from me was welcome. He asked about the arrival of our ships, which I said we daily expected. He then said, he had some fat wild-hogs lately sent him from Goa, and if I would eat any he would send me some at his return. I made him due reverence, answering, that any thing from his majesty was to me a feast.

He rode on upon his elephant, and when I offered to accompany him to the gate, the way being stony, he desired me to return, bidding God keep me. He asked which was my house, and being told, praised it, as indeed it was one of the

the best in the place, though only an old temple and a large tomb, enclosed by a wall. Repeating his farewell, he said the way was bad, and desired me to go home, with much shew of courtesy and kindness, on which I took my leave.

On the 16th I went to repay the visit of Maree Rustam, prince of Candahar, who sent word at my arrival that he dared not receive any visit unless he asked leave of the king, or acquainted Etimon Dowlet or Asaph Khan, which he would do at the next durbar. I made answer, that he needed not, as I never meant any more to trouble myself about so uncivil a person. That I knew well this was a mere shift out of ill manners, as the king would be no more angry for his receiving me at his house than for coming to mine, and that I cared not for seeing him, and had only come in pure civility to return his visit. His man desired me to wait till he had reported what I said to his master, but I would not. At night I waited upon the king at court, who spoke to me about the book of maps; but I forbore to speak to him about our debts. But on the 25th, though very weak, I went again to court to make trial of the king about our debts. *Muckshud*, one of our debtors, having pled in excuse for not paying that he had missed receiving his *prigany*, and knew not how to pay unless he sold his house. I delivered the merchants petition to the king, which he caused to be read aloud by Asaph Khan; all the names of the debtors, with the sums they owed, and their respective sureties, being distinctly enumerated. The king then sent for Arad Khan, the chief officer of his household, and the cutwall, and gave them some orders which I did not understand. Then reading over the names, and finding some of them dead, and some strangers, he made enquiry as to their abilities and qualities, and what goods they had received. Concerning Rulph,[1] Asaph Khan undertook to speak to the prince on the subject, and to get that affair concluded when he came.

My interpreter was now called in, and the king, turning to me, said that our merchants had trusted people according to their own fancies, and to whom they pleased, not coming to him with an inventory of their goods, and therefore, if their debtors were insufficient, it was their own faults, and they had no reason to expect payment of their money from him.

[1] In the edition by Churchill, this person is named Sulph, but no elucidation is given.—E.

him. This I supposed to allude to his servant *Hergonen*, lately dead, whose goods had been seized to the king's use. He added, however, as this was the first time, he would now assist me, and cause our money to be paid; but, if the English should hereafter deliver their goods to his servants without money, they must stand to the hazard themselves. But if, when they brought their commodities to court, they would bring the inventory of the whole to him, he would first serve himself, and then distribute the rest among such as were willing to buy them; and then, if any failed in payments, he would pay the money himself.

This indeed is the custom of the Persian merchants, who bring all to the king, as I have often seen. He first takes his own choice, and delivers the rest among his nobles, his scribes writing down the names of all to whom they are delivered, and the sums, another officer settling the prices. After which a copy is given to the merchant, who goes to their houses for his money; and if they do not pay, there is a particular officer who has orders to enforce payment. It was then told to my interpreter that Arad Khan was to call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay. This did not satisfy our merchants, but it seemed to me a just and gracious answer, and better than private persons usually get from great princes.

Hearing that I had been sick and was in want of wine, the king ordered me to have five bottles, and when these were done that I should send for five more, and so from time to time as I needed. He sent me also the fattest wild-hog I ever saw, which had been sent from Goa by Mucrob Khan. This was sent to me at midnight by a *huddy*, with this message, that it had eaten nothing but sugar and butter since it came to the king. I accepted this as a sign of great favour, which, in this court, I know to be a great one. He then sent for the book of maps, saying, that he had shewed it to his *mulahs*, and not one of them could read a word of it, wherefore I might have it again. To this I answered, that his majesty in this would use his pleasure; and so it was returned.

The 26th, a rajah of the Rajpoots being in rebellion in the hills, not above twenty cosses from the leskar, the king sent out two Omrahs with a party of horse to fetch him in a prisoner. But he stood on his defence, slew one of the omrahs and twelve *maansipdares*, [munsubdars] and about 500 men,

sending

sending an insulting message to the king to send his son against him, as he was no prey to be subdued by ordinary forces.

The 2d September, Sultan Churrum made his entry into Mundu, accompanied by all the great men, in wonderous triumph. Contrary to all our expectations, the king received him as if he had been an only son. All the great men and the queen-mother[4] went to meet him at the distance of five cosses from the town. I had sent to Asaph Khan to excuse me not meeting him, for I was not able to stir from sickness, and besides, had no presents to give. I also sent some of my servants with my just excuse to the prince, to which he, in his pride, only answered by a nod.

The 5th of September I received advice of our ships being arrived at Surat, the admiral amissing, but all the rest well, and that they had taken two English rovers or pirates, which were found in chase of the queen-mother's ship returning from the Red Sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in. Had this ship been taken, we had all been in trouble. With these letters, I received the Company's letter, the invoice of the goods, and instructions for Persia, with various other notes of advice. They advised me also, that, owing to the admiral's absence, they knew not what course to take with the pirates they had taken. I immediately sent orders to Surat concerning all business, as will appear in my letters.

The 6th, I rode to visit the prince at his usual hour of giving audience, intending to bid him welcome, and to acquaint him with our business, meaning to shew him all proper respect; and, that I might not come empty-handed, I bought a fine gold chain, made in China, which I proposed to have presented to him. On sending in to acquaint him that I was in waiting, he returned a message, desiring me to come next morning at sun-rise, when he sat to be worshipped, or to wait till he rode to court, which I must have done at his door. I took this in high dudgeon, having never been denied access by the king his father; but such is this prince's pride, that he might even teach Lucifer. This made me answer roundly, that I was not the prince's slave, but the free ambassador of a great king; and that I would never more visit

[4] Both in the Pilgrims and in Churchill's Collection this personage is termed the king's mother; but it is more probable she was the mother of Sultan Churrum.—E.

visit or attend upon him who had denied me justice; but I should see him at night with the king, to whom only I should now address myself, and so I departed. I went at night to the king, who received me graciously. I made my reverence to the prince, who stood beside his father, but he would not even once stir his head. Then I acquainted the king, that, according to his order, I had brought an abstract to him of our merchandize, and waited his commands. After his usual manner, he asked many questions as to what were brought, and seemed mightily satisfied with what was in the inventory, especially with the tapestry, promising me all the favour and privileges I could desire. He enquired for dogs, but I could say nothing on that subject. He then asked for jewels, but I told him these were dearer in England than in India, at which he rested satisfied. I durst not name the pearls for many reasons, but chiefly as I knew our people in that case would be way-laid by the prince, and it would have cost me infinite trouble to get them back. I thought they might easily be brought on shore, and so to court, by stealth, and I thought they would be the more valued the less they were expected: but my main reason of concealment was, that I expected to make friends by their means; therefore, when Asaph Khan pressed me on that head, I desired him to make the answer already mentioned of their dearness, saying that I would speak to him farther when alone. He readily understood me, and made my excuse accordingly.

Seeing the king to be well pleased, I thought it a good time to move him again about our debts; and having my petition ready, I opened it and held it up, as offering it to the king. He happened not to notice this, and it being discovered by some others what was its contents, who knew the king would be enraged that his order was neglected, one of them stept up to me, and gently drew down my hand, requesting me not to present that petition. I answered, that Arad Khan had absolutely refused me justice, and I had no other resource. Arad heard this, being by, and went in much fear to Asaph Khan, desiring him to hinder me from making my complaint. I answered, that our ships were arrived, and we could neither brook nor endure such delays and loss of time. Thereupon they consulted together, and calling the cutwall, gave directions for him to put the king's orders into execution. The cutwall, accordingly, beset the tents of our debtors that very night, and catched some of them,

them, so that we shall now have justice. I had many thanks from all the omrahs for the protection given to the queen's ship, and the civility shown by our people to the passengers. This they said they had properly represented to the king, who took it kindly, and they all declared they were obliged in honour to love our nation, and would do us every service in their power; yet they all wondered we could not govern our own people, and that any should presume to take ships out of the kingdom, and to rob upon the seas without leave of our king.

When the king arose, Asaph Khan carried me with him to his retiring-place, where we first translated the inventory of our goods into Persian, to shew the king an hour after. In this inventory I inserted the money with some addition, that the king might see we brought profit into his dominions by our trade. I next inserted the cloths of different kinds, with the fine wares; and, lastly, the gross commodities, concluding by praying his majesty to give orders for what he wished to purchase, and then to give us liberty of selling the rest. When this was finished, Asaph Khan asked why I wished to speak with him in private, desiring me to speak my mind with freedom, bowing, and protesting such friendship as I never could have expected. I told him, that my reason for asking this private conference was to have his advice. It was certainly true that I had some things which were not enumerated, but had been so badly used last year that I durst not trust any one; but, to shew my confidence in him, I was willing to open myself to him, on his oath of secrecy, which he readily gave. I then told him that I had a rich pearl, and some other strings of fair pearls, and knew not whether it were fit to tell the king, lest the prince might be displeased. I informed him likewise, how I had gone in the morning to visit the prince, and of his discourtesy, and my consequent determination; yet I knew his favour was necessary for us, and I had hopes to recover it by means of this pearl, which I had purposely concealed for him. This was my purpose, and the reason of my concealment; and as he was father-in-law to the prince, and the king's favourite, I was desirous to please both, and therefore begged his advice.

After embracing me, he said I had done discreetly, and should acquaint neither; for, if I did, I should never get out of trouble. If the king were to know of it, he would indeed

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use me courteously, but would make a great stir to get it into his hands, and then, according to custom, I might sue in vain to recover my own. The prince, I knew, was ravenously greedy and tyrannical, and wearied all with his scandalous exactions. He desired me to steal all ashore, trusting none, and explained to me many means of conveyance, bidding me observe the usage of the Portuguese on the like occasions; adding, that he wished to purchase the pearl, and if I would grant his desire, would deposite its value in my hands, whatever I chose to ask, and, in recompence for this confidence I had reposed in him, he would hereafter be my solicitor in all things, and assured me I could do nothing without him. I answered, that I was most willing to let him have the pearl, and hoped he would never betray my confidence. Having received his oath, and a ceremony of mutual covenant, by crossing thumbs according to the custom of the country, we embraced. I promised to be guided entirely by him, and he engaged to do every thing I required for the safe conveyance of the other things, engaging to give me firmauns so that no person should touch any thing, but all should come safely to me, to dispose of at my pleasure.

He engaged likewise to reconcile me to the prince, and would take me with him the next time he went to visit him, and would make the prince use me with all manner of grace and favour; adding, that I should have a particular judge assigned me to take care of our business, and to give us every satisfaction we could desire. He also advised me to make a present to his sister, Queen Noormahal, and she would prevail upon the king to give me money. To this I replied, that I wished only for the good usage of my countrymen. He then carried me to the king, to whom I presented the inventory translated into Persian, and was graciously received. He asked me if the arras were a present, to which I answered in the affirmative, as the prince was by, lest it might be seized. In conclusion, the king said he would take a considerable quantity of our cloths and other commodities, desiring me to cause them to be brought up speedily, and directed Asaph Khan to make out an order for their free passage in the prince's name. I was well pleased with the success of this day; for though I knew that there was no faith to be placed in these barbarians, yet I was sure Asaph Khan would deal truly in this, as he was to help himself, and durst not betray me, lest he should miss the pearl, neither could I suspect

pect him afterwards, as he could not betray my secret without discovering his own falsehood to the prince.

§ 8. *Asaph Khan protects the English for hope of Gain, as also Noormahal.—Arrival of Mr Steel.—Danger to the Public from private Trade.—Stirs about a Fort.*

On the 12th October, according to his promise, Asaph Khan carried me along with him to visit the prince, and introduced me into his private apartment, when I presented him with a small Chinese gold chain in a china cup. He used me indifferently, but Asaph Khan persuaded him to alter his course towards us, representing that he gained yearly by us a lack of rupees, and that as our trade increased every year, it would in time bring him greater profit; but that if we were harshly used, we would be enforced to quit both Surat and the country, from which great inconveniences might arise. We were in some measure his subjects, and if, from desire of procuring rarities, he used us ill, we would necessarily strive to the utmost to conceal all we brought from his knowledge; but if he gave us that liberty and encouragement which was fitting, we would then use our endeavours to bring every thing to him. He represented, that my only study was to give content to his highness, and to procure his favour and protection, and therefore that he ought to receive me honourably when I came to visit him, and according to my quality, which would give satisfaction to my nation, and encourage me to serve him. Finally, he moved his highness to give me a firmaun for our present use, which he easily obtained, with a promise of all manner of satisfaction. The prince accordingly gave immediate orders to his secretary to draw it up in every point to our content, and to write a letter to the governor recommending it to his attention; adding, that I should at all times have any other letters I desired.

It is thus easy to be seen what base and unworthy men I have to deal with. For the sordid hope only of buying some toys, Asaph Khan has become so reconciled to me as to betray his son-in-law, and is obsequious even to flattery. The ground of all his friendship is his desire to purchase the gold taken in the prize, and some other knacks; for which purpose he desires to send down one of his servants, which I could not deny without losing him, after having so long laboured

boured to gain his favour; neither was this any disadvantage to us, as his payment is secure, and will save us much trouble and charge in selling elsewhere, especially the wine and other luggage that is apt to spoil in carriage. For this purpose he obtained an order from the prince under false pretences, and wrote himself in our favour to the governor of Surat, doing us all manner of kindness. There is a necessity for his friendship, as his word is a law in this empire, and therefore I did not choose to seem to notice his unworthiness. I hope by this procedure to win him to our advantage, or at least to make our present good use of him. On this occasion I moved him to procure us a firmaun for trade with Bengal, which he has promised, though he would never before hearken to that request. He likewise now prosecutes our debtors as if they were his own; and in passing the residence of the cutwall on his elephant, he called upon him to command dispatch, which was a most unusual favour. Upon this *Groo* was immediately imprisoned, and *Muckshud* had only two days allowed him to pay us. Thus I doubt not that in ten days we shall recover to the amount of 44,000 rupees, though our debtors are the most shifting false knaves in all India.

On the 21st, a servant came to me from Asaph Khan, bearing a message from Noormahal, intimating that she had moved the prince for another firmaun, which she had obtained, and by which all our goods were taken under her protection; and that she was ready to send down her servant with authority to take order for our good establishment, and to see that we were no way wronged. He said farther, that Asaph Khan had done this, for fear of the prince's violence, and to guard against his custom of delays; and that now when the queen his sister had desired to be our protectress, he was sure the prince would not meddle; and farther assured me, upon his honour, that I should receive every thing consigned to me, for which the queen had written the most positive orders, and had directed her servant to assist our factors, that we might never more have any cause of complaint at Surat. He desired, therefore, that I might write a few lines to the captains and factors, directing them to use the queen's servant kindly, and allow him to buy for her some toys, such as I could spare. This I durst not deny, though I clearly saw the greediness which was covered under this request; and I gave him a note, as desired, making a condition

condition that I should see a copy of the firmaun, which was already sealed, and could not be seen without leave.

By all this you may see how easy it were to sell commodities here, by a little good management. Last year we were not looked at; but now, that I have translated the inventory of fine wares for the king, yet concealing the pearls, every one is ready to run down to Surat, to make purchases. Noormahal and Asaph Khan now study how to do me good offices; and many of the great men are soliciting me for letters, that they may send down their servants, so that if you had trebled the present consignment, it might all have been bought up aboard ship, and have saved you the customs, expence of carriage, and much spoil. I have therefore directed the factory to sell to the servants of Noormahal and Asaph Khan, whatsoever can be spared, so as to leave me a decent proportion for my uses at court. By this, much trouble and charges will be saved, the prince prevented from plunder and exactions, and our friends confirmed; and yet I hope to have enough remaining to please the king and his son. At the delivery of their presents, Asaph Khan has undertaken to procure the phirmaunds for our trade at Bengal or any other port, and even to procure us a general privilege for free trade and residence in every part of the king's dominions.

On the 24th of October the king departed to a considerable distance from Mundu,[1] and went from place to place among the mountains, leaving us quite at a loss what way we should take, as no one knew his purpose. On the 25th I had a warrant for ten camels at the king's rates of hire; and on the 29th I removed to follow the king, being forced to quit Mundu, which was now entirely deserted. The 31st I arrived at the king's tents, but found he had gone with few company on a hunting party for ten days, no person being allowed to follow without leave. The leskar or camp was scattered about in many parts, suffering great inconveniences from bad water, scarcity and consequent dearness of provisions, sickness, and all sorts of calamities incident to so great a multitude; yet nothing can prevent the king from following his pleasures. I here learnt that it was quite uncertain

[1] In the edition of Churchill, the king is said to have removed twenty-four cosses from Mundu, while in the Pilgrims it is called only four cosses. —E.

certain whether the king proposed going to Agra or Guzerat; and, though the latter was reported, the former was held to be more probable, as his counsellors wished to be at rest. Yet, because the king was expected to linger here about a month, I was advised and thought it best to send for the goods and presents, and endeavour to conclude my business, rather as defer it upon uncertainties. By this means, I hoped to obtain some rest, which I much needed, as I was very weak, and not likely to recover by daily travel, and the use of cold raw muddy water.

Richard Steel and Jackson arrived on the 2d November, 1617, with the pearls and other small matters, which they had brought privately on shore according to my order, which I received and gave them acquittance for. I had a conference with Mr Steel about his projects of water-works, intended to advance the sale of lead, which I did not approve of, because I knew the character of this people, and that this affair must be begun at our expence, while after trial we should not enjoy the profit, but the natives be taught.[2] Besides, it did not promise any advantages for the sale of our commodity, as the lead would be trebled in price by land-carriage, and could not be delivered at Agra so cheap as other lead could be purchased there. Yet I was willing that he should make a trial, by carrying his workmen to Ahmedabad, and meeting me there; where, by the aid of Mukrob Khan, who only among these people is a friend to new inventions, I would make offer to the king of their inventions, and try what conditions might be procured; but, in my opinion, it is all money and labour thrown away. The company must shut their ears against these projectors, who have their own emoluments much more in view than the profits of their masters. Many things look fair in discourse, and in theory satisfy curious imaginations, which in practice are found difficult and fanciful. It is no easy matter to alter the established customs of this kingdom; where some drink only of rain water, some only that of a holy river, and others only of such as is brought at their own cost.

As for his second project, of inducing the caravans and merchants of Lahore and Agra, who are in use to travel by Candahar

[2] This project is no where explained, but might possibly be intended for conveying water, by means of machinery and leaden pipes, for the supply of some palace or city in India.—E.

Candahar into Persia, to come by the river Indus and to go by sea in our ships to Jasques or the Persian gulf, it is a mere dream. Some men may approve of it in conversation, but it will never be adopted in practice. The river Indus is but indifferently navigable downwards, and its mouth is already occupied by the Portuguese; while its navigation upwards, against the stream, is very difficult. Finally, we must warrant their goods, which cannot be done by a fleet; neither did even the Portuguese transport any of these goods, excepting only those of Scindy and Tatta, which traded by means of their own junks, having *cartas* or passes from the Portuguese, for which the natives paid a small matter, to secure them from being captured by the Portuguese cruizers; and the emoluments of these passes came into the pockets of the chiefs of Diu, Damaun, and Ormus. Even if all other difficulties were removed, yet will the caravan of Lahore be never induced to take this passage, as it mostly consists of returning Persians and Armenians, who know the journey from Jasques to be almost as bad as that through Candahar; and the small trade from the environs of Scindy is not worth mentioning. Yet, for his better satisfaction, I am content that he may learn his errors by his own experience, so that it be not done at the charges of the company: But I suppose he will let it fall to the ground, not knowing at which end to begin.

As to the third project, for uniting the trade of the Red Sea with this of Surat, I recommended to him to use his endeavours; for it is already begun. The peril of this trade in the Guzerat ships is very obvious, owing to pirates in these seas; wherefore I have no doubt that many merchants may be induced to load their goods in our ships on freight; by which means we should make ourselves many useful friends among these people, supply our own wants, save the export of bullion, and for this year employ one of the ships belonging to the old account, that should return in September, receiving the remains of this joint stock, which will be sufficient to re-load a great ship, and would otherwise be transported at great loss. This I explained and urged, shewing which way it might be accomplished, and recommended by him to the commander, the Cape merchants and your factors, as will appear by my letters. This measure, if followed, must evidently be to your profit, even if nothing were procured towards it by freight from the Guzerat merchants; as, having

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ving so many empty vessels for so small a stock, and two pirate ships fallen into your hands, they had better even go empty as not go. There are many good chances in the Red Sea and in the way, and though they did nothing else than bring back the goods you have at Mokha and other ports in that sea, this would repay the charges of the voyage and be ready in time.

I find Mr Steel high in his conceits, insomuch that he seems to have forgotten the respect due to me. He and Mr Kerridge are at variance, which I use every endeavour to assuage. As for his wife, I have told Steel that she cannot remain in this country without much inconvenience to us, and injury to his masters, as she could not be allowed her expences of travelling and living at the charges of the Company; that he must live frugally and like a merchant, as others do, and must therefore send home his wife. If he did so, he was welcome to remain in the Company's service; but otherwise, I should have to take measures with them both, much against my inclination. Having thus persuaded him, I likewise endeavoured to deal in the same manner about Captain Towerson's wife. You know not the danger, the trouble, and the inconvenience, of granting these liberties. For this purpose, I persuaded Abraham, his father-in-law, to hold fast; stating the gripings of this court, and the small hope of any relief by this alliance, from which he expected great matters, and endeavoured to persuade him to return quietly. To further this, I wrote to your chief factor, that such things as he had brought and were vendible, should be bought for your use by bill of exchange, and at such profit to him as might answer both parties; but I utterly prohibited the taking of his trash, to remain a dead stock on your hands, on any conditions. Such inconveniences do you bring upon your hands by these unreasonable liberties.

By the strict commands in your letter respecting private trade, as well respecting your own servants as others, I find you do not mean him to have that liberty he expects; for he is furnished to the value of above £1000, first cost here, and Steel to at least £200. This, as he proposes sending home his wife, and his merit is so good towards you, I shall send home; as I presume you will admit of this to get rid of such cattle. I will not buy these goods however, but order them to be marked and consigned to you, by which you will have the measure in your own hands. By these liberties, you discourage

courage all your old servants. Some may do all things for fair words, and some will do nothing for good actions. I could instance some, gone home two years since, who only employed themselves in managing their own stock, and did no other business, who now live at home in pleasure; and others that raised their fortunes on your monies, trading therewith from port to port, and are now returned rich and unquestioned. Last year a mariner had twenty-six *churles* of indigo, others many fardles; another had to the value of 7000 mahmudies in bastas, chosen at Baroach and purchased with your monies, and he would not probably chuse the worst for himself; a fourth did the same to the value of above £150. I do not mention these things out of spite or ill will, but to induce you to equality of proceeding with your servants, that an impartial restraint be imposed upon all, and that by such instances your profits may not be all swallowed up.

For effecting these purposes, the sending the woman home, and the prosecution of trade to the Red Sea, I have sent back Richard Steel to Surat with the necessary orders. As it is now declared that the king intends going to Guzerat, I have altered my purpose about the goods and presents; and have appointed Richard Steel, after having dispatched other matters, to meet me there with the goods and presents, and his engineers. I have also sent my advice and directions to Captain Pring, to make out an inventory of all the monies and goods in the two pirate ships, and to land the whole, making it over to your stock; to give a passage home to some of the chiefs, and to take the rest into your service, referring to you at home to deal with the owners. My own fixed opinion is, that their capture is legal and justifiable, and all their goods forfeited. If you are pleased to restore any thing, be it at your pleasure; but the more rigour you show to these, the better example you will give to such scandalous piracies; for, if if this course be pursued, you may bid adieu to all trade at Surat and in the Red Sea, and let the Turkey Company stand clear of the revenge of the Grand Signior.

I went to Asaph Khan on the 6th November, and shewed him the pearls according to promise. As I had been previously informed, he told me the sorts were not fit for that country; yet he was so pleased that I had kept my word with him, that I believe I may say to you in the words of Pharaoh, "The land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your servants." We talked not about the price, but he

he vowed the utmost secrecy, and that for my sake he would give more for them than their value, not returning any, and would pay ready money. Of this he professed to be in no want, and even offered to lend me whatever I needed. I have promised to visit his sister, whom he has made our protectress; and indeed, every contentment that good words can give, I have received, besides good deeds. When the presents arrive, I shall take care not to be too liberal to your loss; a little shall serve in that way. Indeed Asaph Khan himself has given me this advice, saying that such things are as well taken in this country sold as given, which I find by the experience of others to be true.

Finishing these conferences in his bed-chamber, Asaph Khan rose to go to dinner, having invited me and my people; but he and his friends dined without, appointing us our mess apart, for they scruple to eat with us. I had good cheer, and was well attended, the residue being given to my servants. After dinner, I moved about the debt due by Groo, and told him of the delays. He desired me to say no more, as he had undertaken that business; that Groo, at his orders, was finishing accounts with a jeweller, and he had given orders, as the money was paid, that it should remain in the hands of the cutwall for us. This I found afterwards to be true, and the cutwall has promised to finish in three days, desiring me to send no more to Asaph Khan on that business.

I must not omit to mention here, an anecdote of baseness or favour, call it which you please. When the prisons are full of condemned men, the king commands some to be executed, and sends others to his omrahs, to be redeemed at a price. This he esteems a courtesy, as giving the means of exercising charity: But he takes the money, and so sells the virtue. About a month before our remove, he sent to me to buy three Abyssinians, whom they suppose to be all Christians, at the price of forty rupees each. I answered, that I could not purchase men as slaves, as was done by others, by which they had profit for their money; but that I was willing to give twenty rupees each for them in charity, to save their lives and restore them to liberty. The king was well pleased with my answer, and ordered them to be sent me. They expected the money, which I was in no haste to give, and even hoped it had been forgotten. But the king's words

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are all written down,[3] and are as irrevocable decrees. Seeing that I sent not for the malefactors, his officers delivered them into the hands of my *procurator*, in my absence this day, taking his note for the sixty rupees, which I paid at my return, and set free the prisoners.

Having notice of a new phirmaund sent down to Surat to disarm all the English, and some other restrictions upon their liberty, owing to a complaint sent up to the prince, that we intended to build a fort at Swally, and that our ships were laden with bricks and lime for that purpose, I visited Asaph Khan on the 10th November, to enquire into this matter. This jealousy arose from our people having landed a few bricks on shore, for building a furnace to refound the ship's bell; yet the alarm was so hot at court, that I was called to make answer, when I represented how absurd was this imaginary fear, how dishonourable for the king, and how unfit the place was for any such purpose to us, having neither water nor harbourage. The jealousy was however so very strongly imprinted in their minds, because I had formerly asked a river at Gogo for that purpose, that I could hardly satisfy the prince but that we intended some such sinister end. You may judge from this how difficult it were to get a port for yourselves, if you were so disposed. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this furnace must be demolished, and a *huddey* of horse sent down to see it done. The disarming of our men was what chiefly disobliged our people, though the weapons were only lodged in the custom-house, and those only belonging to the ship's company. I told Asaph Khan, that we could not endure this slavery, nor would I stay longer in the country, as the prince gave us one day a phirmaund for our good usage, with a grant of privileges, and countermand all the next by contradictory orders, in which proceedings there was neither honour nor good faith, and I could not answer for my continuing to reside among them. Asaph Khan said, he would speak to the king at night on the subject, in the presence of the prince, and afterwards give me an answer.

I went again to wait upon Asaph Khan on the 13th, when he made many protestations of the Mogul's affection to my sovereign and nation, and to me, and assured me he had risked the prince's disfavour for our sakes, and had full assurance

[3] Dixit, et edictum est; fatur, et est factum.—*Purch.*

surance of a complete redress of all our grievances; and that he proposed getting the *prigany* of Surat transferred to himself, which the prince would have to resign, as he had been made governor of Ahmedabad, Cambay, and that territory. To satisfy me that he did not dissemble, he desired me to come at night to court, bringing the king my master's letter and the translation, as the time was favourable for its delivery; desiring me at the same time to persist in my complaint, and to offer taking leave, when I should see what he would say for us. Accordingly, I went at night to wait upon the king, whom I found surrounded by a very full court. The king was sitting on the ground, and when I delivered the letter, it was laid before him, of which he took no great notice, being busy at the time. Asaph Khan whispered to his father, Etimon Dowlet, desiring him to read the letter and assist us, which he could better do than himself. Etimon Dowlet took up both letters, giving that in English into the king's hands, and read the translation to the king, who answered many of the complaints. On coming to that point, of procuring our quiet trade, by his authority with the Portuguese, he demanded if we wanted him to make peace with them? I answered, that his majesty knew long since I had offered to be governed entirely by him, and referred that matter to his wisdom, and waited therefore to know his pleasure. On this he said, that he would undertake to reconcile us, and to cause agreement to be made in his seas, which he would signify in his answer to my master's letter, in which he would farther satisfy his majesty in all his other friendly desires.

Notwithstanding of this, I asked leave to go before to Ahmedabad, to meet the king's presents, and to prepare for my return home. Upon this, a question arose between the king and the prince, who complained that he derived no profit from us, and was very willing to be rid of us. Asaph Khan then took up the discourse, and plainly told the king, that we brought both profit and security to the port of Surat and to the kingdom, but were very rudely treated by the prince's servants, and that we could not continue our trade and residence, unless matters were amended; for which reason it would be more honourable for his majesty to licence and protect us, than to treat us discourteously. The prince angrily replied, That he had never wronged us, and had lately given us a phirmaund at the desire of Asaph Khan. It is true, replied

replied Asaph Khan, that you granted him a phirmaund to his satisfaction; but in ten days you sent down another, virtually to contradict and annul the former; and as he stood as surety between both, and had undertaken our redress on the prince's word, the shame and dishonour of this double procedure fell upon him. He said he spoke for no ends, but for the king's honour and justice, as he owed me nothing, nor I him, and for the truth of his words he appealed to me, who complained that our goods were taken away from us by force, and that *Rulph*,[4] who began this two years ago, would never pay us, and his officers continued the same procedure every season. If the prince were weary of the English, he might turn us away; but then he must expect that we would seek for redress at our own hands upon the seas. He demanded whether the king or the prince gave me the means of living, or, as they did not, at whose expence I was maintained? saying, that I was an ambassador and a stranger, who lived in this country and followed the progress of the king at great charges; and if our goods continued to be taken from us by force, so that we could neither get back our goods, nor yet their value in money, it would be impossible for us to subsist.

This was delivered with some heat, and the king, catching at the word force, repeated it to his son, whom he sharply reprehended. The prince promised to see me paid for all that had been taken. He said likewise that he had taken nothing, having only caused the presents to be sealed; and, as his officers had received no customs on these, he desired to have them opened in his presence. This I absolutely refused to consent to, telling the king that I only did my duty to my master, in insisting to deliver the presents free from duty, and that, when I had so done, I should give the prince full satisfaction in all other things. At this time, Etimon Dowlet, who had been made our friend by his son Asaph Khan, whispered to the king, and read a clause or two from my master's letter, on which the king made the prince stand aside. Asaph Khan joined in this private conference, which they

[4] On a former occasion, where this person is mentioned, it has been said that his name, in the edition of this journal given by Churchill, is written Sulph. From the circumstances in the context at this place, it is possible that Sulpheckar Khan, or Zulfeccar Khan, governor of Surat under Sultan Churrum, may be here meant.—E.

they told me was for our good; and in conclusion, the prince was commanded to suffer all the goods to come quietly to me, and to give me such privileges for our trade as were fit, and as should be proposed by Asaph Khan.

The prince would not yield the presents, unless Asaph Khan became his surety that he should have a share, which he did, and we were then all agreed on that point. The king paid me many compliments in words, and even gave me two pieces of *pawne* out of the dish then before him, desiring me to partake of what he was eating. I then took my leave for Ahmedabad; and that same night I began my journey, leaving my tents, as I expected to reach that city the next day: But I had to ride two nights, with the intermediate day and half of the next, with excessively little accommodation or refreshment; and arrived at Ahmedabad on the 15th at noon.

The 8th January, 1618, there was some question about presents by the prince, whom I told that his were ready whenever he was ready to receive them. He asked me, why I had broken the seals? On which I said, that it would have been dishonourable and discourteous in me to have delivered the king's presents in bonds, and having waited his highness' licence during twenty days, but seeing no hope of its arrival, I had been under the necessity of breaking open the seals. Some heat was likely to have arisen on this subject, but a gentleman from the king, who was sent to observe what passed between us, told us both that the king commanded our presence before him immediately, at a garden where he then was, on the river side, a coss from the town. The prince went there immediately in his palanquin, and I followed in a coach, well attended upon by the servants of the king and prince. On my arrival, the women were going in, on which occasion no man dare enter except the prince, who accordingly made bitter complaints against me for having broke open the seals, taking out from the packages whatever I pleased, without his knowledge. Asaph Khan was called, who was my surety, and the prince laid the blame of all this upon him, but he strenuously denied all knowledge or participation; yet I had not accused him, but took it all upon myself, knowing he would deny it, as is the custom, to excuse himself, and I knew myself better able to bear it.

I was then sent for to the water-side, where the king had been sitting in private, and went in, having the presents along

along with me, but the king was gone into the female apartments. Asaph Khan blamed me for breaking his word, saying, that the prince had shamed him. I answered, through Jaddow, that he well knew I had his consent, of which this man was a witness. He denied this to us both, and when I again said, that, although I would not lay the blame on him, that it was still true, as this man could witness; Jaddow refused to interpret my answer, saying, that he durst not tell Asaph Khan to his face that he lied. This is a quite usual thing among them; for if any command comes from the king which he afterwards forgets or denies, he that brought the message will deny it stoutly. I bore up as high as I could, on which some of the great men said that it was a great affront, of which no other man durst have been guilty, while others smiled. I answered, it was by no means so great as the prince had often done to me. We thus spent the day, during which the king never appeared, having privately stole away, leaving us all in anxious expectation.

At night, word came that the king was gone, when I offered to have gone home, but was so well attended, that I was in some measure constrained to force my way. While on the road, new messengers came to seek me, and I had to return to court, without having either eaten or drank. The king was not however come back, and I could not get free from my attendants, who yet used me very respectfully. After waiting an hour, a sudden order was given to put out all the lights. The king now came in an open waggon, drawn by bullocks, having his favourite Noormahal along with him, himself acting as waggoner, and no man near. When he and his women were housed, the prince came in on horseback, and immediately called for me into the place where the king was. It was now midnight, and I found the king and prince only attended upon by two or three eunuchs. Putting on an angry countenance, the king, as he had been instructed by his son, told me I had broken my word, and he would trust me no more. I answered roundly, that I held it fit to give freely, not upon compulsion, and had committed no offence, according to my judgment; and if their customs were so very different from ours, I had erred only from ignorance, and ought therefore to be pardoned. After many disputes, the prince offered his friendship, with many fair promises, and we were all reconciled.

I then opened the chests, gave the king his presents, and the

the prince his, and sent in those intended for Noormahal. We were about two hours engaged in viewing them. The king was well pleased with the tapestry, but said it was too coarse, and desired to have a suit of the same quality with the sweet bags. Three articles were detained besides the presents; and for these the prince said he would pay, as his father had taken them. He likewise desired me to come to see him in the morning, promising to be my protector and procurator, which I willingly accepted in all things except the goods.

I waited upon the prince on the 10th, when I was well received, and had orders for a phirmaund about the murdered man.[5] He likewise made a public declaration of his reconcilement, desiring all his officers to take notice of it, and act accordingly. He likewise ordered his chief *Raia* to be in future my procurator, and to draw out whatever phirmaunds I required. I presented to him Captain Towerson, and some others of the English, whom he received graciously; and, in confirmation of our renewed friendship, he presented me with a robe of cloth of silver, promising to be the protector of our nation in all things we could desire. I then told him about Mr Steel and his workmen, when he desired me to bring a small present at night to the king, to whom he should present them, which I did. He kept his word, and spoke in our favour to the king, who seemed disposed to entertain them. On this occasion I presented Captain Towerson to the king, who called him up, and after a few questions, rose. At the *Gushel Choes*[6] I presented Mr Steel and his workmen. The king called for Mr Paynter, and gave him ten pounds, promising to take him and all the rest into his service. On this occasion the king sat all night in a hat which I had given him.

The 13th, the Dutch came to court, bringing a great present of China ware, saunders-wood, parrots, and cloves, but were not allowed to approach the third degree, or raised platform. After some time, the prince asked me, who they were? I answered, that they were Hollanders who resided at Surat. He then enquired if they were our friends? I answered,

[5] This circumstance is perhaps explained in the sequel, as relating to the death of a person at Burhanpoor.—E.

[6] This is probably meant for the same public audience called, in other parts of the journal, the Gazul Khan.—E.

swered, that they were of a nation which was dependent upon the king of England, but not welcome in all parts, and that I did not know their business. He then said, since they were our friends, that I ought to call them up. So I was obliged to call upon them, that they might deliver their presents, on which occasion they were placed beside our merchants, yet without any farther speech or conference. Finally, every thing I asked was complied with, or at least promised, and I now wait for performance and money. I am satisfied, that, without this contestation, I had never succeeded in our just demands; for I told the prince's messenger, in the presence of all the English, that if he chose to use force against me or my goods, he certainly might, but it should cost blood, for I would set my *chop* upon his master's ship, and send her to England.

On the 18th I received notice from Surat of the imprisonment of Spragge and Howard at Burhanpoor, where their house and goods were seized, and their lives in question, on the following account:—The cutwall had been drinking at their house, and one of his men had died that night, on which they were accused of having poisoned him, and the cutwall, in excuse for having been at their house, pretended that he had gone to fetch away a man's wife who was detained by Thomas Spragge. What may be the truth of this affair I know not; but information has been sent to the king against them. I went therefore to the prince, who had promised to undertake all our causes, but could not get speech of him, though I had likewise to complain of force having been used against a caravan of ours on the way, nothwithstanding a phirmaund from the rajah of the country, on both of which subjects I shall present a petition at night to the king. My trouble with this barbarous and unjust people is beyond all endurance. When at the prince's, I found the promised phirmaund drawn up indeed, but half of the agreed conditions were omitted, upon which I refused to accept it, and desired leave to depart, that I might treat with them in the sea.[7]

On the 21st, a command was issued to set free the English at Burhanpoor, and to restore their goods; on which occasion

[7] This obscure expression seems to imply a threat of taking vengeance, or making reprisals at sea, for the oppressions of the Mogul government against the English trade.—E.

occasion the king observed, that, if they had killed the Mahometan who came to drink at their house, he had only met with his just reward. Another order was issued, commanding Partap-shah to repay us all exactions whatsoever, and that he should hereafter take no duties upon our goods in their way to the sea-port, threatening, in case of failure, to deliver his son into my hands. On the 22d, I went in person to receive these phirmaunds, and carried the merchants along with me, together with some pearls the prince was eager to see, and which were pretended to belong to Mr Towerson. The prince had received some vague accounts of our having pearls to the value of twenty or thirty thousand pounds, which he hoped to have extracted from us. When his secretary saw our small pearls, he observed that his master had *maunds* of such, and if we had no better, we might take these away. You may judge how basely covetous these people are of jewels. I told him that we had procured these from a gentlewoman to satisfy the prince, and as they could not be made better, it was uncivil to be angry with merchants who had done their best to shew their good will.

I then spoke to him about the phirmaunds, when he bluntly told me I should have none; for as we had deceived the prince's hopes, he would disappoint us. I had asked leave to depart, and I might come to take leave whenever I pleased. To this I answered, that nothing could please me more, but that I should requite their injustice in another place, for I should now apply to the king, and depend no more on them, as I saw their conduct was made up of covetousness and unworthiness. So I arose to depart, but he recalled me, desiring that I might come next day to the king and prince together, when I should have complete satisfaction.

"And now, reader, we are at a stand: some more idle, or more busy spirits, willing either to take their rest, or to exchange their labour; and some perhaps wishing they had the whole journal, and not thus contracted into extracts of those things out of it which I conceived more fit for the public. And, for the whole, myself could have wished it, but neither with the honourable Company, nor elsewhere, could I learn of it; the worthy knight himself being now employed in like honourable embassage from his majesty to the Great Turk. Yet, to supply the defect of the journal, I have given thee the

the chorography of the country, together with certain letters of his, written from India to honourable lords, and his friends in England; out of all which may be hewed and framed a delightful commentary of the Mogul and his subjects. Take them therefore, reader, and use them as a prospective glass, by which thou mayst take easy and near view of these remote regions, people, rites, and religions."—*Purchas.*

In the Pilgrims, in supplement to the journal of Sir Thomas Roe, Purchas has inserted a formal complimentary letter from king James to the Great Mogul, or emperor of Hindoostan, together with another from the Mogul to king James, containing nothing besides hyperbolical expressions of regard; both of which are here omitted, as entirely devoid of interest, amusement, or information. Purchas has also added several letters said to have been found among the papers of Sir Thomas Roe, with some others which he says were transcribed from *Sir Thomas Roe's own book.* As these letters merely repeat circumstances and opinions already more fully and more methodically expressed in the preceding journal, they could only have served unnecessarily to swell our pages, without any adequate advantage, and are therefore omitted.

Purchas also informs us that Sir Thomas Roe, before he left the court of the Great Mogul on his return for England, requested to be favoured with a recommendatory letter from the Mogul to king James. This request was granted with the utmost readiness, and a letter written accordingly; but the Mogul, or his ministers, shewed much scrupulousness about the placement of the seal to this letter, lest, if placed under the writing, it might disparage the dignity of the Mogul, or, if placed over the letter, king James might feel disobliged. On this account, the letter was delivered to Sir Thomas unsealed, and the seal was sent separately, that it might be afterwards affixed, according to the pleasure of the king of England.

This seal was of silver, and Purchas has given an engraving, or *fac simile* of it, consisting of an inner and larger circle, bearing the style or title of the reigning king, or *Padishah* Jehanguire; surrounded circularly by eight smaller circles, containing the series of his direct ancestors, from Timor, or Tamerlane, downwards. These are all of course in the Persian language and characters; but Purchas gives likewise

likewise a copy or translation of the same in English letters. It seemed quite superfluous to insert here the Persian *fac simile*, being merely writing without ornament, armorial bearing, or cognizance. The following is the series, expressed in English characters; the last being the central circle, which contains the name and title of the reigning emperor:—

1. Ebn Amir Temur Saheb Quran.
2. Ebn Miran Shah.
3. Ebn Mirza Soltan Mohamed.
4. Ebn Soltan Abu Said.
5. Ebn Mirza Amar Shah.
6. Ebn Bahar Padishah.
7. Ebn Humaiun Padishah.
8. Ebn Akbar Padishah.
9. Abu Amozaphar Nurdin Jehanguire Padishah.

SECTION VII.

RELATION OF A VOYAGE TO INDIA IN 1616, WITH OBSERVATIONS RESPECTING THE DOMINIONS OF THE GREAT MOGUL, BY MR EDWARD TERRY.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

According to Purchas, Mr Edward Terry was master of arts, and a student of Christ Church in Oxford, and went out to India as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe. In the first subdivision of this narrative, we have combined the observations of Captain Alexander Childe, who was commander of the ship James, during the same voyage, under Captain Benjamin Joseph, of the ship Charles, who was slain in a sea-fight with a Portuguese carack, off one of the Komoro islands. The notes extracted by Purchas from the journal of Captain Childe,[2] are so short and unsatisfactory, that we have been induced to suppress them, except so far as they serve to elucidate the narrative of Terry, in the first subdivision of this section.—Ed.

§ 1. *Occurrences*

[1] Purch. Pilgr. II. 1464. [2] Id. I. 606.

§ 1. *Occurrences during the Voyage from England to Surat.*

Apologies often call truth into question, and having nothing but truth to offer in excuse for this narrative, I omit all unnecessary preface, desiring only that the reader may believe what I have faithfully related. Our fleet, consisting of six goodly ships, the Charles, Unicorn, James, Globe, Swan, and Rose, under the supreme command of Captain Benjamin Joseph, who sailed as general in the Charles, our admiral ship, fell down from Gravesend to Tilbury-hope on the 3d of February, 1616.

After long and anxious expectation, it pleased God to send us a fair wind at N.E. on the 9th March, when we departed from that road, and set sail for the East Indies. The wind continued favourable till the 16th, at night, when we were in the bay of Biscay, at which time we were assailed by a most fearful storm, during which we lost sight both of the Globe and the Rose. The Globe rejoined us on the 26th following, but the Rose was no more heard of till six months afterwards, when she arrived at Bantam. The storm continued with violence from the 16th to the 21st. The 28th we got sight of the grand Canary, and of the Peak of Teneriffe, which is so extremely high that it may be seen in a clear day more than forty leagues out at sea, as the mariners report. The 31st, being Easter-day, we passed under the tropic of Cancer, and on the 7th of April had the sun in our zenith. The 16th, we met with these winds called *tornadoes*, which are so variable and uncertain, as sometimes to blow from all the thirty-two points of the compass within the space of a single hour. These winds are accompanied by much thunder and lightning, and excessive rains, of so noisome a nature, as immediately to cause people's clothes to stink on their backs; and wherever this rain-water stagnates, even for a short space of time, it brings forth many offensive animalcules. The tornadoes began with us when in about 12° of N. latitude, and continued till we were two degrees to the south of the equinoctial line, which we passed on the 28th of April. The 19th of May, being Whitsunday, we passed the tropic of Capricorn, so that we were complete seven weeks under the torrid zone.

Almost every day, while between the tropics, we saw various kinds of fish, in greater abundance than elsewhere. As

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the whale, or mighty *Leviathan*, whom God hath created to take his pastime in the seas; Dolphins also, and Albicores, with Bonitoes, flying-fishes, and many others. Some whales were of an exceeding greatness, which, in calm weather, would often rise and shew themselves above the water, appearing like vast rocks; and, while rising, they would spout up a great quantity of water into the air, with much noise, which fell down again around them like heavy rain. The dolphin is called, from the swiftness of its motion, the arrow of the sea. This fish differs from many others, in having teeth on the top of its tongue. It is pleasing to the eye, the smell, and the taste, having a changeable colour, finned like a roach, covered with very small scales, giving out a delightful scent above all other fishes, and is in taste as good as any. These dolphins are very apt to follow our ships, not, so far as I think, from any love they bear for men, as some authors write, but to feed upon what may be thrown overboard. Whence it comes to pass that they often become food to us; for, when they swim close by the ships, they are struck by a broad instrument full of barbed points, called a harping-iron, to which a rope is fastened, by which to pull the instrument and the fish on board. This beautiful dolphin may be taken as an emblem of a race of men, who, under sweet countenances, carry sharp tongues. The bonitoes and albicores are much like our mackerels in colour, shape, and taste, but grow to a very large size. The flying-fishes live the most unhappy lives of all others, as they are persecuted in the water by the dolphins, bonitoes, and albicores, and when they endeavour to escape from their enemies in the water, by rising up in flight, they are assailed by ravenous fowls in the air, somewhat like our kites, which hover over the water in waiting for their appearance in the other element. These flying-fishes are like men who profess two trades and thrive in neither.

Early in the morning of the 12th June, we espied our long-wished-for harbour, the bay of Saldanha, [Table-bay] about twelve leagues short from the Cape of Good Hope, into which we came happily to anchor that same forenoon. We here found one of the Company's ships, the Lion, commanded by Captain Newport, come from Surat, and homeward-bound for England. We made ourselves merry with each other on this happy meeting; and having a fair gale, the Lion sailed on the night of the 14th. We found here water in abundance,

dance, but little refreshments for our sick men, except fresh fish, as the natives brought us nothing. We remained in this harbour till the 28th, on which day we departed, the Swan steering her course for Bantam. The 29th we doubled the Cape of Good Hope, in the lat. of 35° S. Off this cape there continually sets a most violent current to the westwards, whence it happens, when it is met by a strong contrary wind, their impetuous opposition occasions so rough a sea that some ships have been swallowed up, and many more endangered among these mountainous waves. Few ships pass this way without encountering a storm.

The 22d of July we got sight of the great island of Madagascar, commonly called of St Lawrence, being between that island and the main, but touched not there. Proceeding on our course, on the 1st of August we fell in with a part of the main land of Africa, called Boobam,[3] in lat. 16° 35′ S. the variation being 13° 12′. The 5th we drew near the little islands of Mohelia, Gazidia, and St Juan de Castro, [Moelia, Hinzuan or Johanna, Mayotta or St Christopher, and Augasi,] generally known by the name of the Komoro islands, in about the lat. of 12° S.

Early in the morning of the 6th of August, our men in the tops looking out for land, espied a sail about three or four leagues off, directly in our course. About noon, the Globe, which was our smallest ship, and sailed better than the rest of the fleet, came up with her on the broadside to windward, and hailed her according to the custom of the sea, asking whence she came? She answered, indirectly, that she came from the sea, and her people insulted ours most outrageously, calling them thieves, rogues, heretics, and devils; and, in conclusion of their rude compliments, spoke in the loud language of the cannon's roar, discharging seven pieces of large artillery at our Globe, six of the balls piercing her hull, and maiming some of her men, but killing none. Our Globe replied in the same voice, and afterwards fell astern and stood in for our general and the rest of our fleet, now four sail in all, shewing us the discourtesy of the Portuguese.

About three in the afternoon, the Charles, our admiral, came up with the Portuguese ship, which was the admiral of the caracks that sailed this year from Lisbon, but had parted

[3] The head-land of Mosambique is probably here meant.—E.

ed from all the rest of their fleet. When within pistol-shot, Captain Benjamin Joseph, our commander, proceeded deliberately to work, offering treaty before he attempted revenge. So we saluted her with our trumpets, to which she replied with her wind-instruments. Captain Joseph then called out, that their commander might come on board, to make satisfaction for the wrong they had done to our consort. They made answer, that they had no boat; on which our general said he would send them one, and immediately caused his barge to be manned and sent to the carack, which brought back one of their officers and two mean men, with this answer from their commander, that he had resolved never to leave his ship, to which he might be forced, but would not be commanded to leave her.

On receiving this message, Captain Joseph used them civilly who had brought it, and commanded them to be shewn our ship, and how she was prepared to vindicate our honour. This made the poor Portuguese much afraid, and they desired Captain Joseph to write a few words to their commander, which, added to their persuasions, might perchance induce him to come to terms. Willing to preserve his honour, and to prevent the effusion of blood, Captain Joseph caused a few words to be written to the Portuguese commander, to the following effect:—"Whereas the commander of the carack has offered violence to our ship the Globe, while sailing peaceably beside him, he is desired to come aboard immediately, and give satisfaction for that wrong, or else at his peril," &c. He then sent back the Portuguese, accompanied by one of our master's mates, carrying the writing, together with this verbal message, "That if he refused to come, he would force him, or sink by his side." The words of dying men are said to be prophetic, so these his words came to pass, for he was slain not long after by a great shot from the carack.

Notwithstanding this message, the Portuguese commander remained firmly to his resolute answer. Wherefore, on the return of our men, Captain Joseph himself fired the three first shots, which surely did them much mischief, as we conjectured, by the loud outcry we heard among them after these shots were fired. The shot now flew thick from both sides; and our captain, chearing his men to behave gallantly, ascended the half-deck, where he had not been above ten minutes when a great shot from the quarter of the carack deprived him of life

life in the twinkling of an eye. It hit him fair in the breast, beating his heart and other parts out of his body, which lay round him among his blood. After he was slain, our master continued the fight for about half an hour, when, considering that another person was to succeed in the supreme command, and the night approaching, he thought proper to desist, and having fallen astern, he hung out a flag as a signal of council, to call the captain of the vice-admiral on board, Captain Henry Pepwell, who was to succeed, together with the other masters, that they might consult about the prosecution of this enterprize. As the night was now come, it was resolved not to proceed any farther for the present. So the carack proceeded on her course, putting up a light on her poop, as if in defiance of us to follow, and about midnight came to anchor under the island of Moelia; and when we perceived this island, we too let fall our anchors.

Early in the morning of the 7th, before day began to dawn, we prepared for a new assault, first recommending ourselves to God in prayer. When morning came, we found the carack so close to the shore, and the nearest of our other ships at least a league from us, that we held our hands for that day, waiting till the carack might weigh and stand out to sea, as fitter there to deal with her. In the afternoon, we chested our slain commander, and committed him to the deep, over against the isle of Moelia, omitting any ceremony of firing funeral-guns usual on such occasions, that the enemy might not know our loss.

A little before night the carack put to sea, when we also weighed and made sail after her. The day now left us, and our proud enemy, unwilling, as it seems, to have the appearance of escaping by flight, put forth a light on his poop as before, as if for us to follow him, which we did to some purpose. The night being well spent, we again commended ourselves and our cause to God in prayer. Soon afterwards, the day began to dawn, and appeared as if covered by a red mantle, which proved a bloody one to many who now beheld the light for the last time. It was now resolved that our four ships were to take their turns in succession, to endeavour to force this proud Portuguese either to bend or break. Our ship, the Charles, played her part first;[4] and ere she had been

[4] This account of the battle is chiefly taken from Terry, who is more particular in his narrative; but Childe says that Captain Pepwell, the new ge-

been half an hour engaged with her adversary, a shot from the carack hitting one of our iron guns on the half-deck, flew all in pieces, dangerously wounding our new general, and three other mariners who stood beside him. Captain Pepwell's left eye was beaten out, and he received two other wounds in his head, and a third in his leg, a ragged piece of the broken shot sticking fast in the bone, which seemed, by his complaining, to afflict him more than the rest. Thus was our new commander welcomed to his authority, and we all considered his wounds as mortal; but he lived till about fourteen months afterwards, when he died peaceably in his bed, on his way back to England.

By the same shot, Mr Richard Hounsell, the master of our ship, had a great piece of the flesh of his arm carried off, which rendered him unserviceable for a time. The captain and master being thus disabled, deputed their authority to the chief master's mate, who behaved with great prudence and resolution. Thus we continued one after the other to fight all day, the vice-admiral and the Globe and James taking their turns in succession. Between three and four in the afternoon, the mainmast of the carack fell overboard, and presently afterwards the foremast and mizen followed, and she had received so many and large wounds in her thick sides, that her case was quite desperate, and she must soon either yield or perish. Her commander, Don Emanuel de Meneses, a brave and resolute person, stood in for the shore in this distressed condition, being not far from the island of Gazidia.[5] We pursued as far as we durst venture, without hazard of shipwreck, but gave over at five o'clock, when about a league from the shore, which is extremely steep, and no ground to be had within less than a cable's length of the rocks, the shore being moreover to leeward.

We now sent off our barge with a flag of truce to speak the carack, and as he waved us with a similar flag, Mr Connock, our chief merchant, who was employed on this occasion, boldly went aboard the carack, and delivered a message

neral, gave him leave to begin this day's action, as his ship sailed better, and that, after three or four broadsides, he gave place to the general. According to modern naval tactics, all four at once would have assailed the enemy, taking vantage stations on her quarters and bows.—E.

[5] According to Childe, it was the most northern of the islands, named Komoro, or Augasi, not far north from Moelia, where the fight began.—E.

sage to Don Emanuel, stating, that he brought an offer of life and peace if he would accept it; and as he deserved well for his undaunted valour, so he should be honourably and respectfully treated if he would put himself into our hands, and sent to Goa in safety. He, however, as an oak gathering strength from his wounds,[6] and contemning the misery he could not prevent, resolutely answered Mr Connock to the following purpose: "That no misfortune should make him alter his former resolution; for he was determined again to stand out to sea, if possible, and to encounter us again; and then, if forced by fire and sword, he might by bad chance be taken, but he would never yield; and, if taken alive, he hoped to find the respect due to a gentleman, till when we had our answer."

Our messenger was thus dismissed, and shortly afterwards this sore distressed ship, being entirely unmanageable for want of masts and sails, was forced by the winds and waves upon the adjacent island of Gazidia or Komoro, where she stuck fast between two rocks. Those who remained alive in the carack got ashore by means of their boats; and when all were landed, willing, as it would seem, to consume what they could not keep, they set their carack on fire, that she might not become our prize.[7] After leaving their ill-fated carack, the poor Portuguese were most inhumanly used by the barbarous islanders, who spoiled them of every thing they had brought on shore for their succour, and slew some of them for opposing their cupidity. Doubtless they had been all massacred, had they not been relieved by two small Arab vessels who were there engaged in trade, and which, I suppose in hope of a great reward, took them in, and conveyed them in safety to their own city of Goa.

In the morning of the 9th, Mr Alexander Childe, who commanded one of the English ships, sent his mate, Anthony Fugars, ashore in his long-boat, to see if any of the Portuguese were saved, to fetch such away, and to learn how she was set on fire. But the carack was still burning, and not a man belonging to her was to be seen. There were many negro islanders on the coast, over against the carack, who held up a flag of truce to invite the English on shore, but it was impossible to land in that place, or any where within three leagues

[6] Duris, ut ilex tonsa bipennibus—ducit opes animumque ferro.—*Terry.*

[7] Childe says, he could not say whether she was fired accidentally or on purpose.—E.

leagues to the east or west, as the rocks were all extremely high and rugged.

In this long conflict, only five men were lost out of our four ships, three belonging to the admiral, and two out of the James. Besides whom, there were about twenty wounded in our fleet, all of whom afterwards recovered. But, of 700 who sailed in the carack, there came not above 250 to Goa, as we were afterwards credibly informed. In this fearful engagement, our ship, the Charles, discharged 375 great shot against the adversary, as reported by our gunners, besides 100 musqueteers who plied their small arms all the time. Neither were the enemy idle, for our ship received at least 100 great shot from them, many of which dangerously took place in her hull. Our foremast was shot through the middle, our mainmast wounded, the main stay, and many of the main shrouds, cut asunder.

After we had seen the carack set on fire, which was about midnight of the 8th, we stood off and on till morning, to see if we might find any thing in her ashes. Finding this ineffectual, we sought about for some place where we might find succour and refreshment for our sick and wounded on shore. The land was very high, and the sea every where too deep for anchoring, so that it was the 10th before we could find a good harbour, which was in the S.W. part of the island, where we anchored. The James came to anchor in twenty-two fathoms, with one of her anchors, while the other was only in fourteen. This harbour was over against a town called Mattoma.

This island seemed very pleasant, full of goodly trees, covered all over with green pasture, and abounding in beeves, goats, poultry, sugar-canes, rice, plantains, lemons, oranges, and cocoa-nuts, with many other wholesome things; of all which we procured sufficient to relieve our whole company for a small quantity of white paper, a few glass beads, and penny knives. For instance, we bought as many oranges as would fill a hat for half a quarter of a sheet of white paper, and all other kinds of provision in the same proportion. The islanders brought much of their fruits to us in their little canoes, which are long and narrow boats, like troughs, hollowed out of single trees; but their cattle we bought on shore. I observed the people to be straight, well-limbed, and able-bodied men, of a very dark tawny colour. Most of the men, and all the women, were entirely naked, except merely

merely enough to hide their parts of shame. Some few of the men wore long garments, after the fashion of the Arabs, whose language they spoke, and were likewise of the Mahometan religion, and so rigid, that they would not suffer us to come near their places of worship. They have good convenient dwellings, and fair sepulchres for their dead.

They seemed to live under strict obedience to a king, whose residence was some miles up the country, as they required to have his leave, which was sent for, before they would sell us any provisions. When informed of our arrival, their king sent a message of welcome to our commander, together with a present of beeves, goats, and choice fruits; in return for which, he was well recompensed and contented, by a present of paper, and other English toys. We saw some Spanish money among them, of which they made so small account, that some of our men got rials of eight, in exchange for a little paper, or a few beads. What use they made of the paper, we could not guess. The cocoa-nut tree, of which this island has abundance, may have the pre-eminence of all trees, in my opinion, by its universal usefulness. Without the help of any other, one may build and furnish out a ship for sea, with every thing requisite. Of the body of this tree may be made timbers, planks, and masts; its gum may serve for paying the bottom; the rind of the same tree will make sails and cordage; and the large nut, being full of kernel and pleasant liquor, will serve those who navigate the ship both for meat and drink, as also for merchandize.

Being well stored with these nuts, and other good provisions, after six days abode here, the breaches in our ships received in fight being all repaired, and our men well refreshed, we put again to sea on the 16th of August, with a prosperous wind. On the 24th, we passed under the line, without any heat to offend us, bending our course for Socotora, near the mouth of the Red Sea, an island whence comes our Socotorine aloes. But an adverse wind from the coast of Arabia prevented us from being able to fetch that island, which we passed on the 1st September.

In the year before, our English fleet touched at this island, on which occasion the petty king came to the water-side, and hearing some of our wind-instruments, asked if they ever played David's Psalms, which he had heard of, being a Mahometan. He was answered by one who stood by, that they did.

did. On which he observed, that it was an evil invention of him who first mingled music with religion; as God, before that, was worshipped in heart, but by this only in sound. I mean not by this story to condemn the use of music in churches; leaving it to him who bids us praise the Lord with stringed instruments and organs, to plead that cause.

Missing our port of Socotora, we proceeded on our voyage; and, on the 4th of September, we celebrated a solemn funeral in memory of our slain commander; when, after sermon, the great guns and small arms gave a loud peal to his honourable remembrance. At night on the 6th September, to our great admiration and fear, the water of the sea seemed as white as milk. Others of our nation since, passing in the same course, have observed the same phenomenon, of which I am yet to learn the cause, as it was far from any shore, and we could find no ground.

On the 21st of September we discovered the main land of India; and on the 22d had sight of Diu and Damaun, cities inhabited by the Portuguese. The 25th we came safely to anchor in Swally roads, within the bay of Cambay, which is the harbour for our fleet while in this part of India, when we were visited by the merchants of the Surat factory, the principal of whom was Mr Thomas Kerridge.

§ 2. *Description of the Mogul Empire.*

Although this account of Hindoostan, or the Mogul empire in India, be very incorrect, and in some places hardly intelligible, it is here retained, as a curious record of the knowledge possessed on that subject by the English about 200 years ago. We have two editions of this account in Purchas, one appended to his narrative of Sir Thomas Roe, and the other in this relation by Terry, which he acknowledges to be the most correct, and which therefore is alone retained. On the present occasion, instead of encumbering the bottoms of our pages with the display of numerous explanatory notes on this topographical list of places and provinces, a running commentary has been introduced into the text, so far as seemed necessary, yet distinguished sufficiently from the original notices by Terry. The observations, by way of commentary, are marked, as this paragraph.—E.

The large empire of the Great Mogul is bounded on the east

east by the kingdom of Maug;[1] on the west by Persia; on the north by the mountains of Caucasus [Hindoo-Kho] and Tartary; and on the south by the ocean, the Deccan, and the bay of Bengal. The Deccan is divided among three Mahometan kings and some Indian rajahs. This extensive monarchy of the Mogul is called, in the Persian language, by the Mahometan inhabitants, Indostan or Hindoostan, meaning the land of the Hindoos, and is divided into *thirty-seven* distinct and large provinces, which were anciently separate kingdoms. Their several names, with their principal cities, their rivers, situations, and borders, together with their length and breadth, I shall now enumerate, beginning at the north-west.

1. *Candahar*, the chief city of which is of the same name, lies N.W. from the heart or centre of the Mogul territory, bordering upon Persia, of which kingdom it was formerly a province.

2. *Cabul*, with its chief city of the same name, lies in the extremest north-west corner of this empire, bordering to the north on Tartary for a great way. The river Nilab takes its rise in this country, and runs to the southwards, till it discharges its waters into the Indus.—This is a material error. The Nilab is the main stream of the Indus, and rises far to the north in Little Thibet, a great way N.E. of Cabul. The river of Cabul is the Kameh, which runs S.E. and joins the Nilab, Sinde, or Indus, a few miles above Attock. Another river, in the south of Cabul, called the Cow, or Coumul, follows a similar direction, and falls into the western side of the Indus, about forty miles below the Kameh.—E.

3. *Multan*, Moultan or Mooltan, having its chief city of the same name, is south [south-east] from Cabul and Candahar, and on the west joins with Persia.—This is an error, as Hajykan, to be noticed next in order, is interposed.—E.

4. *Hajacan*, or Hajykan, the kingdom of the Baloches, who are a stout warlike people, has no renowned city. The famous river Indus, called *Skind* [Sind or Sindeh] by the inhabitants, borders it on the east, and Lar, or Laristan, meets it on the west, a province belonging to Shah Abbas, the present

[1] Meckely, now a province of the Birman empire; perhaps called Maug in the text, from a barbarous tribe called the Muggs, or Maugs, who inhabit, or did inhabit, the mountains east of Bengal, and who are said to have laid waste and depopulated the Sunderbunds, or Delta of the Ganges.—E.

sent king of Persia.—In modern geography, the country of the Ballogees, or Baloches, is placed considerably more to the north-west, bordering on the south-east of Candahar; and the Sewees are placed more immediately west of this province. The seats, however, of barbarous hordes, in a waste and almost desert country, are seldom stationary for any continuance; and the Ballogees and Sewees are probably congeneric tribes, much intermixed, and having no fixed boundaries. We have formerly seen the Baloches, or a tribe of that nation, inhabiting the oceanic coast of Persia about Guadel, and one of their tribes may have been in possession of Hajykan, which perhaps derived its name from their chief or khan having made the Haji, or pilgrimage of Mecca. The assertion that Hajykan joins with Lar, or Laristan, is grossly erroneous, as the eastern provinces of Persia which confine with Hindoostan, are Segistan in the north, bordering with Candahar, and Mekran in the south, bordering with the provinces of Hindoostan which are to the west of the Indus. Lar or Laristan is a Persian province within the gulf of Persia, at least 850 English miles from the most westerly part of Hindoostan.—E.

5. *Buckor*, or Backar, its chief city being Buckor-Suckor. The river Indus pervades this province, which it greatly enriches.—In modern maps, the city of Backar is placed in a small island in the middle of the Indus, at the junction of the Dummoddy from the N.E. Suckar, whence probably our word sugar is derived, is given as a distinct place, on the western side of the Indus. Indeed, in the map of India given in the Pilgrims, Backar and Suckar are made distinct places, but their situations are reversed.—E.

6. *Tatta*, with its chief city of the same name. This province is exceedingly fertile and pleasant, being divided into many islands by the Indus, the chief arm of which meets the sea at Synde, a place very famous for curious handicrafts.—The most western branch of the Indus, called the Pitty river, from a place of that name on its western shore near the mouth, is probably that here meant. That branch leads to Larry-bunder, the sea-port of Tatta; and the Synde of Terry is probably the Diul-sinde of other authors, a place situated somewhat in this neighbourhood, but which is not to be found in modern maps.—E.

7. *Soret*, the chief city of which is called Janagur, is a small, but rich province, which lies west from Guzerat, having

ving the ocean to the south.—Soret is not now recognized as a distinct province or district, but seems the modern Werrear, the western district of Guzerat, Rhadunpoor appearing to be its chief town. Janagur, in this district, is on the west side of the river Butlass, or Banass, which runs into the head of the gulf of Cutch.—E.

8. *Jesselmere,* of which the chief city has the same name, joins with Soret Backar and Tatta, being to the south of Soret and Tatta, and having Backar on the west.

9. *Attock,* the chief city being of the same name, lies on the east side of the Indus, which parts it from Hajykan.—This account is erroneous, as Attock-Benares is much farther up the river Indus than Hajykan, having the eastern extremity of Cabul on the opposite side of the Indus.—E.

10. *Punjab,* which signifies the *five waters,* because it is seated among five rivers, all tributaries to the Indus, which, somewhat to the south of Lahore, form only one river. This is a great kingdom, and extremely rich and fertile. Lahore, the chief city, is well built, very large, populous, and rich, being the chief mart of trade in all India.

11. *Chishmeere,* Kyshmir, Cachmir, or Cashmere, its chief city being Siranakar. The river Phat passes through this country, and, after creeping about many islands, falls into the Indus.—The rivers of Cashmere, here called the Phat, are the Chota-sing, or Jellum, in the N. and the Jellium, or Colhumah, in the S. which unite in the W. to form the Jhylum or Babut, the Phat or Bhat of Terry and Purchas, and the Hydaspes of the ancients, one of the *five rivers* of the Indus. The present capital of Cashmere is likewise named Cashmere; but has in its close neighbourhood a town or fortress called Sheergur, the Siranakar of Terry.—E.

12. *Banchish,* with its chief city named Bishur. It lies east southerly from Cashmere, from which it is divided by the river Indus.—No such province or city is to be found in the modern geography of Hindoostan, neither any names in the indicated direction that have any resemblance to these. In the map of the Mogul empire in the Pilgrims, appended to the journal of Sir Thomas Roe, Banchish and Bishar are placed on a river named the Kaul, being the *fourth* of the Punjab or five rivers, counting from the west, and therefore probably the Ravey, or Hydraotes of the ancients. Near the head of that river, and to the east of Cashmere, is a town called Kishtewar, which may possibly have been the Bishur of

of Terry: But there is a little-known district near the head of the Jumna, S.S.E. from Cashmere, named Besseer, that has considerable resemblance in sound to Bishur, and is in the indicated direction.—E.

13. *Jengapor,* with its chief city likewise so named, lies on the Kaul, one of the five rivers that water the Punjab.—The only place upon the Ravey, which answers to the Kaul, which has the smallest resemblance with Jengapor, or Jenupur, as it is likewise called by Purchas, is Shawpoor, N.E. from Agra. Yet Jaypoor, otherwise called Jyenagur, in Ajmeer, is more probably the district and city here meant, though not in the Punjab.—E.

14. *Jenba,* its chief city so called, lies east of the Punjab.—This may possibly be Jambae, north of Lahore.—E.

15. *Delli,* or Delhi, its chief city being of the same name, lies between Jenba and Agra, the river Jemni, which runs through Agra and falls into the Ganges, begins in this province. Delhi is a great and ancient city, the seat of the Mogul's ancestors, and where most of them are interred.—The Jumnah, or Jemni of Terry, rises far to the north of Delhi, in the high-peaked mountain of Cantal to the east of Cashmere.—E.

16. *Bando,* its chief city so called, borders with Agra on the west.—No such name is to be found in modern maps.—E.

17. *Malwa* is a very fertile province, of which Rantipore is the chief city.—In the other edition of this list in the Pilgrims, Ugen, Nar, and Sering, or Oojain, Indore, and Serong, are said to have been the capitals of Malwa. The Rantipore of Terry may have been that now called Ramypoor.—E.

18. *Chitor,* an ancient and great kingdom, its chief city being of the same name.—Chitore is in the south of Ajmeer. In the edition of this list given by Purchas at the end of the journal of Sir Thomas Roe, he gives the following account of Chitore: "Chitore stands upon a mighty hill, and is walled round in a circuit of ten English miles. There still remain at this place above an hundred temples, the palace of the ancient kings, and many brave pillars of carved stone. There is but one ascent to the place, cut out of the solid rock, and passing through four magnificent gateways. Within the walls are the ruins of 100,000 houses of stone, but it is now uninhabited. This was doubtless one of the residences of Porus,

Porus, and was won from the Ranna, his descendant, by Akbar shah, the father of the reigning Mogul. The Ranna fled into the fastnesses of his mountains, and took up his residence at Odeypoor; but was at length induced, in 1614, to acknowledge the Mogul as his superior lord, by Sultan Churrum, third son of the present emperor Shah Jehanguire. This kingdom lies N.W. from Candeish, N.E. from Guzerat, and in the way between Agra and Surat; the Ranna keeping among the hills to the west of Ahmedabad.—*Purch.*

19. *Guzerat* is a goodly and mighty kingdom, and exceedingly rich, which incloses the bay of Cambay. The river Taptee waters the city of Surat, which trades to the Red Sea, to Acheen, and to divers other places.

20. *Khandesh,* the chief city of which is Brampore, [Boorhanpoor, or Burhampore,] which is large and populous. Adjoining to this province is a petty prince called Partapshah, tributary to the Mogul; and this is the most southerly part of the Mogul dominions.

21. *Berar,* the chief city of which is called Shahpoor. The southermost part of this province likewise bounds the Mogul empire.—The Shahpoor of Terry may possibly be Saipoor in the north of Berar. In modern days, the chief cities of the great province or kingdom of Berar, now belonging to a Mahratta chief, are Nagpoor, Ruthunpoor, and Sonepoor.—E.

22. *Narwar,* its chief city being Gohud, is watered by a fair river that falls into the Ganges.—This province of Narwar, now called Gohud, from its chief city, is to be carefully distinguished from Marwar to the westwards.—E.

23. *Gualior,* with its chief city of the same name, in which the Mogul has a great treasury in bullion. In this city likewise there is an exceedingly strong castle, in which state prisoners are kept.—Gualior is, properly speaking, in the same province or district with Gohud.—E.

24. *Agra* is a principal and great province, its chief city being of the same name. From Agra to Lahore, the two chief cities of this empire, the distance is about 400 English miles, the country in all that distance being without a hill, and the road being planted the whole way with trees on both sides, forming a beautiful avenue.

25. *Sanbal,* with its chief city of the same name. The river Jumna parts this province from that called Narwar.—

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This province and city are not to be traced in modern maps.—E.

26. *Bakar,* the chief city of which is Bikaneer, lies on the west side of the Ganges.—Nothing resembling either name can now be found in the indicated situation in modern maps. Bicaneer is a district and town in the desert, far west of the Ganges.—E.

27. *Nagracutt,* or Nakarkut, with its chief city of the same name, in which there is a temple most richly adorned, the ceiling and pavement being of plates of pure gold. In this place they have an idol called Matta, visited yearly by many thousands of the Indians, who, from devotion, cut out part of their tongues, which they sacrifice at his altar. In this province likewise, there is another famous place of pilgrimage, Jallamaka, where there are daily to be seen incessant eruptions of fire, out of cold springs and hard rocks, before which the idolaters fall down and worship.—In the edition of this list, appended by Purchas to the journal of Sir Thomas Roe, this district and city are said to be in the north-easternmost confines of the Mogul dominions, N.E. from the head of the bay of Bengal. This description is however entirely at variance with the accompanying map in the Pilgrims, in which Nagracutt and its capital are placed east from the Punjab; the capital being on the easternmost of the five rivers or the Setlege, and towards its head. In the edition of this list given by Churchill, as an appendix likewise to Sir Thomas Roe, Nagracutt is said to lie to the north, between the Punjab and Jamboe. In our best modern maps, no district or place, having the smallest resemblance in name, is to be found in any of these indicated situations. Terry gives no reference as to situation; so that we may conjecture that Nagracutt may refer to Nucker-gaut, the passage of the Ganges through the Sewalick mountains, between Serinagur and Hindoostan.—E.

28. *Siba,* the chief city of which is Hardwair, or Hurdwar, where the famous river Ganges seems to begin, and issues out of a rock, which the superstitious Gentiles imagine resembles a cow's head, which animal they hold in the highest veneration; and to this place they resort daily in great numbers to wash themselves.

29. *Kakares,* the principal cities being Dankalee and Purhola. This country is very mountainous, and is divided from Tartary by the mountains of Caucasus, being the farthest north

north of any part of the Mogul dominions.—In the map of Purchas, this province or kingdom is called Kares, and is placed directly to the north of where the Ganges breaks through the Sewalick mountains, above Hurdwar, at the *Cow's-mouth*. In that direction are the little-known districts of Serinagur, Badry-cazram, and others; but no names either of towns or districts that in the least resemble those given by Terry.—E.

30. *Gor*, its chief city of the same name. This province is full of mountains, and in it begins the river Persilis, which discharges its waters into the Ganges.—In the other copy of this list in Purchas, so often already referred to, Gor is said to lie in the northern part of the Mogul dominions. From this, and the mountainous nature of the country, as stated by Terry, it may possibly be Gorcah, one of the little-known *twenty-four rajahs*, to the west of Napaul; and the Persilis of Terry may be the Sursutty or the Marshandy, both head streams of the Gunduck.—E.

31. *Pitan*, and its chief city so named. The river Kanda waters this province, and falls into the Ganges on its confines.—This is probably one of the *twenty-four* rajahs, called Peytahn, in the mountainous country to the north of Oude, which is watered by several of the head streams of the Gunduck and Booree or Rapty rivers.—E.

32. *Kanduana*, the chief city of which is called Karhakatenka. The river Sersili parts it from Pitan; and this province, with Pitan and Gor, are the north-east boundaries of this great monarchy.—The indicated connection with Gor and Pitan, or Gorcah and Peytahn, would lead to suppose that Napaul is here meant. Karhakatenka may possibly be some name of Catmandoo, or may have some reference to Kyraut, a district in the east of Napaul, bordering on Bootan. The river Sersili of this district is evidently the Persilis mentioned in Gor, and may refer to the Sursutty.—E.

33. *Patna*, the chief city of which has the same name. The river Ganges bounds this province on the west, and the Sersilis on the east. It is a very fertile province.—In the former edition of this list by Purchas, this province is said to be watered by four rivers, the Ganges, Jumna, Sersili, and Kanda, all of which rivers here unite. Patna is seated on the south side of the Ganges, which is joined a little way higher up by the Jumna. Opposite to Patna the Gunduck falls into the Ganges, probably the Kanda of Purchas, of which the

 Sursutty,

Sursutty, formerly supposed to be the same with the Sersili, or Persilis, is one of the feeders. Patna is well known as a principal city of Bahar.—E.

34. *Jesual*, the chief city of which is called Rajapore, lies east of Patna.—This may possibly refer to the district and city of Hajipoor in Bahar, to the N.E. of Patna.—E.

35. *Mevat*, the chief city of which province is Narnol, is a very mountainous country.—In the map of the Pilgrims, Mevat and Narnol are placed to the east of Jesual, but the geography of this part of Hindoostan in that map is utterly unintelligible, and no conjecture can be hazarded respecting either Mevat or Narnol.—E.

36. *Udessa*, the chief city of which is called Jokanat, is the most easterly territory in the kingdom of the Mogul.—In the other edition of this list given by Purchas, Udessa, or Udeza, is said to border on the kingdom of Maug, a savage people dwelling between this province and the kingdom of Pegu. Its eastern situation would lead to the province of Chittagong or Islambabad. The Maugs, or Mugs, are probably the barbarous mountaineers of Meckley to the north of Aracan; but no names in modern maps have any reference to Udessa, Udeza, or Jokanat, unless Jokanat be some strange corruption of Chittagong.—E.

37. *Bengal*, a mighty and fertile kingdom, bounded by the gulf or bay of the same name, into which the river Ganges discharges itself by four great branches, into which it divides.—In the other edition of this list, by Purchas, so often referred to, Ragamahall and Dakaka, or Rajemal and Dacca, are mentioned as the chief cities of Bengal. It would require far too long a commentary, to explain some farther ignorant indications of the havens and provinces of Bengal, contained in that former list, and in the map of the Pilgrims; both being so faulty in positions, and so corrupted in the names, as to be useless and unintelligible. By the labours of Rennel, as since extended and improved by Arrowsmith, the geography of Bengal is now as completely elucidated as that of Britain.—E.

Here I must take notice of a material error in our geographers, who, in their globes and maps, make Hindoostan and China neighbours, though many large countries are interposed between them. Their great distance may appear, from the long travels of the Indian merchants, who are usually more than two years in their journey and return, be-

tween

tween Agra and the wall of China. The length of these before-named provinces, from N.W. to S.E. is at least 1000 cosses, every Indian coss being two English miles. From N. to S. the extent is about 1400 miles. The greatest breadth, from N.E. to S.W. is about 1500 miles. The northernmost part is in 43° of north latitude.[2]

To give an exact account of all these provinces, were more than I am able to undertake; yet, from what I have observed of a few, I may venture to conjecture concerning the rest, and I am convinced that the Great Mogul, considering the extent of his territories, his wealth, and the rich commodities of his dominions, is the greatest known monarch of the east, if not in the whole world. This widely extended sovereignty is so rich and fertile, and so abounding in all things for the use of man, that it is able to subsist and flourish of itself, without the help of any neighbour. To speak first of food, which nature requires most. This land abounds in singularly good wheat, rice, barley, and various other grains, from which to make bread, the staff of life. Their wheat grows like ours, but the grain is somewhat larger and whiter, of which the inhabitants make most pure and well-relished bread. The common people make their bread in cakes, which they bake or fire on portable iron hearths or plates, which they carry with them on their journeys, using them in their tents. This seems to be an ancient custom, as appears from the instance of Sarah in our bible, when she entertained the angels.

To their bread, they have great abundance of other excellent provisions, as butter and cheese in great plenty, made from the milk of their numerous cows, sheep, and goats. They have likewise a large animal, called a buffalo, having a thick smooth skin without hair, the females of which give excellent milk. Their flesh resembles beef, but is not so sweet or wholesome. They have plenty of venison of several kinds, as red and fallow deer, elks, and antelopes. These are not any where kept in parks, the whole empire being as it were a forest, so that they are seen every where in travelling through the country; and they are free game for all men, except within a certain distance of where the king happens to reside. They have also plenty of hares, with a variety of land

[2] The northern mountains of Cashmere, are only in lat. 35° 30′ N. so that the 43° of the text is probably a mistake for 34°.—E.

land and water fowl, and abundance of fish, which it were too tedious to enumerate. Of fowls, they have geese, ducks, pigeons, partridges, quails, pheasants, and many other good sorts, all to be had at low rates. I have seen a good sheep bought for about the value of our shilling; four couple of hens for the same price; a hare for a penny; three partridges for the same money; and so in proportion for other things.

The cattle of this country differ from ours, in having a great bunch of grisly flesh on the meeting of their shoulders. Their sheep have great bob-tails of considerable weight, and their flesh is as good as our English mutton, but their wool is very coarse. They have also abundance of salt, and sugar is so plentiful, that it sells, when well refined, for two-pence a pound, or less. Their fruits are numerous, excellent, abundant, and cheap; as musk-melons, water-melons, pomegranates, pomecitrons, lemons, oranges, dates, figs, grapes, plantains, which are long round yellow fruits, which taste like our Norwich pears; mangoes, in shape and colour like our apricots, but more luscious, and ananas or pine-apples, to crown all, which taste like a pleasing compound of strawberries, claret-wine, rose-water, and sugar. In the northern parts of the empire, they have plenty of apples and pears. They have every where abundance of excellent roots, as carrots, potatoes, and others; also garlic and onions, and choice herbs for sallads. In the southern parts, ginger grows almost every where.

I must here mention a pleasant clear liquor called *taddy*, which issues from a spungy tree, growing straight and tall without boughs to the top, and there spreads out in branches resembling our English colewarts. They make their incisions, under which they hang small earthenware pots; and the liquor which flows out in the night is as pleasant to the taste as any white wine, if drank in the morning early, but it alters in the day by the sun's heat, becoming heady, ill-tasted and unwholesome. It is a most penetrating medicinal drink, if taken early and in moderation, as some have experienced to their great happiness, by relieving them from the tortures of the stone, that tyrant of maladies and opprobrium of the doctors.

At Surat, and thence to Agra and beyond, it only rains during one season of the year, which begins when the sun comes to the northern tropic, and continues till he returns again

again to the line. These violent rains are ushered in, and take their leave, by most fearful tempests of thunder and lightning, more terrible than I can express, but which seldom do any harm. The reason of this may be the subtile nature of the air, breeding fewer *thunder-stones*, than where the air is grosser and more cloudy. In these three months, it rains every day more or less, and sometimes for a whole quarter of the moon without intermission. Which abundance of rain, together with the heat of the sun, so enriches the soil, which they never force by manure, that it becomes fruitful for all the rest of the year, as that of Egypt is by the inundations of the Nile. After this season of rain is over, the sky becomes so clear, that scarcely is a single cloud to be seen for the other nine months. The goodness of the soil is evident from this circumstance, that though the ground, after the nine months of dry weather, looks altogether like barren sands, it puts on an universal coat of green within seven days after the rains begin to fall. Farther to confirm this, among the many hundreds of acres I have seen in corn in India, I never saw any that did not grow up as thick as it could well stand. Their ground is tilled by ploughs drawn by oxen; the seed-time being in May or the beginning of June, and the harvest in November and December, the most temperate months in all the year. The ground is not inclosed, except near towns and villages, which stand very thick. They do not mow their grass for hay as we do; but cut it either green or withered, when wanted. They sow abundance of tobacco, but know not the way to cure it and make it strong, as is done in America.

The country is beautified by many woods, in which are a great variety of goodly trees; but I never saw any there of the kinds we have in England. In general their trees are full of sap, which I ascribe to the fatness of the soil. Some have leaves as broad as bucklers; others are much divided into small portions, like the leaves of ferns. Such are those of the tamarind tree, which bears an acid fruit in a pod somewhat like our beans, and is most wholesome to cool and purify the blood. One of their trees is worthy of being particularly noticed: Out of its branches there grow certain sprigs or fibres, which hang downwards, and extend till they touch the ground, in which they strike roots, and become afterwards new trunks and firm supporters to the boughs and arms; whence these trees come in time to grow to a great height,

height, and extend to an incredible breadth.[3] All trees in the southern parts of India are perpetually clothed in verdure. Their flowers rather delight the eye than please the sense of smelling, having beautiful colours, but few of them, except roses and one or two other kinds, are any way fragrant.

India is watered by many goodly rivers, the two chief of which are the Indus and the Ganges. There is this remarkable in the water of the Ganges, that a pint of it weighs less by an ounce than that of any other river in the empire; and therefore, wherever the Mogul happens to reside, it is brought to him for his drinking. Besides rivers, there are abundance of well-fed springs, on which they bestow great cost in many places, constructing many stone-buildings in the form of ponds, which they call *tanks*, some of which exceed a mile or two in circuit, made round or square or polygonal, girt all round with handsome stone-walls, within which are steps of well-dressed stone encompassing the water, for people to go down on every side to procure supplies. These tanks are filled during the rainy season, and contain water for the supply of those who dwell far from springs or rivers, till the wet season again returns. Water, the most ancient beverage in the world, is the common drink of India, being more sweet and pleasant than ours, and agrees better with the constitution in this hot country than any other liquor. Some small quantity of wine is made among them, which they call arrack, but is not common, being distilled from sugar, and the spicy rind of a tree, which they call *jagra*. This is very wholesome, if used in moderation. Many of the people, who are strict in their religion, use no wine at all. They use a liquor which is more wholesome than pleasant, called *cohha*; being a black seed boiled in water, which does not much alter the taste of the water, but is an excellent helper of digestion, serving to quicken the spirits, and to purify the blood.[4] There is also another help for digestion and to comfort the stomach, used by those who refrain from wine. This is an herb called betel, or *paune*, its leaf resembling that of our ivy. They chew this leaf along with a hard nut, called *areka*, somewhat like a nutmeg, mixing a little pure white lime among the leaves; and

[3] The Banian tree, a species of Indian fig.—E.

[4] The author here describes coffee, now so universally known in Europe.—E.

and when they have extracted the juice, they throw away the remains. This has many rare qualities: It preserves the teeth, comforts the brain, strengthens the stomach, and prevents a bad breath.

Their houses are generally very mean, except in the cities, where I have seen many fair buildings. Many of the houses in these are high, with flat roofs, where, in the cool of the mornings and evenings, they enjoy the fresh air. Their houses have no chimneys, as they use no fires, except for dressing their victuals. In their upper rooms, they have many windows and doors, for admitting light and air, but use no glass. The materials of their best houses are bricks and stone, well squared and built, as I have observed in Ahmedabad, which may serve as an instance for all. This is an extensive and rich city, compassed about with a strong stone-wall, and entered by twelve handsome gates. Both in their towns and villages, they have usually many fair trees among the houses, being a great defence against the violence of the sun. These trees are commonly so numerous and thick, that a city or town, when seen at a distance from some commanding eminence, seems a wood or thicket.

The staple commodities of this empire are indigo and cotton. To produce cotton, they sow seeds, which grow up into bushes like our rose-trees. These produce first a yellow blossom, which falls off, and leaves a pod about the size of a man's thumb, in which the substance at first is moist and yellow. As this ripens, it swells larger, till at length it bursts the covering, the cotton being then as white as snow. It is then gathered. These shrubs continue to bear for three or four years, when they have to be rooted out, and new ones substituted. Of this vegetable wool, or cotton, they fabricate various kinds of pure white cloth, some of which I have seen as fine as our best lawns, if not finer. Some of the coarser sorts they dye in various colours, or stain with a variety of curious figures.

The ships that go usually from Surat to Mokha, are of exceeding great burden, some of them, as I believe, exceeding 1400 or 1600 tons; but they are ill built, and though they have good ordnance, they are unable for any defence. In these ships there are yearly a vast number of passengers: As, for instance, in that year in which we left India, there came 1700 persons, most of whom went not for profit, but out of devotion, to visit the sepulchre of Mahomet at Medina

dina near Mecca, about 150 leagues from Mokha. Those who have been upon this pilgrimage are ever after called *hoggeis*, [*hajim*] or holy men. This ship, from Surat for the Red Sea, begins her voyage about the 20th of March and returns to Surat about the end of September following. The voyage is short, and might easily be made in two months; but during the long season of the rains, and a little before and after, the winds are mostly so violent that there is no putting to sea without extreme hazard. The cargo of this ship, on its return, is usually worth £200,000 sterling, mostly in gold and silver. Besides this, and the quantities of money which come yearly out of Europe, which I do not pretend to calculate, many streams of silver flow continually thither, and there abide. It is lawful for all to bring in silver, and to carry away commodities, but it is a capital crime to carry away any great sums.

All the coin or bullion that comes to this country is presently melted down and refined, and coined with the stamp of the Mogul, being his name and title in Persian characters. This coin is purer silver than any other that I know, being of virgin silver without alloy, so that in the Spanish dollar, the purest money in Europe, there is some loss. Their money is called *rupees*, which are of divers values, the meanest being worth two shillings, and the best about two shillings and nine-pence. This is their general money of account. There is in Guzerat a coin of inferior value, called *mamoodies*, worth about twelve-pence each. Both these and the rupees are likewise coined in halves and quarters; so that threepence is the smallest piece of current silver in the country. That which passes current for small change is brass money, which they call *pices*, of which three, or thereabout, are worth an English penny. These are made so massy, that the brass in them, when put to other uses, is well worth the quantity of silver at which they are rated. Their silver money is made both square and round; but so thick, that it never breaks or wears out.

For farther commodities, India yields great store of silk, which they weave very ingeniously, sometimes mixed with gold or silver. They make velvets, sattins, and taffetas, but not so rich as those of Italy. This country also produces many drugs and gums, and particularly the gum-lac, from which hard sealing-wax is made. The earth also yields abundant minerals, as lead, iron, copper, and brass, and, as they

they say, silver; yet, though this be true, they need not work their silver mines, being already so abundantly supplied with that metal from other nations. They have spices from other countries, and especially from Sumatra, Java, and the Molucca islands. They have curious pleasure gardens, planted with fruit-trees and delightful flowers, to which nature lends daily such ample supply, that they seem never to fade. In these places they have pleasant fountains, in which to bathe, and other delights by various conveyances of water, whose silent murmurs sooth their senses to sleep, in the hot season of the day.

Lest this remote country might seem an earthly paradise, without any inconveniences, I must notice that it contains many lions, tigers, wolves, and jackals, which are a kind of wild dogs, besides many other noxious and hurtful animals. In their rivers they have many crocodiles, and on the land many overgrown snakes and serpents, with other venomous and pernicious creatures. In the houses we often meet with scorpions, whose stinging is most painful and even deadly, unless the part be immediately anointed with an oil made of scorpions.[5] The abundance of flies in those parts is likewise an extreme annoyance; as, in the heat of the day, their numbers are so prodigious, that we cannot have peace or rest for them in any part. They cover our meat the moment it is set on the table, wherefore we are obliged to have men standing ready to drive them away with napkins, while we are eating. In the night, likewise, we are much disquieted with musquetos, like our gnats, but somewhat less; and, in the cities, there are such numbers of large hungry rats, that they often bite people as they sleep in their beds.

In this country the winds, which are called monsoons, blow constantly, or altering only a few points, for six months from the south, and other six months from the north. The months of April and May, and the beginning of June, till the rains come, are extremely hot; and the wind, which then sometimes blows gently over the parched ground, becomes so heated, as much oppresses all who are exposed to it: Yet God so mercifully provides for our relief, that most commonly he sends so strong a gale as greatly tempers the sultry air. Sometimes the wind blows very high during the hot and dry season, raising up vast quantities of dust and sand,

[5] This is a mere fancy, as any bland oil is equally efficacious.—E.

sand, like dark clouds pregnant with rain, and which often prodigiously annoy the people among whom they fall. But there is no country without its inconveniences; for the wise Disposer of all events hath attempered bitter things with sweet, to teach mankind that there is no true or perfect contentment to be found, but only in the kingdom of God.

This country has many excellent horses, which the inhabitants know well how to manage. Besides those bred in the country, they have many of the Tartarian, Persian, and Arabian breeds, which last is considered as the best in the world. They are about as large as ours, and are valued among them at as dear a rate as we usually esteem ours, perhaps higher. They are kept very daintily, every good horse being allowed one man to dress and feed him. Their provender is a species of grain called *donna*, somewhat like our pease, which are boiled, and then given cold to the horses, mixed with coarse sugar; and twice or thrice a week they have butter given them to scour their bodies. There are likewise in this country a great number of camels, dromedaries, mules, asses, and some rhinoceroses. These are huge beasts, bigger than the fattest oxen to be seen in England, and their skins lie upon their bodies in plaits or wrinkles.

They have many elephants, the Great Mogul having not fewer than 1400 for his own use, and all the nobles of the country have more or less, some having to the number of an hundred. Though the largest of all terrestrial animals, the elephants are wonderfully tractable, except that they are mad at times; but at all other times, a little boy is able to rule the largest of them. I have seen some thirteen feet high; but I have been often told that some are fifteen feet in height at the least. Their colour is universally black, their skins very thick and smooth, and without hair. They take much delight to bathe themselves in water, and they swim better than any beast I know. They lie down and rise again at pleasure, as other beasts do. Their pace is not swift, being only about three miles an hour; but they are the surest footed beasts in the world, as they never endanger their riders by stumbling. They are the most docile of all creatures, and of those we account merely possessed of instinct, they come nearest to reason. Lipsius, *Cent.* 1, *Epist.* 50, in his observations, taken from others, writes more concerning them than I can confirm, or than any can credit, as I conceive; yet I can vouch for many things which seem to be acts of reason rather

rather than of mere brute sense, which we call instinct. For instance, an elephant will do almost any thing which his keeper commands. If he would have him terrify a man, he will make towards him as if he meant to tread him in pieces, yet does him no hurt. If he would have him to abuse a man, he will take up dirt, or kennel water, in his trunk, and dash it in his face. Their trunks are long grisly snouts, hanging down betwixt their tusks, by some called their hand, which they use very dexterously on all occasions.

An English merchant, of good credit, told me the following story of an elephant, as having happened to his own knowledge at Ajimeer, the place where the Mogul then resided :—This elephant used often to pass through the bazar, or market-place, where a woman who there sold herbs used to give him a handful as he passed her stall. This elephant afterwards went mad,[6] and, having broken his fetters, took his way furiously through the market-place, whence all the people fled as quickly as possible to get out of his way. Among these was his old friend the herb-woman, who, in her haste and terror, forgot to take away her little child. On coming to the place where this woman was in use to sit, the elephant stopped, and seeing the child among the herbs, he took it up gently in his trunk, and laid it carefully on a stall under the projecting roof of a house hard by, without doing it the smallest injury, and then continued his furious course. A travelling jesuit, named Acosta, relates a similar story of an elephant at Goa, as from his own experience.—The king keeps certain elephants for the execution of malefactors. When one of these is brought forth to dispatch a criminal, if his keeper desires that the offender be destroyed speedily, this vast creature will instantly crush him to atoms under his foot; but if desired to torture him, will break his limbs successively, as men are broken on the wheel.

The Mogul takes great delight in these stately animals, and often, when he sits in state, calls for some of the finest and largest to be brought, which are taught to bend before him, as in reverence, when they come into his presence. They often fight before him, beginning their combats like rams, by running furiously against each other, and butting with their foreheads. They afterwards use their tusks and teeth,

[6] This temporary madness of the male elephants is usual in the rutting season.—E.

teeth, fighting with the utmost fury, yet are they most careful to preserve their keepers, so that few of them receive any hurt in these rencounters. They are governed by a hooked instrument of steel, made like the iron end of a boat-hook, with which their keepers, who sit on their necks, put them back, or goad them on, at pleasure.

The king has many of his elephants trained up for war; each of which carries an iron gun about six feet long, which is fastened to a strong square frame of wood on his back, made fast by strong girths or ropes round his body. This gun carries a bullet about the size of a small tennis-ball, and is let into the timber with a loop of iron. The four corners of the wooden frame have each a silken banner on a short pole, and a gunner sits within, to shoot as occasion serves, managing the gun like a harquebuss, or large wall-piece. When the king travels, he is attended by many elephants armed in this manner, as part of his guard. He keeps many of them likewise, merely for state, which go before him, and are adorned with bosses of brass, and some have their bosses made of silver, or even of gold; having likewise many bells jingling about them, in the sound of which the animal delights. They have handsome housings, of cloth, or velvet, or of cloth of silver, or cloth of gold; and, for the greater state, have large royal banners of silk carried before them, on which the king's ensign is depicted, being a lion in the sun. These state-elephants are each allowed three or four men at least to wait upon them. Other elephants are appointed for carrying his women, who sit in pretty convenient receptacles fastened on their backs, made of slight turned pillars, richly covered, each holding four persons, who sit within. These are represented by our painters as resembling castles. Others again are employed to carry his baggage. He has one very fine elephant that has submitted, like the rest, to wear feathers, but could never be brought to endure a man, or any other burden, on his back.

Although the country be very fertile, and all kinds of provisions cheap, yet these animals, because of their vast bulk, are very chargeable in keeping; such as are well fed costing four or five shillings each, daily. They are kept out of doors, being fastened with a strong chain by one of their hind legs to a tree, or a strong post. Thus standing out in the sun, the flies are often extremely troublesome to them; on which occasions they tread the dry ground into dust with their

their feet, and throw it over their bodies with their trunks, to drive away the flies The males are usually mad once a year after the females, at which time they are extremely mischievous, and will strike any one who comes in their way, except their own keeper; and such is their vast strength, that they will kill a horse or a camel with one blow of their trunks. This fury lasts only a few days, when they return to their usual docility. At these times they are kept apart from all company, and fettered with strong chains to prevent mischief. If by chance they get loose in their state of phrenzy, they run at every thing they see in motion; and, in this case, the only possible means of stopping them is by lighting a kind of artificial fire-works called wild-fire, the sparkling and cracking of which make them stand still and tremble.

The king allows four females to each of his great elephants, which are called their wives. The testes of the males are said to lie about his forehead, and the teats of the female are between her fore-legs. She goes twelve months with young. The elephant is thirty years old before he attains his full growth, and they live to seventy or eighty years of age. Although very numerous, elephants are yet so highly prized in India, that some of the best are valued at a thousand pounds or more.

§ 3. *Of the People of Hindoostan, and their Manners and Customs.*

The whole inhabitants of Hindoostan were anciently Gentiles, or notorious idolaters, generally denominated Hindoos, but ever since the time of Tamerlane they have been mixed with Mahometans.[1] There are, besides, many Persians, Tartars, Abyssinians, and Arminians, and some few of almost every nation in Asia, if not in Europe, that reside here. Among these are some Jews, but not esteemed, for their very name is proverbial, as a term of reproach. In stature, the natives of Hindoostan are equal to ourselves, being in general very straight and well-made, for I never saw any deformed person in that country. They are of a dark tawny or olive colour, having their hair as black as a raven, but not curled. They love not to see either a man or a woman very fair,

[1] The Mahomedans made extensive conquests in India long before the era of Timor.—E.

fair, as they say that is the colour of lepers, which are common among them. Most of the Mahometans, except their molahs or priests, or such as are old and retired, keep their chins shaved, but allow the hair on their upper-lips to grow long. They usually shave all the hair from their heads, leaving only one lock on their crowns for Mahomet to pull them by up to heaven. Both among the Gentiles and Mahometans they have excellent barbers. The people often bathe and wash their bodies, and anoint themselves with perfumed oils.

The dresses of the men and women differ very little from each other, and are mostly made of white cotton cloth. In fashion, they sit close to the shape to the middle, and from thence hang loose to below the knee. Under this they wear long close breeches down to their ancles, crumpled about the small of their legs like boots. Their feet are put bare into their shoes, which are made like slippers, that they may be readily put off on entering their houses, the floors of which are covered with excellent carpets of the country manufacture, as good as any made in Turkey or Persia. Instead of these carpets, some have other floor-cloths, according to the quality of the owner. On these they sit when conversing or eating, like tailors on the shop-board. The men's heads are covered by turbans, being sashes, or long webs of thin cloth, white or coloured, wreathed many times about. They do not uncover their heads in making reverence, instead of which they bow their bodies, placing the right hand on the top of the head, after which they touch the earth with that hand, as if indicating that the party saluted may tread upon them if he please. Those who are equals take each other by the chin or beard, as Joab did Amasa; but salute in love, not in treachery.

The Mahometan women, except such as are poor or dishonest, never appear abroad. Though not fair, they are all well favoured, have their heads covered with veils, and their hair hanging down behind, twisted with silk. Those of quality are decorated with many jewels hung around their necks, and about their wrists and arms; and they have several holes round their ears in which they hang pendents, besides that every woman has a hole in her nostrils, in which to wear a ring, which seems to have been an ancient ornament, being mentioned in the Old Testament. Their women are happy above all others I have ever heard of, in the ease

ease with which they bear their children, being one day able to ride with their infants unborn, and to ride again the next with their child in their arms.

The language of the common people of this country, called Hindoostanee, is smooth, and easily pronounced, and is written from left to right, as we do. The learned tongues are the Persian and Arabic, which are written backwards, from right to left, like the Hebrew. There is but little learning among them, which may be owing to the scarcity of books, which are all in manuscript, and therefore few and dear; but they are a people of good capacity, and were they to cultivate literature among them, would assuredly produce many excellent works. They have heard of Aristotle, whom they name *Aplis*, and have some of his writings translated into Arabic. The noble physician, Avicenna, was a native of Samarcandia, the country of Tamerlane, and in this science they possess good skill. The most prevalent diseases of this country are dysenteries, hot fevers, and calentures, in all which they prescribe abstinence as a principal remedy. The filthy disease produced by incontinence is likewise common among them. They delight much in music, having many instruments, both stringed and wind; but, to my ears, their music seemed all discordant. They write many pretty poems, and compose histories and annals of their own country. They profess great skill in astrology, and the king places great confidence in men of that profession, so that he will not undertake a journey, nor do any thing whatever of importance, unless after his wizard has indicated a prosperous hour for the undertaking.

The idolaters begin their year on the 1st of March, and the Mahometans at the instant when the sun enters Aries, as calculated by their astrologers. From which time the king keeps a festival, called the *norose*, or nine days, for which time it continues, like that made by Ahasuerus in the third year of his reign. On this occasion, all his nobles assemble, bringing great gifts, which he repays with princely rewards. Being myself present on this occasion, I beheld most incredible riches, to my amazement, in gold, pearls, precious stones, and many brilliant vanities. I saw this festival celebrated at Mandoa, where the Mogul has a most spacious house or palace, larger than any I ever beheld, in which the many beautiful vaults and arches evince the exquisite skill of his artists in architecture. At Agra he has a palace, in which are

are two large towers, at least ten feet square, covered with plates of pure gold.

The walls of his houses have no hangings, on account of the heat, but are either painted or beautified with a white lime, purer even than that we term Spanish. The floors are either paved with stone or are made of lime and sand, like our Paris plaster, and are spread with rich carpets. None lodge within the king's house but his women and eunuchs, and some little boys, whom he always keeps about him for a wicked use. He always eats in private among his women, being served with a great variety of exquisitely dressed meats, which being proved by his taster, are put into golden vessels, as they say, covered and sealed up, and brought in by the eunuchs. He has meats made ready at all hours, and calls for them at pleasure. These people do not feed freely, as we do, on full dishes of beef or mutton, but use much rice, boiled up along with pieces of flesh, or dressed in a variety of ways. They have not many roasted or baked meats, but stew most of their meat. Among their many dishes, I shall only notice one, called by them *deupario*. This is made of venison cut into slices, to which are put onions and sweet herbs, with some roots, and a little spice and butter, forming the most savoury dish I ever tasted; and I almost think it is the same dish that Jacob made ready for his father Isaac when he got his blessing.

In this kingdom there are no inns or houses of entertainment for travellers and strangers. But, in the cities and large towns, there are handsome buildings for their reception, called *serais*, which are not inhabited, in which any passengers may have rooms freely, but must bring with them their bedding, cooks, and all other necessaries for dressing their victuals. These things are usually carried by travellers on camels, or in carts drawn by oxen; taking likewise tents along with them, to use when they do not find serais. The inferior people ride on oxen, horses, mules, camels, or dromedaries, the women riding in the same manner as the men; or else they use a kind of slight coaches on two wheels, covered at top, and close behind, but open before and at the sides, unless when they contain women, in which case they are close all round. These coaches will conveniently hold two persons, besides the driver, and are drawn by a pair of oxen, matched in colour, many of them being white, and not large. The oxen are guided by cords which go through the middle

middle cartilage of the nose, and so between the horns into the hand of the driver. The oxen are dressed and harnessed like horses, and being naturally nimble, use makes them so expert, that they will go twenty miles a-day or more, at a good pace. The better sort ride on elephants, or are carried singly on men's shoulders, in a slight thing called a *palanquin*, like a couch, but covered by a canopy. This would appear to have been an ancient effeminacy used in Rome, as Juvenal describes a fat lawyer who filled one of them:

Causidici nova, cum veniat lectica Mathonis; plena ipso—

They delight much in hawking, and in hunting hares, deer, and other wild animals. Their dogs of chase somewhat resemble our greyhounds, but are much less, and do not open when in pursuit of their game. They use leopards also in hunting, which attain the game they pursue by leaping. They have a very cunning device for catching wild-fowl, in the following manner:—A fellow goes into the water, having the skin of any kind of fowl he wishes to catch, so artificially stuffed, that it seems alive. Keeping his whole body under water except his face, which is covered by this counterfeit, he goes among the wild-fowl which swim in the water, and pulls them under by the legs. They shoot much for their amusement with bows, which are curiously made of buffaloe's horn, glewed together, their arrows being made of small canes, excellently headed and feathered, and are so expert in archery, that they will kill birds flying. Others take great delight in managing their horses. Though they have not a quarter of a mile to go, they will either ride on horseback or be carried, as men of any quality hold it dishonourable to go on foot any where.

In their houses, they play much at that most ingenious game which we call chess, or else at draughts. They have likewise cards, but quite different from ours. Sometimes they are amused by cunning jugglers, or mountebanks, who allow themselves to be bitten by snakes which they carry about in baskets, immediately curing themselves by means of certain powders which they smell to. They are likewise often amused by the tricks of apes and monkeys. In the southern parts of Hindoostan, there are great numbers of large white apes, some of which are as tall as our largest greyhounds. Some of those birds which make their nests on

trees are much afraid of the apes, and nature has instructed them in a subtle device to secure themselves, by building their nests on the most extreme twigs, and hanging them there like purse-nets, so that the apes cannot possibly come to them.

Every city or great town in India has markets twice a-day, in the cool of the morning just after sun-rise, and again in the evening a little before it sets; and in these they sell almost every thing by weight. In the heat of the day, every one keeps within doors, where those of any rank lie on couches, or sit cross-legged on carpets, having servants about them, who beat the air with fans of stiffened leather, or the like, to cool them. While thus taking their ease, they often call their barbers, who tenderly grip and beat upon their arms and other parts of their bodies, instead of exercise, to stir the blood. This is a most gratifying thing, and is much used in this hot climate.

The Mahometans and Hindoos are much to be commended for their faithfulness as servants; for a stranger may safely travel alone among them with a great charge of money or goods, all through the country, having them for his guard, and will never be neglected or injured by them. They follow their masters on foot, carrying swords and bucklers, or bows and arrows, for their defence; and so plentiful are provisions in this country, that one may hire them on very easy terms, as they do not desire more than five shillings each moon, paid the day after the change, to provide themselves in all necessaries; and for this small pittance give diligent and faithful service. Such is their filial piety, that they will often give the half of these pitiful wages to their parents, to relieve their necessities, preferring almost to famish themselves rather than see them want.

Both among the Mahometans and Hindoos there are many men of most undaunted courage. The *Baloches* are of great note on this account among the Mahometans, being the inhabitants of *Hajykan*, adjoining to the kingdom of Persia; as also the Patans, taking their denomination from a province in the kingdom of Bengal.[2] These tribes dare look their

[2] This is a strange mistake, confounding the city of Patna, in Bengal, in the east of Hindoostan, with the Patans, a race of mountaineers between Cabul and Candahar, far to the west of India, called likewise Afgans, and their country Afganistan.—E.

their enemies in the face, and maintain the reputation of valour at the hazard of their lives. Among the many sects of the Hindoos, there is but one race of warriors, called *Rashbootes*, or Rajaputs, many of whom subsist by plunder, laying in wait in great troops to surprise poor passengers, and butchering all who have the misfortune to fall into their hands. These excepted, all the rest of the natives are in general pusillanimous, and had rather quarrel than fight, being so poor in spirit, in comparison with Europeans, that the Mogul often says, proverbially, That one Portuguese will beat three of them, and one Englishman three Portuguese.

In regard to arms for war, they have good ordnance, which, so far as I could learn, were very anciently used in this country.[3] I have already described the iron pieces carried on elephants. They have smaller guns for the use of their foot-soldiers, who are somewhat long in taking aim, but come as near the mark as any I ever saw. All their pieces are fired with match, and they make excellent gun-powder. They use also lances, swords, and targets, and bows and arrows. Their swords are made crooked like faulchions, and very sharp; but, for want of skill in tempering, will break rather than bend; wherefore our sword-blades, which will bend and become straight again, are often sold at high prices. I have seen horsemen in this country, thus accoutered, carrying as it were a whole armory at once; a good sword by their sides, under which a sheaf of arrows; on their back a gun fastened with belts, a buckler on their shoulders; a bow in a case hanging on their left side, and a good lance in their hand, two yards and a half long, with an excellent steel head. Yet, for all these weapons, dare he not resist a man of true courage, armed only with the worst of all these. The armies in these eastern wars often consist of incredible multitudes, and they talk of some which have exceeded that we read of in the Bible, which Zerah, king of Ethiopia, brought against Asia. Their martial music consists of kettle-drums and

[3] Vertoman says the Portuguese who deserted at the first discovery of India, and entered into the service of the native princes, taught them this art.—*Purch.*

I have somewhere read, many years ago, but cannot recollect the authority, "That, when Alexander besieged a certain city in India, the Brachmans, by the power of magic, raised a cloud of smoke around the walls, whence broke frequent flashes of lightning, with thunder, and the thunderbolts slew many of his soldiers." This would infer the very ancient use of fire-arms of some kind in India.—E.

and long wind-instruments. In their battles, both sides usually begin with most furious onsets; but, in a short time, for want of good discipline, they fall into disorder, and one side is routed with much slaughter.

The Mahometans have fair places of worship, which they call *mesquits*, well built of stone. That side which looks to the westwards is a close-built wall, while that towards the east is erected on pillars, the length being from north to south. At the corners of their great mosques, in the cities, there are high turrets or pinnacles, called *minarets*, to the tops of which their molahs or priests resort at certain times of day, proclaiming their prophet in Arabic, in these words,—*Alla illa Alla, Mahomet resul Alla;* that is, There is no God but God, and Mahomet is the ambassador of God. This is used instead of bells, which they cannot endure in their temples, to put religious persons in mind of their duty. On one occasion, while Mr Coryat was residing in Agra, he got up into a turret over against the priest, and on hearing these words, he contradicted him, calling out, in a loud voice,—*La Alla illa Alla, Hazaret Esa Ebu-Alla;* there is no God but God, and Christ, the Son of God, is his prophet. He farther added, that Mahomet was an impostor. In any other country of Asia, in which Mahomet is zealously followed, this bold attempt had surely forfeited his life, with all the tortures which cruelty could invent, or tyranny inflict; but in this country every one is permitted to follow his own religion, and may even dispute against theirs with impunity.

In regard to their burials, every Mahometan of quality provides a fair sepulchre for himself and his family, in his life-time, surrounding a considerable space of ground with a high wall, and generally in the neighbourhood of some tank, or else near springs of water, that they may make pleasant fountains. Within the enclosure, he erects a round or square tomb, either on pillars or of closed walls, with a door for entrance. The rest of the enclosure is planted with trees and flowers, as if they would make the elysian fields of the poets, in which their souls may repose in delight. They have many such goodly monuments built in memory of those they esteem as saints, of whom they have an ample calendar. In these there are lamps continually burning, and thither many resort in blind devotion, to contemplate the happiness enjoyed by these *peires*, as they call the holy men. Among many sumptuous piles dedicated to this use, the most splendid of them all

all is to be seen at *Secundra*, a village three miles from Agra. This was begun by Akbar Shah, the father of the present king, and finished by his son, the reigning Mogul. Akbar lies here interred, and Jehanguire Shah means to be here buried when he dies.

The molahs, or priests of the Mahometans, employ much of their time as scribes, doing business for other men, having liberty to marry as well as the laity, from whom they are no way distinguished by their dress. Some live retiredly, spending their time in meditation, or in delivering precepts of morality to the people. They are in much esteem, as are another set called *Seids*, who derive their pedigree from Mahomet. The priests neither read nor preach in the mosques; yet there is a set form of prayers in Arabic, not understood by most of the people, but which they repeat as fluently as the molahs. They likewise repeat the name of God, and that of Mahomet, a certain number of times every day, telling over their beads, like the misled papists, who seem to regard the number of prayers more than their sincerity. Before going into their mosques they wash their feet, and, in entering, put off their shoes. On beginning their devotions, they stop their ears, and fix their eyes, that no extraneous circumstances may divert their thoughts, and then utter their prayers in a soft and still voice, using many words significantly expressive of the omnipotence, goodness, eternity, and other attributes of God. Likewise many words full of humility, confessing their unworthiness with many submissive gestures. While praying, they frequently prostrate themselves on their faces, acknowledging that they are burdens upon the earth, poisonous to the air, and the like, and therefore dare not look up to heaven, but comfort themselves in the mercy of God, through the intercession of their false prophet. Many among them, to the shame of us Christians, pray five times a-day, whatever may happen to be their interruptions of pleasure or profit. Their set times are at the hours of six, nine, twelve, three, and six, respectively.

The manner in which they divide the day is quite different from us; as they divide the day and the night each into four equal parts, which they denominate *pores*, and these again are each subdivided into eight smaller parts, called *grees*. [Hence each *pore* contains three of our hours, and each *gree* is equal to 22 ½ of our minutes.] These are measured, according to an ancient custom, by means of water,

dropping

dropping from one small vessel into another, beside which there always stand servants appointed for the purpose, who strike with a hammer upon a concave plate of metal, like the inner portion of a plate, hung by a wire, thus denoting the *pores* and *grees* successively as they pass.[4] Like the mother and her seven sons, mentioned in the Maccabees, such is the temperance of many, both among the Mahometans and Gentiles, that they will rather die than eat or drink of any thing borbidden by their law. Such meats and drinks as their law allows, they use only in moderation, to satisfy nature, not to please their appetites, hating gluttony, and esteeming drunkenness a sin, as it really is, or a second madness; and indeed their language has only one word, *mest*, for a drunkard and a madman.

They keep yearly a solemn feast, or Lent, which they call *Ram-jan*, [Ramadan] about the month of August, which continues a whole moon; during which time, those who are strict in their religious observances, avoid the embraces of their women, and abstain from meat or drink so long as the sun is above the horizon, but eat after it sets, at their pleasure. Towards the close of this Lent, or ramadan, they consecrate one day of mourning, in memory of their departed friends; on which occasions, I have seen many of the meaner people making bitter lamentations. Besides this ordinary and stated time of sadness, many foolish women are in use, oft times in the year, so long as they survive, to water the graves of their husbands or children with the tears of affectionate regret. On the night succeeding the day of general mourning, they light up innumerable lamps, and other lights, which they set on the sides and tops of their houses, and all other most conspicuous places, taking no food till these are burnt out. When the ramadan is entirely ended, the most devout Mahometans assemble at some noted mosque, where some portion of the *Alcoran* is publicly read; this being their holy book, like our Bible, which they never touch without some mark of reverence. They keep a festival in November, which they call *Buccaree*, signifying the *ram-feast*; on which occasion they kill and roast a ram, in memory, as they say, of the ram which redeemed Ishmael, when about to be sacrificed by his father Abraham. They have many other feasts or

[4] This device for measuring time is the same with the *clepsydra*, or water-clocks, of the ancients.—*Purch.*

or holidays consecrated to Mahomet, and their *pieres*, or pretended saints.

They have the books of Moses, whom they name *Moosa curym Alla*, the righteous of God. Abraham they call *Ibrahim calim Alla*, the faithful of God. Thus Ishmael is called the true sacrifice of God ; David is named *Dahoode*, the prophet of God; Solomon is *Seliman*, the wisdom of God, and so forth; all neatly expressed, as the former instances, in short Arabic epithets. In honour of these our scripture worthies, they frequently sing songs or ditties of praise; and, besides, all of them, except those of the ruder sort, when at any time they happen to mention our Saviour, always call him *Hazaret Eesa*, the Lord Jesus; and ever speak of him with respect and reverence, saying, that he was a good and just man, who lived without sin, and did greater miracles than were ever performed before or since. They even call him *Rhahew Alla*, which signifies the breath of God; but cannot conceive how he could be the Son of God, and therefore deny that. Yet the Mahometans look upon us as unclean, and will neither eat with us, nor of any thing that is cooked in our vessels.

There are many men among the Mahometans called *Dervises*, who relinquish the world, and spend their days in solitude, expecting a recompence in a better life. The strict and severe penances these men voluntarily endure, far exceed all those so much boasted of by the Romanist monks. Some of these live alone on the tops of hills, remote from all society, spending their lives in contemplation, and will rather die of famine than move from their cells, being relieved from devotion by those who dwell nearest them. Some again impose long fasts upon themselves, till nature be almost exhausted. Many of those whom they call religious men, wear no garments beyond a mere clout to cover their shame, and beg for all their provisions, like the mendicant friars of Europe. These men usually dwell about the outskirts of the cities and towns, like the man mentioned by our blessed Saviour at the city of the *Gadarens*, who had devils, and wore no clothes, neither abode in any house, but dwelt among the tombs. They make little fires during the day, sleeping at night among the warm ashes, with which they besmear their bodies. These men never suffer a razor to come upon their heads, and some of them let their nails grow like to bird's claws, as it is written of Nebuchadnezzar, when driven out from

from among the society of men. There is also a sort of men among them called *mendee*, who often cut and slash their flesh with knives, like the priests of Baal. I have seen others, who, from supposed devotion, put such massy fetters of iron on their legs, that they are hardly able to move, yet walk in that manner many miles upon pilgrimages, barefooted, upon the parching ground, to visit the sepulchres of their deluding saints; thus, *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum*, taking more pains to go to hell than any Christian that I know does to attain heaven. These do not marry. Such Mahometans as choose to marry, are allowed four wives by the law of Mahomet, but they keep as many concubines as they can maintain. The priests content themselves with one wife.

Notwithstanding their polygamy, such is the violent jealousy of these lustful Mahometans, that they will scarcely allow even the fathers and brothers of their beloved wives or concubines to converse with them, except in their own presence. Owing to this restraint, it has become odious for such women as have the reputation of virtue, to be seen at any time by strangers. If any of them dishonour their husbands beds, or, being unmarried, are found incontinent, even their own brothers will put them to death rather than they should escape punishment; and for such unnatural actions they shall be commended, rather than called in question. Yet is there full toleration for harlots, who are as little ashamed of receiving visits as the men are of frequenting their houses. The women of any fashion are waited upon by eunuchs instead of women-servants; and these eunuchs are deprived in their youth of every thing that can provoke jealousy. Their marriages are solemnised in great pomp. After the molah has joined their hands, with certain ceremonies and words of benediction, they begin their revels at the first watch of the night. Whether the man be poor or rich, he mounts on horseback, attended by his friends, having many *oressets*, or great lights, carried before him, and accompanied by drums, and wind-instruments of music, and various pageantry. The woman follows with her friends, in covered coaches. And having thus paraded through the principal places of the city or town, they return home and partake of a banquet, the men and women being in separate apartments. They are mostly married at the age of twelve or thirteen, the matches being made by their mothers.

§ 4. *Of the Sects, Opinions, Rites, Priests, and other Circumstances of the Hindoo Religion; with other Observations.*

The Hindoos[1] are distributed into eighty and four several sects, all of which differ materially in opinions. This has often filled me with wonder; but I know that they are all deluded by Satan, who is the father of division. Their illiterate priests are called *Bramins*, being the same with the *Brachmanni* of the ancients; and, for aught I could learn, are so sottishly ignorant and unsteady, that they know not what they believe. They have little round-built temples, which they call *pagodas*, in which are images in most monstrous shapes, which they worship. Some of them dream of Elysian fields, to which their souls pass over a Styx or Acheron, and there assume new bodies. Others hold that ere long, this world shall have an end, after which they shall live here again, upon a new earth. They talk of four books which were sent them about 6000 years ago by their prophet *Ram*, two of which were sealed up and might not be opened, the other two being read by the Bramins only. They say that there are seven orbs, above which is the seat of God; and they hold that God knoweth not of petty things, or, if he doth, regardeth them not. They circumscribe God in place or dimensions, alleging that he may be seen, but far off as in a mist, and not near or clearly. They believe in the existence of devils or evil spirits; but that they are so bound in chains, as to be incapable of doing hurt. They call man Adam, from the first man of that name; whose wife, as they say, when tempted with the forbidden fruit, swallowed it down; but, as her husband was about to do the same, it was stopped in his throat by the hand of God: Whence men have a protuberance in that part, which we call the *pomum adami*, which women have not.

As anciently among the Jews, the priesthood is hereditary with this people; every son of a Bramin being a priest, and marries with the daughter of a Bramin. So also among all the

[1] By Terry, the Hindoos are uniformly denominated the *Gentiles*, a word of vague and general meaning, merely signifying idolaters, or unbelievers, literally the nations, as contradistinguished from the Jews. By some authors, the natives of Hindoostan are called Gentoos, a word of uncertain origin. The term of Hindoo seems the more appropriate name, at least it has now become universal.—E.

the Hindoos, the men take their wives among the daughters of those who are of the same tribe, sect, and occupation, with their own fathers. Thus the son of a merchant marries a merchant's daughter, and every man's son that lives by his labour, marries the daughter of one of the same profession with himself, so that they never advance themselves to higher situations. The Hindoos take but one wife, of whom they are not so fearful as are the Mahometans of their numerous women, for they are suffered to go abroad. They are always married very young, at six or seven years of age, their parents making the contracts, and they come together when twelve years old. Their nuptials are celebrated with as much pomp and jollity as those of the Mahometans. The habits of the Hindoos differ little from those of the Mahometans, already described; but many of their women wear rings on their toes, and therefore go barefooted. They have likewise broad rings of brass, or of more valuable metal, according to their rank and wealth, which they wear about the small of their legs, being made to put off and on. These seem to resemble the tinkling ornaments about the feet, mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, or the ornaments of the legs, anciently in use among the Jewish women. They have also such on their arms. The laps of their ears are pierced when young, and the hole is daily stretched and widened, by things put in on purpose, so that it at length becomes large enough to hold a ring as broad as a little saucer, made hollow in its edges to contain the flesh. Both men and women wash their bodies every day before they eat, and they sit entirely naked at their food, excepting only the covering of modesty. This outward washing, as they think, tends to cleanse them from sin, not unlike the Pharisees in scripture, who would not eat with unwashed hands. Hence, they ascribe a certain divine influence to rivers, but above all to the Ganges, daily flocking thither in great companies, and throwing in pieces of gold and silver, according to their devotion or abilities, after which they wash themselves in the sacred stream. Both men and women paint their foreheads, or other parts of their faces, with red or yellow spots.

In regard to their grosser opinions, they do not believe in the resurrection of the flesh, and therefore burn the bodies of their dead, near some river if they can, into which they strew the ashes. Their widows never marry again; but, after the loss of their husbands, cut their hair close off, and spend all their

their remaining life in neglect; whence it happens, that many young women are ambitious to die with honour, as they esteem it, throwing themselves for love of their departed husbands into the flames, as they think, of martyrdom. Following their dead husband to the pile, and there embracing his corpse, they are there consumed in the same fire. This they do voluntarily, and without compulsion, their parents, relations, and friends joyfully accompanying them; and, when the pile of this hellish sacrifice begins to burn, all the assembled multitude shout and make a noise, that the screams of the tortured living victims may not be heard. This abominable custom is not very much unlike the custom of the Ammonites, who made their children pass through the fire to Moloch, during which they caused certain tabrets or drums to sound, whence the place was called *Tophet*, signifying a tabret. There is one sect among the Hindoos, called *Parsees*, who neither burn nor inter their dead. They surround certain pieces of ground with high walls, remote from houses or public roads, and there deposit their dead, wrapped in sheets, which thus have no other tombs but the maws of ravenous fowls.[a]

The Hindoos are, generally speaking, an industrious race; being either cultivators of the ground, or otherwise diligently employed in various occupations. Among them there are many curious artificers, who are the best imitators in the world, as they will make any thing new very exactly after a pattern. The Mahometans, on the contrary, are generally idle, being *all for to morrow*, a common saying among them, and live by the labours of the Hindoos. Some of these poor deluded idolaters will eat of nothing which has had life, feeding on grain, herbs, milk, butter, cheese, and sweetmeats, of which last they have various kinds, the best and most wholesome of which is green ginger remarkably well preserved. Some tribes eat fish, and of no other living thing. The Rajaput tribe eat swine's flesh, which is held in abomination by the Mahometans. Some will eat of one kind of flesh, and some of another; but all the Hindoos universally abstain from beef, owing to the reverence they entertain for cows; and therefore give large sums yearly to the Mogul, besides

[a] These Parsees, called *Parcees* in the Pilgrims, and Guebres by other writers, are a remnant of the ancient Persians, who are fire-worshippers, or followers of Zerdust, the Zoroaster of the Greeks.—E.

besides his other exactions, as a ransom for the lives of these sacred animals. Whence, though they have other and good provisions in abundance, we meet with very little meat in that country.

The most tender-hearted among the idolaters are called *Banians*, who hold the *metempsychosis* of Pythagoras as a prime article of their faith, believing that the souls of the best men and women, when freed from the prison of their human bodies, transmigrate into the bodies of cows, which they consider as the best of all creatures. They hold that the souls of the wicked go into the bodies of viler beasts; as the souls of gluttons into swine, those of the voluptuous and incontinent into apes and monkies; the souls of the cruel, furious, and revengeful, into lions, tigers, and wolves; the souls of the envious into serpents; and so forth, according to their qualities and dispositions; transmigrating successively from one to another of the same kind, *ad infinitum*; and, by consequence, believing in the eternal duration of the world. Thus, according to them, there does not exist even a silly fly but is actuated by a soul formerly human, considering these to have formerly belonged to light women; and so incorrigible are their sottish opinions, that they cannot be persuaded out of them by any reasoning. Owing to these opinions, they will not put to death the most offensive animals, not even the most venemous snakes, saying, that it is their nature to do harm, and that man is gifted with reason to shun these noxious creatures, but not at liberty to destroy them.

Many men devote their fortunes to works of charity, as in building *serais*, or lodging-houses for travellers, digging wells, or constructing tanks near highways, that the travellers may have water; and where such cannot be had, they will hire poor men to sit by the way-sides, and offer water to the passengers. The day of rest among the Hindoos is Thursday, as Friday is among the Mahometans, Saturday with the Jews, and Sunday with the Christians.[3] They have many solemn festivals, and they make pilgrimages, among which the most famous are *Nagracut* and *Syba*, formerly mentioned; where, if Mr Coryat may be believed, who says he carefully observed the same, people cut off part of

[3] Monday is the day of rest with the people of Pegu. In Java, each individual keeps that day holy on which he has begun some great work.—*Purch.*

of their tongues out of devotion. It were easy to enlarge on this subject, but I will not any farther describe their stupid idolatry. The sum of the whole is, that both the Hindoos and Mahometans ground all their opinions on tradition, not on reason, and are content to perish with their forefathers, out of preposterous zeal and fond perverseness, never rightly considering the grounds of their belief.

Both the Mahometans and Hindoos are under subjection to the Great Mogul, the term *Mogul* signifying a circumcised man, so that *Great Mogul* means the Chief of the Circumsicion. The present king is the ninth in lineal descent from that famous eastern conqueror, whom we name Tamerlane, and who in their histories is named Timor. Towards the close of his life, he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, which made him halt during the remainder of his days, whence he was called *Timur-lang*, or Timur the lame. The emperor styles himself *The King of Justice, the Light of the Law of Mahomet, and the Conqueror of the World.* He himself judges and determines on all matters of importance which occur near his residence, judging according to allegations and proofs, by his own sense of right. The trials are conducted quickly, and the sentences speedily executed, culprits being hanged, beheaded, impaled, torn by dogs, destroyed by elephants, bitten by serpents, or other devices, according to the nature of the crimes; the executions being generally in the public market-place. The governors of provinces and cities administer justice in a similar manner. I could never hear of any written law, the will of the king and his substitutes being the law. His vicegerents are not allowed to continue long in one place, lest they acquire popularity, and are therefore usually removed yearly. They receive the letters of the king with every possible indication of respect. They look to receive presents from all who have occasion to apply to them; and, if not often gratified with these, will ask for them, and will even send back such as they do not approve, demanding better to be substituted. The *cadi* has power to imprison debtors and sureties, who are bound by written deeds; and men in power, for payment of debts due to them, will often sell the persons, wives, and children of their debtors, which is warranted by the customs of the land.

The king appears in public three times every day. His first appearance is at sun-rise, from a bow-window looking towards

towards the east, where great multitudes assemble to salute him, or give him the *salam*, calling out *padishah salamet*, which signifies Live, O King! At noon he again sits in public seeing his elephants fight, or some other pastimes. A little before sun-set, he shews himself a third time, at a window looking to the west, whence he retires amid the sound of drums and wind-instruments of music, the acclamations of the people adding to the noise. At any of these three appearances, all who have any suit to him hold up their petitions to be seen, and are heard in their own causes. Between seven and nine in the evening, he again sits in private, attended by his nobles.

No subject of this empire holds any lands by inheritance, neither have they any titles but such as depend on the will of the king. Owing to this, many of the grandees live up fully to the extent of their means. Merchants also, and others, are very careful to conceal their wealth, lest they be made spunges. Some small means of living are allowed by the king to the sons of his great men, which they can never make better, unless they succeed to the favour enjoyed by their fathers. His pensions are reckoned by the numbers of horsemen allotted to each; and of these he pays a million in the whole extent of his empire, to the amount of twenty-five pounds being yearly allowed for each horseman, which are drawn from lands, specified in the particular grants or commissions. There are about twenty of his courtiers who have each the pay of 5000 horse; others of 4000, 3000, 2000, and so downwards. He who has the pay of 5000, is bound to have 2000 always on foot ready for service, and so in like proportion for all others. This absolute dependence renders them dissolute parasites. When the Mogul gives advancement to any one, he adds a new name or title, as Pharaoh did to Joseph. These names or titles are very significant; as *Mahobet Khan*, the beloved lord; *Khan Jahaun*, the lord of my heart; *Khan Allum*, the lord of the world, &c.

The principal officers of state are, the treasurer, the master of the eunuchs, who is steward and comptroller of the household, the secretary, the master of the elephants, the tent-master, and the keeper of the wardrobe. The subordinate titles of honour are Khan, Mirza, Omrah or Captain, Haddee, which last is a soldier or horseman. Gorgeous apparel is in a great measure prohibited, owing to the great heat of the sun; even the Great Mogul himself, being usually

ally clothed in a garment of pure white calico or fine muslin. Blue, being the colour of mourning, may not be worn in his presence, neither the name of death pronounced in his hearing. This circumstance is usually expressed by some circumlocution, as that such a person has sacrificed himself at the feet of his majesty.

Owing to the great heat of this country, there is but little demand for English cloth, which is almost only employed for the housings of elephants and horses, and the linings of coaches. This sovereign assuredly exceeds all others in the splendour of his thrones, and the variety and richness of his jewels. In his palace at Agra, he has a throne upon a raised platform, to which he ascends by several steps, on the top of which are four figures of lions of massy silver, gilded and set with precious stones, and supporting a dome or canopy of pure gold. I may mention, that when I was at his court, he had a tame lion which went up and down at liberty, as harmless as a dog. The jewels with which he daily adorns his head, neck, and arms, and the hilts of his sword and dagger, are rich and valuable beyond all computation. On his birthday, which happens on the 1st of September, he being now sixty years of age, he is weighed, and an account thereof carefully noted down by his physicians, who thereby guess at his bodily condition.[4]

The following are parts of two letters from the Great Mogul to his majesty King James I. translated out of Persian, and sent through Sir Thomas Roe, one written a year before the other. What followed in both letters, was merely complimentary assurances of his love for the English. These letters were rolled up and covered with cloth of gold, the covering being sealed up at both ends, which is the fashion in that country. Copies were sent to the lord ambassador, from which these specimens were translated out of the Persian language.

"When your majesty shall open this letter, let your royal heart be fresh as a sweet garden. Let all people make lowly reverence at your gate, and may your throne be exalted among the kings of the prophet Jesus. May your majesty be the greatest of all monarchs; and may others draw counsel

[4] See of these and other things, formerly stated, in the Journal of Sir Thomas Roe, and therefore here omitted.—*Purch.*

sel and wisdom from you, as from a fountain, that the law of the divine Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection. Your letters of love and friendship, and the tokens of your affection towards me, I have received by the hands of your ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, who well deserves to be your trusted servant, and who delivered them to me in a happy hour. Upon them mine eyes were so fixed, that I could not easily remove them to any other object, and have accepted them with much joy," &c.—The other began as follows:

"How gracious is your majesty, whose greatness God preserve and prosper. As upon a rose in a garden of pleasure, so are mine eyes fixed upon your majesty. May God maintain your greatness, so that your monarchy may prosper and increase, that you may obtain all your desires, worthy the greatness of your renown. As your heart is noble and upright, so may God give you a prosperous reign, because you powerfully defend the majesty of Jesus, which may God render yet more flourishing, having been confirmed by miracles," &c.

We travelled two years with the Great Mogul, who was in progress through his dominions, moving only during the temperate months, between October and April. On this occasion, I am confident that the *leskar*, or camp, contained not less than 300,000 persons, including men, women, and children, besides elephants, horses, and other beasts, that were fed upon grain; yet we never experienced any scarcity of provisions, not even in our nineteen days journey through a wilderness, between Mandoa and *Amadavar*, [Ahmedabad.] On this occasion, a road was cut for us through the forest. The tents of the leskar were of various colours, being regularly arranged, and represented a large and splendid city. The king's tents were red, and raised on poles to a great height, being placed in the middle of the camp, and covering a great extent of ground; the whole of the royal quarter being encircled by *canats*, or walls, made of red calico, held up by canes at every breadth, and standing upright about nine feet high, which was guarded all round by soldiers every night.

The king removed ten or twelve miles every day, more or less according to the convenience of procuring water. His wives

wives and women of all sorts, which are not less than a thousand, all lodged and provided for in his tents, were carried along with the leskar, some in palanquins, others upon elephants, or in cradles or panniers slung upon dromedaries, all closely covered up that they might not be seen, and attended upon by eunuchs. In the choice of his wives, the Great Mogul respects fancy more than honour, not seeking affinity with neighbouring princes, but to please his eye at home. *Noormahal,* the best beloved among his wives, whose name signifies the *Light of the Court,* was of mean origin, but has since advanced her friends to high rank and employments, and in a manner commands the commander of the empire, by engrossing his whole affections. The king and his great men continue to maintain their women, but little affect them after thirty years old.

Notwithstanding the multitude of his women, the Great Mogul has only six children, five sons and a daughter. All his sons are styled sultans, or princes. The eldest is Sultan *Cursero,* the second, Sultan *Parrveis,* the third, Sultan *Caroon,* the fourth, Sultan *Shahar,* and the youngest, Sultan *Tauct.*[5] The name of this last signifies a *Throne;* and he was so named by the king, because he was informed of his birth at the time when he got quiet possession of the throne. The eldest-born son of one of his legitimate wives has right to inherit the throne, and has a title signifying the *Great Brother.* Although the others are not put to death as with the Turks, yet it is observed that they seldom long survive their fathers, being commonly employed on some dangerous expedition.

Akbar Shah, the father of the reigning Mogul, had threatened to disinherit him, for some abuse to *Anar-Kalee,* his most beloved wife, whose name signifies pomegranate kernel; but on his death-bed he restored him to the succession. Akbar was wont, upon taking any displeasure at one of his grandees, to give them pills to purge their souls from their bodies, and is said to have come by his death in the following manner. Intending to give one of these pills to a nobleman who had incurred his displeasure, and meaning to take at the same time a cordial pill himself, while he was cajoling

[5] These names seem to have been written by Terry from the ear. By others, the are respectively named Cusero, Parvis, Churrum, Shahar, and Taucht.—E.

the destined victim with flattering speeches, he, by mistake, took the poisoned pill himself, and gave the cordial to the nobleman. This carried him off in a few days, by a mortal flux of blood.[6]

The character of Jehanguire, the reigning Mogul, seems strangely compounded of opposite extremes. He is at times excessively cruel, and at other times extremely mild. He is himself much given to excess in wine, yet severely punishes that fault in others. His subjects know not what it is to disobey his commands, forgetting the natural bonds of private life, even those between father and son, in the fulfilment of their public duty. He daily relieves numbers of the poor; and often, as a mark of his filial piety, is in use to carry the palanquin of his mother on his own shoulders. He speaks with much reverence of our Saviour, but is offended by his cross and poverty, deeming them incompatible with his divine Majesty, though told that his humility was on purpose to subdue the pride of the world.

All religions are tolerated, and even their priests are held in good esteem. I used often to receive from the Mogul the appellation of *Father*, with many other gracious words, and had a place assigned me among his nobles. The jesuits are not only admitted into his presence, but encouraged by many gifts, and are permitted to convert the subjects, who do not on that event lose their favour at court. On one occasion, the Mogul put the sincerity of a convert to a severe trial. Having used many threatenings to induce him to abandon his new faith, and finding him undaunted, he tried by flatteries and high promises to draw him back; but these also being unavailing, he bade him continue a Christian, and dismissed him with a reward; saying, if he had been able to terrify or cajole him from his religion, he would have made him a terrible example for all waverers.

When I was in this country, the chief jesuit residing at the court of the Mogul, was Francisco Corsi, a Florentine by birth, who acted likewise as agent for the Portuguese. I wish I could confirm the reports they have made of conversions; but the real truth is, that they have merely spilt the water of baptism on the faces of a few, working on the necessities of some poor men, who from want of means to live, with which the

6 Neque enim lex justior ulla est, quam necis artifices arte perire sua.—*Purch.*

the jesuits supplied them, have been persuaded to wear crucifixes, but who, for want of instruction, are only Christians in name. Of these few mendicants, or so called by Christians, I noticed that five of them would beg in the name of Maria, for one who asked in the name of Jesus. I also desired to have put my hands to the holy work, but found extreme difficulty in the way, owing both to the Mahometan laxity in regard to the use of women, and the debauched lives of some unchristian Christians.—May he who hath the key of David open their eyes, and in his good time send labourers into this vineyard. *Amen.*

SECTION VIII.

JOURNEY OF THOMAS CORYAT BY LAND, FROM JERUSALEM TO THE COURT OF THE GREAT MOGUL.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

Without proposing to follow this singularly bold English traveller and whimsical writer, in all his *crudities*, as he has quaintly termed his own writings, it has seemed proper to give some abbreviated extracts of his observations, which may serve in some measure to illustrate those of Sir Tomas Roe and the Reverend Edward Terry.—E.

§ 1. *Letter from Ajimeer, the Court of the Great Mogul, to Mr L. Whitaker, dated in the Year* 1615.

My last letter to you was from *Zobah*, as it is called by the prophet Samuel, B. II. ch. viii. v. 3. now named Aleppo, the principal emporium of all Syria, or rather of the eastern world; which was, I think, about fifteen months ago. I returned from Jerusalem to Aleppo, where I remained three months afterwards, and then departed in a caravan bound for Persia. Passing the river Euphrates, the chiefest of the rivers which irrigated the terrestrial paradise, when about four days journey from Aleppo, I entered into Mesopotamia, or Chaldea. Hence, in two days journey, I reached *Ur* of the

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 607. In regard to this short article, see introduction to the immediately preceding Section.—E.

the Chaldees, where Abraham was born, a very delicate and pleasant city.[2] I remained here four days; and in other four days journey reached the Tigris, which I also passed, at a place where it was so shallow that it only reached to the calf of my leg, so that I waded over a-foot. I then entered into the greater Armenia; and thence into lower Media, and resided six days in its metropolis, formerly called *Ecbatana*, the summer residence of Cyrus the Great, now called Tauris. More woeful ruins of a city I never beheld, excepting those of Troy, and of Cyzicum in Natolia.

From that place I went to *Cashbin*, called by Strabo, *Arsacia*, in higher Media, once the residence of the Tartar princes, four days journey from the Caspian Sea. From Cashbin, I went in twenty-three days to *Ispahan* in Parthia, the residence of the king of Persia; but while I was there, he was in *Gurgistan*, [Georgia,] ransacking the poor Christians of that country with fire and sword. I remained two months at Ispahan, whence I travelled with a caravan to the eastern India, passing four months and several days in travelling from that city, through part of Persia proper, and a large extent of the noble and renowned India, to the goodly city of *Lahore*. This is one of the largest cities in the world, being, at the least, sixteen miles in circuit, and larger even than Constantinople. Twelve days before coming to Lahore, I passed over the famous river Indus, which is as broad again as our Thames at London, having its original from the mountain of Caucassus, so ennobled by ancient poets and historians, both Greek and Latin.

When about midway between Ispahan and Lahore, just about the frontiers between Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Shirley and his lady, travelling from the court of the Mogul to that of Persia. They were gallantly furnished for their journey, and shewed me, to my great satisfaction, both my books, very neatly kept, and promised to shew them, especially my itinerary, to the king of Petsia, and to interpret some of the principal contents to him in Turkish, that I may have the more gracious access to him at my return. Besides other rarities which they carried with them, they had two elephants and eight antelopes, being the first of either I had ever seen. But afterwards, when I came to the Mogul's court, I saw many. They intended to present these animals to

[2] Probably Orfa in Diarbekir is here meant.—E.

to the king of Persia. Both Sir Robert and his lady used me with much respect; especially his lady, who presented me with forty shillings in Persian money; and they seemed joyful at meeting me, promising to bring me into good grace with the king of Persia, as I mean, with God's help, to return through Persia to Aleppo.

From Lahore, I travelled in twenty days to another goodly city named Agra, through such a beautiful and level country as I had never seen before. In this way, from the town's end of Lahore to the skirts of Agra, we had a row of trees on both sides of the road, the most incomparable avenue I ever beheld. Some ten days journey from Lahore towards Agra, but about ten miles off the road on the left hand, there is a mountain, the inhabitants of which have a singular custom, all the brothers of one family having but one wife among them, so that one women sometimes has six or seven husbands. The same is related by Strabo concerning the inhabitants of Arabia Felix. Agra is a very great city, but in every respect much inferior to Lahore. Here the Mogul used always to keep his court, till within these two years.

From Agra I went in ten days to the Mogul's court, at a town called Asmere, [Ajimeer,] where I found an English Cape merchant with nine more of our countrymen, residing there in the way of trade for our East India Company. In my journey from Jerusalem to the court of the Great Mogul, I spent fifteen months and some days, travelling all the way a-foot, having been so great a *propatetic*, or walker forwards on foot, as I doubt if you ever heard of the like; for the whole way, from Jerusalem to Ajimeer, contains 2700 English miles. My whole perambulation of the greater Asia is likely to extend almost to 6000 miles, by the time I have returned back through Persia, by Babylon and Nineveh to Cairo in Egypt, and thence down the Nile to Alexandria, when I propose, with God's blessing, to embark for Christendom.

The reigning Great Mogul is named Selim.[3] He is fifty-three years of age, his birth-day having been celebrated with wonderful magnificence since my arrival. He was that day weighed in a pair of golden scales, which by great chance I saw

[3] He was Sultan Selim before his accession to the throne, but was afterwards known by the new name of Jehanguire.—E.

saw that same day, the opposite scale being filled with as much gold as counterpoised his weight, and this is afterwards distributed among the poor. This custom is observed every year. His complexion is of an olive colour, something between white and black; being of a seemly stature, but somewhat corpulent. His dominions are very extensive, being about 4000 English miles in circumference, nearly answerable to the compass of the Turkish territories; or, if the Mogul kingdom be any way inferior in size to that empire, it is more than equally endowed with a fertile soil beyond that of any other country, and in having its territory connected together in one goodly continent, within which no other prince possesses one single foot of land. The yearly revenue of the Mogul extends to forty millions of crowns, of six shillings each, while that of the Turk does not exceed fifteen millions, as I was credibly informed in Constantinople, nor that of the Sophy five millions, as I learnt at Ispahan. It is said that the present Great Mogul is not circumcised, in which he differs from all other Mahometan sovereigns.

The Great Mogul speaks with much revrence of our Saviour, naming him *Hazaret Eesa,* that is to say, the Great Prophet Jesus.[4] He likewise uses all Christians, and especially the English, with more benevolence than does any other Mahometan prince. He keeps many wild beasts, such as lions, elephants, leopards, bears, antelopes, and unicorns, [rhinoceroses,] of which I saw two at his court, the strangest beasts in the world. They were brought out of Bengal, a kingdom in his dominions of most wonderful fertility, above four months journey from this place, the mid-land parts of which are watered by various channels and branches of the famous river Ganges. I have not yet seen that country, but mean to visit it, God willing, before my departure, the nearest part of it being only about twelve days journey from hence.

Twice every week elephants are made to fight before the Mogul, forming the bravest spectacle that can be imagined, many of them being thirteen feet and a half in height, and they jostle together as though they were two little mountains;

[4] The Persian word *Hasaret*, here erroneously rendered Great Prophet, seems to signify literally *face* or *presence*, and is metaphorically used as a term of highest dignity, of which an instance occurs in the present section, used by Coryat himself in addressing the Great Mogul.—E.

tains; and were they not separated in the midst of their fighting, by means of certain fire-works, they would exceedingly hurt and gore each other, by their murderous tusks. The Mogul is said to keep 30,000 elephants, at a most enormous expence; and in feeding them, together with his lions and other beasts, he expends an incredible sum of money, being at the least 10,000 pounds sterling daily. I have myself rode upon an elephant since I came to this court, meaning in my next book to have my effigies represented in that form. This king keeps a thousand women for his own use, the chiefest of whom, called Normal, [Noormahal,] is his queen.

In my ten months journey between Aleppo and this court, I spent just three pounds sterling, yet fared reasonably every day; victuals being so cheap in some of the countries through which I travelled, that I often lived competently for one penny a-day. Of that three pounds, I was actually cozened out of ten shillings, by certain evil Christians of the Armenian nation; so that in reality I only expended fifty shillings in all that time. I have been in a city of this country called *Detee*,[5] where Alexander the Great joined battle with Porus king of India, and defeated him; and where, in memory of his victory, he caused erect a brazen pillar, which remains there to this day. At this time I have many irons in the fire, as I am learning the Persian, Turkish, and Arabic languages, having already acquired the Italian. I have been already three months at the court of the Great Mogul, and propose, God willing, to remain here five months longer, till I have got these three languages; after which I propose to visit the river Ganges, and then to return to the court of Persia.

In the course of my journey, I was robbed of my money, but not of all, having some concealed in certain secret corners. This was done at the city of Diarbekir in Mesopotamia, by a Turkish horse soldier, whom they call a *spahee*. Since my arrival here, there was sent to this king the richest present I ever heard of. It consisted of various things, the whole amounting to the value of ten of their lacks, a lack being £10,000 sterling. Part of this present consisted of thirty-

[5] This is obviously a misprint for Delee, meaning Delhi; but it is more probable that Alexander never was beyond the Punjab.—E.

thirty-one elephants, two of which were more gorgeously adorned than any thing I ever saw, or shall see in the course of my life. They had each four massy chains all of beaten gold, around their bodies, with two chains of the same about their legs, furniture for their buttocks of the same rich material, and two golden lions on their heads.

§ 2. *Letter from Agra, the Capital of the Great Mogul, to his Mother, dated* 31*st October*, 1616.

Most dear and well-beloved Mother,

This city is the metropolis of the whole dominions of the Great Mogul, and is at the distance of ten days journey from Ajimeer, whence I departed on the 12th September this year, after having abode there twelve months and sixty days. This my long stay in one place, was for two principal causes; one being to learn the languages of these countries through which I am to pass between this country and Christendom, namely, Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, which I have competently attained to by labour and industry, being as available to me as money, and the chiefest, or rather the only means to get me money if I should happen to be in want; and, secondly, that, by the help of the Persian, I might get myself access to the Mogul, and be able to express my mind unto him about what I proposed to lay before him. During all this time, I abode in the house of the English merchants, my dear countrymen, not expending any money at all for lodging, diet, washing, or any other thing.

I attained to a reasonable skill in the Persian tongue, by earnest study in a few months, so that I made an oration to the king in that language, before many of his nobles; and afterwards discoursed with him very readily. The copy of this speech I have sent you, as a novelty, though the language may seem strange and uncouth to an Englishman; and I have sent you herewith a translation, which you may shew along with the Persian original to some of my learned friends of the clergy, and also of the laity, who may take some pleasure in reading so rare and unusual a tongue. The Persian is this that follows:

Hazaret Aallum-pennah, Salamet: fooker Darveish, ve jehaun-gesht hastam; ke mia emadam az wellageti door, yanne as mulk Ingliz-stan, ke kessanion pesheen mushacar cardand, *ke*

ke wellageti mazcoor der akeri magrub bood, ke mader hamma jezzaereti dunia ast, &c.[1]—The English of it is this:

"Lord protector of the world, all hail! I am a poor traveller and world-seer, who am come here from a far country called England, which ancient historians thought to have been situated in the farthest bounds of the west, and which is the queen of all the islands in the world. The causes of my coming hither are four. First, that I might behold the blessed countenance of your majesty, whose great fame has resounded over all Europe, and through all the Mahometan countries. When I heard of the fame of your majesty, I made all possible haste hither, and cheerfully endured the labour of travelling, that I might see your glorious court. Secondly, I was desirous of seeing your majesty's elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seen in any other country. Thirdly, that I might see your famous river the Ganges, the captain of all the rivers in the world. Fourthly, to entreat your majesty, that you would vouchsafe to grant me your most gracious phirmaund, that I may travel into the country of Tartaria to the city of Samarcand, to visit the blessed sepulchre of the *Lord of the Corners*,[2] whose fame, by reason of his wars and victories, is published over the whole world, so that perhaps he is not altogether so famous in his own country of Tartary as in England. I have a strong desire to see the sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners for this cause, that, when in Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant garden near the said city, where the Christian emperor, Emanuel, made a sumptuous banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet in a great

[1] The whole discourse, of which the following paragraph in the text is the translation, is contained in the Pilgrims: But doubting its accuracy, as that book is most incorrectly printed throughout, the editor requested the favour of the late learned professor of oriental languages in the University of Edinburgh, Dr Alexander Murray, to revise and correct this first sentence, which he most readily did, adding the following literal translation:

"Presence, [or face,] of the world—protector, salutation to thee: A poor dervish and world-wanderer I am; that I have come from a kingdom far, to-wit, from the kingdom of Ingliz-stan, which historians ancient, relation have made, that kingdom said, in the end of the west was, which the mother of every island of the world is," &c.

[2] This is the title given to Tamerlane in this country, in the Persian language, meaning that he was lord over the four corners of the earth, that is, the highest and supreme monarch of the world.—*Purch.*

great battle near the city of Brusa, when the Lord of the Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in golden fetters, and put him into an iron cage. These causes have induced me to travel thus far from my native country, having come a-foot through Turkey and Persia into this country, my pilgrimage having extended so three thousand miles, with much labour and toil, such as no mortal man hath ever yet performed, to see the blessed countenance of your majesty, since the first day of your being inaugurated in your imperial throne."

When I had ended my speech, I conversed with him for a short space in Persian, when, among other things, he told me that he could do me no service in regard to my proposed journey to Samarcand, as there was no intimacy between him and the princes of the Tartars, so that his commendatory letters would avail me little. He also added, that the Tartars bore so deadly a hate against all Christians, that they would certainly kill any who might venture into their country, wherefore he earnestly dissuaded me from this proposed journey, as I valued my life and welfare. At last, he concluded his discourse by throwing down to me, from a window in which he stood, that looked into the street, an hundred pieces of silver, worth two shillings each, or ten pounds in all, which were thrown into a sheet hanging by the four corners.

I had conducted this affair so secretly, by the help of the Persian which I had learnt, that neither our English ambassador, nor any other of my countrymen, excepting one special and private friend, knew any thing at all about the matter till I had thoroughly accomplished my design. For I well knew, if the ambassador had got the smallest notice of my purpose, that he would have counteracted me, as indeed he signified to me after I had effected my purpose, alledging that this might redound to the discredit of our nation, for one of our country to present himself in that poor and beggarly manner before the king, to crave money from him by flattery. But I answered our ambassador so resolutely, that he was glad to let me alone. Indeed, I never had more need of money in all my life than at this time, having only to the value of twenty shillings remaining, owing to my having been stripped of almost all my money by a miscreant Turk, in a city called *Imaret*, in Mesopotamia.

After my interview with the Mogul, I went to visit a certain noble and generous Christian of the Armenian nation, two

two days journey from court, to observe certain remarkable matters at that place; and, by means of my knowledge of the Persian language, he made me very welcome, entertaining me with much civility and kindness; and, at my departure, gave me very bountifully twenty pieces of the same coin as the king had done, worth forty shillings of our money. About ten days after this, I departed from Ajimeer, the court of the Great Mogul, to resume my pilgrimage, after my long rest of fourteen months, proposing to go back into Persia. On this occasion, our ambassador gave me a gold piece of this king's coin, worth twenty-four shillings, which I shall save till my arrival in England, if it be possible. I have thus received in benevolences, since I came into this country, twenty marks sterling,[3] bating two shillings and eight-pence, besides £1 : 13 : 4 sterling, in Persian money, from Lady Shirley, upon the confines of Persia. At this present, being in Agra, whence I write this letter, I have about twelve pounds, which, according to my manner of living on the way, at two-pence a-day, will very competently maintain me during three years travel, considering the cheapness of all eatables in Asia. Drink costs me nothing, as I hardly ever drink any thing beyond pure water during my pilgrimage.

I mean to remain in Agra for six weeks longer, waiting an excellent opportunity of going to the famous river Ganges, about five days journey from hence, to see a memorable meeting of the idolatrous people of this country, called Banians, of whom to the number of 400,000 go thither, on purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the river, and to sacrifice a world of gold to that same river, partly in stamped coin, and partly in great massy lumps and wedges, thrown into the river as a sacrifice, besides many other strange ceremonies, worthy of being observed. So notable a spectacle is no where to be seen, neither in this the *greater* Asia, nor in the *lesser*, now called Natolia. This shew is made once in every year, on which occasion people flock thither from almost a thousand miles off, worshipping the river as a god and saviour; a most abominable and impious superstition of these brutish heathens, aliens from Christ. As soon as I have seen this ceremony, I propose, by God's help, to repair to La-

[3] Twenty marks are £13 : 6 : 8 sterling.—E.

hore, twenty days journey from hence, and so into Persia, &c.

Your dutiful, loving, and obedient son,
Now a desolate pilgrim in the world,
THOMAS CORYAT.

§ 3. *Some Observations concerning India, by Thomas Coryat.*[1]

Whereas in this country the beggars beg from a Christian in the name of *Bibbee Maria*, and not of *Hazaret Eesa*, we may gather that the jesuits have preached our *Lady Mary* more than the *Lord Jesus*.

A great rajah of the Hindoos, who was a notorious atheist, and a contemner of all diety, and who boasted that he knew of no God except the king, and neither believed nor feared any other, happened one day to sit dallying among his women, when one of them plucked a hair from his breast, which hair being fast-rooted, plucked off along with it a small bit of skin, so that a small spot of blood appeared. This small scar festered and gangrened incurably, so that in a few days his life was despaired of, and being surrounded by all his friends, and several of the courtiers, he broke out into these excellent words:—"Which of you would have thought that I, a warrior, should not have died by the stroke of a sword, a spear, or an arrow? But now am I enforced to confess the power of the great God I have so long despised, who needs no other lance to slay so blasphemous a wretch and contemner of his holy majesty, such as I have been, than a small hair."

Akbar Shah, the former king, had learnt all manner of sorceries; and being once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to his nobles, he brought forth his favourite Sultana before them, and cut off her head with a sword in their presence. Seeing them struck with horror and amazement at this action, by virtue of his exorcisms and sorceries, he caused her head to fix on again, and no sign remained of any wound.

The same prince, who was very fortunate during his reign, shewed the utmost attention and respect to his mother, of which

[1] Purchas informs us, that these were taken from certain notes written by Coryat, given him by Sir Thomas Roe; "whence, omitting such things as have been given before from the observations of Sir Thomas Roe himself, I have inserted a few."—*Purch.*

which he one day gave the following striking instance:—Being on a journey between Lahore and Agra, on which occasion his mother accompanied him, being carried in a palanquin, and having to pass a river, he took one of the poles of the palanquin on his own shoulder, commanding his greatest nobles to do the same, and in this manner carried her across the river. He never denied her any request that ever she made, except one, and this was, that our Bible might be hung about the neck of an ass, and so beaten about the town of Agra. The reason of this strange request was, that the Portuguese had taken a ship of theirs, in which they found a copy of the *Koran*, or bible of the Mahometans, which they tied about the neck of a dog, and beat the dog about the streets of Ormus. But he denied her this request, saying, That if it were evil in the Portuguese to have so done with the Koran, it did not become a king to requite evil with evil, as the contempt of any religion was contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent book. The moral of this is, that God would not permit the sacred book of his law and truth to be contemned among the infidels.

One day in every year, for the amusement of the king's women, all the tradesmen's wives are admitted into the *Mahal*, having each somewhat to sell, after the manner of a fair, and at which the king acts as broker for his wives, no other man being present, and by means of his gains on this occasion, provides his own supper. By this means he attains to a sight of all the pretty women of the city; and at a fair of this kind he got his beloved *Noor Mahal*.

After *Shaof Freed* had won the battle of Lahore by a stratagem, all the captains of the rebel army, to the number of two thousand, who had been taken by the king, were hung up upon flesh-hooks, or set upon stakes, forming an avenue for the king's entrance into Lahore. On this occasion, his son *Curseroo*, [Cusero] who had been made prisoner, rode beside him, bare-footed, on an elephant, and the king asked him how he liked that spectacle? To this the prince answered, That he was sorry to see so much cruelty and injustice in his father, in thus executing those who had only done their duty, as they had lived on his bread and salt: but that his father had done justly if he had pardoned these brave men, and punished him, who was their master, and the author of this rebellion.

Sultan Cusero has only one wife, owing to the following circumstance:

circumstance: During his confinement, the king proposed to make a hunting progress of four months, and consulted how he might keep his son in safe custody during his absence. He at length determined to build a tower in which to immure him, having neither door nor window, and only a few small holes to let in air, and these so high as to be beyond reach. Into this tower were to be put along with the prince all sorts of provisions and necessaries, with a few servants to attend him. While this was building, the wife of Cusero fell at the king's feet, and would not leave him till she obtained his consent to be shut up along with her husband. The king endeavoured to persuade her to enjoy her liberty, but she utterly refused any other comfort than to be the companion of her husband's miseries. Among these, this was the greatest, that if any of those who were to be shut up along with him, to the number of fifty in all, should happen to die during the king's absence, there were no means either to remove or bury the body, as no person was to be allowed to come near the tower.

It is a frequent custom of the present Mogul, when he happens to be awake in the night time, he calls for certain poor old men, making them sit beside him, and passes his time in familiar discourse with them, giving them clothes and bountiful alms when he dismisses them. At one time, when residing at Ajimeer, he went a-foot on pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint or prophet called Haji Mundin, and there kindled a fire with his own hands, under an immense *Heidelbergian equipolent* brass pot, in which victuals were cooked for five thousand poor persons. When the victuals were ready, he took out the first platter with his own hands, and served the mess to a poor person. Noor Mahal took out and served the second, and the rest was served by the other ladies of his court.—*Crack me this nut, all ye papal charity-vaunters.*

One day an Armenian procured a nobleman to present him to the king, as one who desired to become an Mahometan; on which the king asked him, if he had been converted from hope of preferment; to which the Armenian answered, that he had no such motive. Some months afterwards, the new convert craved some courtesy from the king, which he denied, saying, "I have already done you the greatest of all favours, in allowing you to save your soul; but you must provide for your own body the best way you can." The king likes not those who change their religion, being himself

self of none but according to his own fancy, and freely allows therefore of all religions in his dominions. Of which I may give the following notable example:

He had an Armenian in his service, named Scander, whom he one day asked if he thought any of the *padres* had ever converted a single Mahometan to be a true Christian, for conscience sake, and not for money. Scander answered, with great confidence, that he had one as his servant, who was a sincere Christian, and would not be of any other for any worldly consideration. The king immediately caused this man to be sent for, and bidding Scander depart, he examined the convert as to his reasons for having become a Christian. In reply, he quoted certain feeble jesuitical reasons, declaring his determination to be of no other religion, though the king made him many fair speeches and large offers to return to Mahometism, offering him pensions, and the command of horse. He said he had now only four rupees a month, which was a poor recompense for becoming a Christian, but if he would recant, he would give him high dignities and large means. The fellow answered, that he had not become a Christian for such small wages, as he was able to earn as much in the service of a Mahometan; but was a Christian in his heart, and was determined so to continue. Finding this method ineffectual, the king turned his tune, and tried him with threats of severe punishment, unless he returned to the faith of Mahomet. But the proselyte manfully declared he would suffer any thing, being ready to endure whatever the king was pleased to order. Upon this declaration, when all the by-standers expected present and severe castigation, the king suddenly changed his manner towards him, highly commending his constancy and resolution, bidding him return to his master, and to serve him faithfully, and ordered him an allowance of one rupee a-day for his integrity.

About two months afterwards, the king returned from hunting wild-hogs, an animal which is held in abhorrence by all Mahometans, and which kind of venison, therefore, the king was in use to distribute among the Christians and Rajaputs. On this occasion, the king sent for the converted catechumen above mentioned, and commanded him to take up a hog for his master, which no Mahometan will touch. He did so, but on going out of the court gate, he was so hooted at by the Mahometans, that he threw down his burden in a ditch, and went home, concealing what had passed from

from his master. Some four days afterwards, the Armenian being on duty in presence of the king, he asked him if the hog he had sent him was good meat. The Armenian replied, that he had not seen or heard of any. The king therefore immediately ordered the convert to be sent for, who confessed that he had not carried home the hog, as being mocked by the Mahometans for touching so great an abomination, he had for shame thrown it away. On this the king observed, "By your Christian law there is no difference of meats. Are you ashamed of your law, or do you outwardly forsake it to flatter the Mahometans? I now see that you are neither a good Christian nor a good Mahometan, but a knave dissembling with both. When I believed you sincere, I gave you a pension, which I now take from you for your dissimulation, and I farther condemn you to receive an hundred stripes." These were presently paid him, instead of his money; and the king desired all to take warning by this example, that, having given liberty of conscience to all religions, he would have all to adhere to what they professed.

Section IX.

Account of the Wrongs Done to the English at Banda by the Dutch, in 1617 and 1618.[1]

Introduction.

This section contains a letter from Mr Thomas Spurway, merchant or factor, addressed from Bantam, "To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the East India Company of England, touching the wrongs done at Banda to the English by the Hollanders; the former unkind disgusts and brabling quarrels now breaking unexpectedly out into a furious and injurious war." Such is the account given of this section by Purchas, who farther informs his readers, "That the beginning of this letter was torn, and therefore imperfect in his edition; but, what is here defective, was to be afterwards supplied from the journals of Nathaniel Courthop, and other continuations

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 608.

ations of these insolences of the Dutch at Banda, by Mr Hayes, and others." These journals of Courthop and Hayes are so intolerably and confusedly written, and so interlarded with numerous letters *about* the subject of these differences with the Dutch, that we have been reluctantly under the necessity of omitting them, being so monstrously inarticulate as to render it impossible to make them at all palatable to our readers, without using freedoms that were altogether inadmissible in a work like the present.

From this letter, and other information of a similar nature, it appears that the attempts to form establishments for trade at Banda and the Molucca islands were found to be difficult or impracticable, owing to the opposition of the Dutch, who were much stronger in that part of India, and had not only conceived the plan of monopolizing the spice trade, but even avowed their determination to exclude the English and all other European nations from participating in any share of it. We do not pretend, in our Collection, to write the history of the English East India Company, but merely to give a series of the voyages which contributed to the establishment of that princely association of merchant adventurers. Yet it seems proper, occasionally at least, in the introductions to leading voyages, like the present, to give some short historical notices of the subject, for the materials of which we are chiefly, if not solely, indebted to the Annals of the Company, a work of meritorious and laborious research, already several times referred to.

Under the difficulties which had long attended the exertions of the English to acquire a share in this peculiarly called *spice trade*, the agent and commercial council of the English company at Bantam, gave authority to the commanders of the Swan and Defence to endeavour to obtain from the native chiefs of the islands of Puloroon and Puloway, a surrender of these islands to the king of England, with the stipulation of paying annually as a quit-rent, a fruit-bearing branch of the nutmeg tree; yet stipulating that these islanders were to continue entirely under the guidance of their own laws and customs, providing only that they should engage to sell their spices exclusively to the agents of the English company, who were, in return, to supply them with provisions and Hindoostan manufactures at a fair price, in exchange for their peculiar productions, nutmegs and mace. They were likewise authorised, if they procured the consent of the

 natives,

natives, to establish fortified stations, or factories, at Pulo-roon, Puloway. Pulo-Lantore, and Rosinging, or Rosengin.[2] The views of the Bantam factory on this occasion seem to have been generally judicious, as to the measure they now authorised, but exceedingly ill judged in attempting to execute so very important a purpose with a force entirely inadequate to that with which it had to contend.

The Dutch had expelled the Portuguese, at that time the subjects of their tyrannical oppressors, the Spaniards, from a great portion of the spice islands, in which warlike measure, and its consequences, they had always to support a considerable force, both naval and military, in these seas, and in various forts upon these islands; and besides, that they felt their preponderance from these circumstances, and used it very naturally for their own exclusive benefit, they alleged, and with no small appearance of equity, that the English had no right to enjoy the advantages of a trade, which they, the Dutch, had conquered from the Portuguese and Spaniards. This opposition of interests proceeded in the sequel to great extremities, in which the greatly superior power of the Hollanders in these seas, enabled them effectually to oppress the English, in what are peculiarly called the spice islands, and even to expel them from all participation in that trade, as will appear in some of the subsequent sections of this chapter.

It would be not only premature in this place, but incompatible with the nature of our work, which is intended as a Collection of Voyages and Travels, to attempt giving a connected history of these dissensions between the Dutch and English in Eastern India, which will be found detailed in the Annals of the English Company. It is hardly possible, however, to refrain from one observation on the subject,—that the Dutch company, and the government of Holland, appear to have mainly proceeded, in their hostile opposition to the English East India trade, on their knowledge of the pusillanimous character of King James, which he vainly thought to veil under the pretensions of loving peace, but which the Dutch, as will be seen in the present section, clearly understood, and openly expressed, as *the childhood of St George*, the tutelary martial saint of England. *Beati pacifici*, his favourite adage, is an excellent Christian and moral sentiment, but

[2] An. of E. I. Co. I. 187.

but is incompatible with the unavoidable exigencies of government, at least as they were then situated.—E.

May it please your Worships,

We arrived at Macassar on the 19th of November, 1616, from Bantam, with the Swan and Defence, under the command of Captain Nicholas Courthop, who sailed in the Swan, of which ship Mr Davis was master, the other being commanded by Mr Hinchley. We remained there for the purpose of taking in an hundred *quoines*[3] of rice. On the 4th December, we saw a large Dutch ship in the offing, which came to anchor about five leagues off, and on the 5th they sent their skiff ashore, which made directly for the English house, having eight men on board. As soon as we perceived this boat coming ashore, we ran to the sea side; but, before we got there, two of her men were landed, whom we acquainted with the danger they were in, as the king of Macassar, and all the other kings thereabouts, were become their mortal enemies, because of the many injuries done them by the Hollanders, who had forcibly carried away a principal sabander, and other persons belonging to Macassar, for which they were determined upon revenge; and, therefore, that they might all expect to be put to death, unless the king could be prevailed upon to spare them. The Dutchmen were so much alarmed at this intelligence, that they wished to have gone back to their boat, but the Macassers had already gathered about us, and laid hands upon them.

I, and other English, immediately went in all haste to the king, acquainting him with what had happened, lest, if the Dutch had intended any treachery, he might have suspected us as being accessary. The king gave us thanks, and desired us to take the two Dutchmen who had landed to our house, that we might learn from them their intentions in coming here. This we did, and they informed us that they belonged to a fleet lately fitted out from Holland, and had lost company of their consorts. One of these called himself John Staunch, and reported himself to be an under-factor. The other was an English sailor. Perceiving themselves to be in great danger, they earnestly entreated us to stand their friends

[3] The amount or quantity of these *quoines* are no where stated, or even hinted at; but, from circumstances in the sequel, they appear to have been considerable.—E.

friends and procure their liberty. We promised to do every thing we could for them. Soon after this, the kings of Macassar and Talow, together with about 2000 attendants, came to the sands near the sea side, where they held a council upon these men. The king of Talow was clear for putting them to death, but we used our interest so successfully for them, that they were commanded to be gone instantly in their boat: The king of Macassar observing, that these were too few for satisfying his revenge, and that he should wait for one more ample. So they departed and went to their ship.

Next day another boat was observed coming towards the shore from the same ship; and, on the king being informed of this, he gave immediate orders for twenty proas and corracorras to be manned and launched. This was done immediately, and the whole made towards the Dutch boat, which was rowing for the land directly towards our house. On observing the native craft endeavouring to intercept them, the Dutch turned their boat, and rowed back to regain their ship; but the Macassers soon got up, boarded them on both sides, and slew every man of the Hollanders, being sixteen in number. There were at this time near 5000 people at the sea side, and we were commanded to keep the house.

The name of this Dutch ship was the Endraught, and imagining that we were bound for Banda or the Moluccas, she remained at sea waiting for us. We set sail from Macassar road on the 8th December, 1616, and when the Dutchmen saw us under sail, they also weighed and kept company with us. We would gladly have gone from them, but could not, owing to the bad sailing of the Defence. They sent their boat to us, requesting we would spare them two quoines of rice, four tons of water, and some poultry, all of which we gave them, only taking payment for the rice, being forty dollars, giving the water and poultry freely. We asked why they had attempted to land the second time; when they told us their first boat had not then returned to the ship, so that they believed the Dutch factory had still remained at Macassar. But I believe it proceeded from obstinacy, believing their first boat had been denied access at our instigation, and meaning to make a second trial, when they hoped to have flattered the king to allow them to return, and reinstate their factory. For both their boats passed within musket-shot of our ships on their way to the land, yet did not go aboard to enquire what were the situation of affairs on shore, which if they

they had done, we should have forewarned them of their danger. They kept company with us till we came near Amboina, for which place they stood in, while we continued our course. We have since learnt that they gave out we had been the cause of their men being slain at Macassar, which is most false: For I solemnly protest that we used our best endeavours to save them, and if it had not been for us, the eight men in their first boat had also been slain.

The Swan and Defence arrived in the road of Puloroon on the 13th December. Next day the people of that island came on board, and conferred with us about surrendering the island to us. We represented that our nation had come often to their island, at great cost, and at their particular request, to settle a factory, and trade with them in a friendly manner, bringing them rice and other provisions, with cloth and sundry commodities, in exchange for their spices; that we had no desire to usurp over them, or to reduce them under bondage, as had been done formerly by the Hollanders and other nations; and that, if they would surrender their island of Puloroon to our sovereign the king of England, by a formal writing, and by the delivery of some earth, with a tree and fruits of the island, as true tokens of their fidelity, and thereafter a nut-tree yearly as an acknowledgment, we should settle a factory, and would furnish them with rice, cloth, and other commodities, both now and yearly afterwards. We also assured them, if we were once settled on the island, that sufficient supplies would come to them yearly, much better than now; and that we would use our utmost efforts, both by means of our men and ships, to defend them and ourselves from all enemies. We also demanded, whether they had come under any contract with the Hollanders, or had made them any surrender of their island. To this they unanimously replied, that they had made no such engagement, and never would, but held the Hollanders as their mortal enemies. This was earnestly declared to us, both by the men of Puloroon and by divers chiefs from Puloway, who had fled from that island on its forcible reduction by the Hollanders. And they all declared that the island of Puloway had been lawfully surrendered to Richard Hunt, for the king of England, before the Hollanders came into the road, the English colours having been hoisted in the castle, which the Hollanders shot down, using many disgraceful words of his majesty. They farther declared, that they defended their island

island for his majesty's use, as long as they possibly could; and, being constrained by force, they had fled to Puloroon, Lantor, and Serran.

After this conference had continued the whole day, the writings of surrender were drawn up, and confirmed by all the chief men of Puloroon and Puloway, and so delivered by their own hands to us, Nathaniel Cowthorp, Thomas Spurway, and Sophonie Cozocke, for his majesty's use. They also that same instant delivered to us a nutmeg-tree, with its fruit growing thereon, having the earth about its root, together with other fruits, and a live goat, in symbolical surrender of the sovereignty of the island, desiring us to hoist the English colours, and to fire a salute of ordnance. Accordingly, the colours were set up, and we fired thirty pieces of ordnance, as a mark of taking possession; and at night all the chiefs went ashore, parting from us on the most friendly terms.

On Christmas-day we descried two large Dutch ships edging towards Puloroon. On seeing our ships in the road, they bore away to leeward for Nero, and next day another of their ships hove in sight, which went to the same place. The 28th, a Dutch pinnace stood right over for Puloroon, and came bravadoing within gun-shot of our fort, having the Dutch colours flying at her poop; but presently tacked about, lowered her colours, and hoisted a bloody ensign instead, as if in defiance, and then stood over for Nero. By this bravado, we daily looked for their coming against us, according to their old injurious custom. We landed four pieces of ordnance on the 30th, besides two others formerly landed on the 25th, and set to work to construct fortifications for our defence. By the assistance of the Bandanese, we erected two forts, which were named the Swan and Defence, after our two ships, each mounted with three guns; the fort called the Swan being within caliver shot of the ships, and entirely commanding the road on the eastern side, where is the principal anchorage for the westerly monsoon.

The 3d of January, 1617, the three Dutch ships came from Nero into the road of Puloroon, being the Horne, of 800 tons, the Star, of 500 tons, and the Yaugar, of 160 tons. The Horne anchored close by our ship the Swan, the Star close beside the Defence, and the Yaugar a-head of all, to cut off our intercourse with the shore. Our commission directed us, on receiving the surrender of Puloroon, and forming

ing a settlement there, to give due notice thereof in writing to the Hollanders, warning them not to come there to molest us under the pretence of ignorance, as they had been formerly accustomed to do. We had accordingly a letter written to that effect, but knew not how to have it sent, not daring to dispatch it either by Englishmen or natives, for fear of being detained. On coming into the road, however, we sent George Muschamp aboard their admiral, the Star, to deliver the before-mentioned letter to Mynheer Dedall, the Dutch commander; and with a message desiring them to depart from the road of Puloroon before six glasses were run, as the islanders would not allow them to remain in the roads, or to come near their island, and would even have already fired upon them, if we had not prevailed upon them to forbear.

Soon afterwards, the Dutch commander, Dedall, came on board the Swan, attended by their chaplain, to enquire the reason of our message; when we told him that we suspected they came to injure us, as they had formerly done at Puloway, Cambella, and other places; and, as they had formerly turned the glass to Mr Ball, when in their power, threatening to hang him if he did not immediately cause the English to quit the land, we had now in like manner appointed a time for them to quit the roads. We also shewed him the instrument by which Puloroon was surrendered to us, and our consequent right to keep possession for the king of England, which we were determined upon doing to the utmost of our power, wishing them to be well advised in their proceedings, as they might expect to be shortly called to answer for their abusive words and injurious conduct to the English. We also demanded the restoration of Puloway, which had likewise been lawfully surrendered to the king of England. After this, we enquired if they had received any previous surrender of Puloroon, but they could not say they had any; and, when we shewed the formal surrender made to our king, which their chaplain perused, he acknowledged that it was a true surrender.

All this while the glass was running in the great cabin before their eyes, putting them in mind to be gone. We also told them plainly, that we believed their only purpose in coming here was to betray us, and to drive us from the island by treachery or force, of which scandalous conduct our nation had already had divers experience from theirs; wherefore

fore we neither could nor would trust them any more, and we must insist upon their departure; as, when the glass was six times run out, they must expect to be shot at from the shore; and, if they fired in return against the islanders, or shewed any discourtesy or wrong to them, we should consider it as hostility to us, and would defend them, being now the subjects of our king. They desired to remain till next day, which we would not agree to, doubting that more of their ships might come to join them. They then desired to stay till midnight; which we agreed to, on condition that we saw them preparing to weigh their anchors, in which case we said that notice should be sent ashore to the Bandanese, not to fire upon them.

I also demanded to know from Dedall, what was their purpose in thus coming into the road of Puloroon, unless to molest us. He pretended that it was their usual custom in passing that island. But I told them that was not true, as the islanders had declared there never was any christian ship in their roads till we came. So he remained silent. They came to anchor in the roads this day about three in the afternoon, and departed about eleven at night. We have been since certainly informed, that their purpose was to have taken possession of our ships by treachery, or to have driven us out of the roads, and only gave up their intentions on seeing that we were fortified on shore. Had they then assailed us, we had little doubt of being able to have defended ourselves against them, as we had both forts in readiness, the cannon charged, and the gunners prepared to give fire, on the first signal from our ships.

A Dutch ship and pinnace came from Nero on the 10th January; the pinnace edging near the small island or high sand, called *Nylacka*. This island is uninhabited, but full of trees and bushes, being daily resorted to by the men of Puloroon for fishing; and as belonging to Puloroon, belonged now to the English. On coming near the island, the people in the pinnace were observed continually sounding, wherefore we made four shots towards her from Fort Defence; but, not intending to strike her, shot wide. At every shot, the pinnace answered with a *base*, or some such piece, firing into the small island among the trees and bushes, where were some Englishmen and Bandanese of Puloroon, who were in no small danger from the shot. Seeing they braved us in this manner, the gunner was desired to do his best, and his next shot fell close over the stern of the

the pinnace or frigate, which made her presently go away. Their purpose of coming thus to sound about the small island, seemed to be to look out for a landing-place; meaning to come there with their forces, and there to fortify themselves, on purpose to compel us to quit the large island.

On the 13th, Mr Davey complained that he was in want of water, and proposed to go over for that purpose to Wayre upon Lantore; but on the people of Puloroon being informed of this, they would by no means consent to his going out of the roads, and indeed neither would we, fearing the Hollanders might do us some injury in his absence. The people of Puloroon, said they would rather bring him water from Lantore, in their proas. I went on board Mr Davey to acquaint him with this; but he and his people would not consent, saying the Bandanese would bring them rain water, or such other as was unwholesome, and that they would only be six days absent, or eight at most.

At this time, the principal people of Wayre, a free town on the island of Lantore, and of the separate island of Rosinging, came over to us, to enter into a parley respecting the surrender of both to the sovereignty of his majesty; and the formal deed of surrender being agreed upon and drawn up, they desired that some Englishmen might go over to receive the same in a public manner from all their hands, and to witness the ceremonial. As Mr Davey still persisted to go over with his ship, it was resolved upon, that Messrs Sophonie Cozocke, George Muschamp, Robert Fuller, and Thomas Hodges, should go over in the Swan to Wayre and Rosinging, to see that business accomplished, while the Swan was procuring water; after which, it was appointed that Mr Cozocke was to return in the Swan, while the other three were to remain upon the island of Rosinging for possession, till farther orders. All business being there concluded to our satisfaction, several persons in Wayre and Rosinging desired to load nutmegs and mace in the Swan, and to have a passage for Puloroon, there to sell us their spices for rice and cloths. All this was agreed to, and twelve of these persons came on board, with a great quantity of nutmegs and mace.

The Swan then set sail for Geulegola, which is only a little way from Wayre, and there watered, after which she again set sail. When about eight leagues from the land, a Holland ship or two gave them chace. The people of the Swan now asked

asked Mr Davey what he proposed to do. He answered, "They see my colours and I see theirs: I know them to be Dutch, and they know us to be English: I know of no injury I have done them, and I will continue my course for Puloroon." In short time, the Star, for such was the Dutch ship, got up within shot of the Swan, and without hailing, or giving the smallest intimation of her intention, let fly both with great guns and small arms in the most violent manner. The Swan received two or three great shot through and through before she replied, and even had some of her men slain. After this, as Mr Davey writes, the fight continued an hour and a half, during which five men were killed in the Swan, viz. Mr Sophonie Cozocke, merchant, who was driven to pieces by a cannon-ball, Robert Morton, quarter-master and drummer, Christopher Droope, Edward Murtkin, and a Bandanese passenger from Wayre. Three others were maimed, having lost arms or legs, with very little hopes of recovery; and eight others were wounded, most of them mortally. During the engagement, a Dutchman stood upon the poop of the Star with a drawn sword, calling out in the Dutch language, English villains and rogues, we will kill you all.

The people of the Swan were much discouraged, on seeing so many of their companions dead and wounded, insomuch that none of them would stand by the sails to trim the ship to the best advantage, so that the Hollander lay upon her quarter pouring in great and small shot, and at last took her by boarding, both with soldiers and others. They immediately broke open and pillaged the cabins, plundered the men basely of their clothes and every thing else worth taking, and throwing overboard whatever did not please their fancies. Even the Spaniards never used more stern cruelty in their professed wars, than did now the Dutch to us, with whom they were in peace and amity. The Star had on board 160 men, mostly soldiers taken from the castles of Nero and Puloway, while the Swan had not above thirty able to stand to quarters, the rest being sick or lame, and all much worn out in toilsome labour at Puloroon, in landing the ordnance and constructing the two forts. Ten also of their complement had been left in Puloroon to defend the two forts, two of whom, Herman Hammond and John Day, were gunners. The Swan being thus taken and sore battered in the action, was

was carried away under the guns of the castle at Nero. The Dutch gloried much in their victory, boasting of their exploit to the Bandanese, saying, That the king of England was not to be compared with their great king of Holland: *That Saint George was now turned a child,* and they cared not for the king of England; for one Holland ship was able to take ten English ships. They landed all our men at Nero, and kept them all strict prisoners, many of them in irons.

The Swan left us at Puloroon on the 16th of January, and we expected her back in eight or ten days at farthest, but never heard of her till the 25th of February, when Robert Fuller came over to us from Rosinging and Wayre, to acquaint us that he had heard of an English ship being under the guns of Nero castle. We immediately sent away Robert Hayes, the purser of the Defence, accompanied by some of the chief men of Puloroon, with directions to land on that side of Lantore which was in friendship with us, and to go as near as possible to the Dutch ships with a flag of truce, to enquire into the matter. After staying almost two hours, there came at last a boat to fetch him off, but made him wade to the middle before they would take him in. Being taken on board one of the Dutch ships, the president and assistants of Nero met him, when he demanded to know why they had made prize of the Swan, what was become of her men, and wherefore they detained our ship and goods. They answered, that *time should bring all to light.* Still urging for an answer, they used many opprobrious words against the English, threatening to come over to Puloroon with their forces, and to drive us from thence and other places. To this Hayes replied, that they had already done much more than they could answer for, and was obliged to come away without seeing any one belonging to the Swan. He could however see our poor ship all rent and torn, in view of the natives, as an ill-got and dishonourable trophy of Dutch treachery and ingratitude. In a short time after, they sent over a messenger to us with a letter, which we answered, as we did others afterwards, their messengers frequently coming over with flags of truce, all of which letters, together with the surrenders, I brought over with me to Bantam, and delivered to Captain Ball.

The Dutch continually threatened us, by their letters and messengers, that, as they had now taken the Swan, they would

would soon come and take possession of the Defence, and drive us from the island of Puloroon. We always answered, that we expected them, and would defend ourselves to the last. They made many bravados, daily shooting off forty, fifty, or sixty pieces of ordnance at Nero and Puloway, thinking to frighten us. Also the people of Lantore brought us word that they were fitting out their ships, and shipping planks and earth, which we imagined was for land service. They had then seven ships, four gallies and frigates, and a great number of men, with all which force they threatened to come against us. We were told likewise, that they had endeavoured to prevail on their black slaves, by promise of freedom and great rewards, to come over secretly to Puloroon and set fire to the Defence. The Hollanders also threatened that we should carry no spices from Puloroon or any other of the Banda islands. Thereupon, considering our engagements with the people of Puloroon, Wayre, and Rosinging, to all of whom we had trusted our goods, and that we had ready at Puloroon a good quantity of nutmegs and mace, and the threats of the Hollanders, we resolved to maintain the honour of our king and country, and to defend the interest of our employers, the honourable Company, to the utmost of our power. For this purpose, we determined to land all the guns, provisions, and stores, from the Defence, and to fortify the small island of Nylacka adjoining to Puloroon; which the Hollanders proposed to have fortified formerly; which, if they had done, would have commanded the road, and done us much injury, as the people of Puloroon would have been prevented from fishing, and English ships could not have come into the roads.

Having therefore landed all the ordnance of the Defence, except four pieces of cannon, and being busied in erecting a fortification with the assistance of the Bandanese, Mr Hinshley also, the master of the Defence, being ashore, and every one hard at work landing the things, except a few left on board to keep the ship, a conspiracy was entered into by some of the men on the 20th March, 1617; and that same night they cut the cables and so drove out to sea. Perceiving this from the small island, we immediately sent a boat after them, advising them to return with the ship: But the mutineers would neither listen to them, nor suffer the boat to come near the ship, pointing their pieces at them, and even fired one musket-shot to keep off the boat; which was therefore

fore compelled to return to the small island. There went away in the Defence nine of our men, including John Christmas, the boatswain's mate, and we could distinctly see them next day going into Nero roads under sail, and come to anchor under the guns of the castle. As we afterwards learnt, some of the runaways went immediately on shore to inform the Dutch of their exploit, contending among themselves which of them had piloted the ship. They even brought a can of wine ashore with them, and drank to the Hollanders on landing.

The Dutch took immediate possession of the Defence, and brought all our rascally deserters into their castle, where they examined them as to our proceedings at Puloroon and Nylacka, in regard to our fortifications and means of defence. By this scandalous affair, we were in great danger of being all put to death by the Bandanese of Puloroon, as they suspected the desertion of our ships to have been a concerted matter between us and the Hollanders, on purpose to betray them. By this likewise, as our weakness was made known to the Hollanders, they might be encouraged to attack us. Indeed they made many violent threatenings of so doing, and we daily looked for their appearance; which, if they had so done, must have cost many lives, as we were greatly enraged against them for the capture of the Swan, and the severe usage of her people.

On the 23d of March, we sent a letter to the Hollanders at Nero, by Robert Fuller, who landed upon Lantore; but, owing to some difference between the people of that island and the Dutch, he could not be allowed to pass, so that he had to return. The 25th there came a messenger to us from Lawrence Ryall, the principal commander of the Hollanders, newly come to Nero from the Moluccas, desiring Mr Courthop and I would come in a proa to hold a conference with two of his principal merchants, half-way between Puloroon and Puloway; but we refused this request, being afraid of treachery. By this messenger we had a letter from Mr Davies, then a prisoner at Nero, intimating his disapprobation of our proceedings in keeping possession of Puloroon, alleging that our commission did not warrant us in so doing, and recommending a parley between us and the Dutch general, to prevent the loss of any more lives. It appeared that he was instigated to give us this advice by the Hollanders, who had made him believe that they had authority in wri-

ting

ting from our king, to make prize of any English ships they found to the east of Celebes, as we afterwards learnt to our great surprise, since, if they actually had such authority we must have obeyed.

We wrote to Lawrence Ryall, by his messenger, that, if he would send over Henrick de Watterfoord and Peter de Yonge, two of his principal merchants, to remain as pledges in Nylacka, Mr Courthop and another should be sent to confer with him. We got back for answer, that the merchants we demanded as pledges could not be sent, as the one was gone to sea, and the other could not be spared, being their chief book-keeper; but offering us two other principal merchants, whom we agreed to accept. Accordingly, on the 6th April, the Dutch galley brought over these two, whom we lodged in a tent near the landing-place under a guard of twelve Englishmen to protect them from the Bandanese, as we did not think it right to bring them into our fort, that they might not have an opportunity of viewing our fortifications.

Mr Courthop went immediately over to Nero in their galley, and had a long conference with the Dutch, in which they used many threats, and complained of many injuries they pretended to have suffered from the English, but of which I shall only briefly treat, as the letter from Mr Courthop, which I brought over from Banda and delivered to Captain Ball, will certify your worships at large on this matter. They complained, that Sir Henry Middleton had used the Dutch colours, when in the Red Sea, pretending to be Holland ships, to their injury and discredit. To this Mr Courthop replied, that it was false, as he had sailed with Sir Henry, and never knew him to wear Dutch colours; which, moreover, Sir Henry was too much a gentleman to have done. They pretended to have our king's letter, authorizing them to capture any English ship seen to the eastwards of the Celebes. Mr Courthop urged them to produce this letter, on seeing which he declared his readiness to obey the authority of his sovereign, and to evacuate Puloroon; but they had none such to produce. They alleged many other things, equally false, and used many arguments to induce us to quit Puleroon. All this time, neither Mr Davies nor any other of the English in their hands were permitted to come near Mr Courthop.

Finding he could not prevail, Lawrence Ryall, the Dutch general

general, grew much discontented, throwing his hat on the ground and pulling his beard for sheer anger. At length Mr Courthop told him, that he could conclude nothing of his own authority, being joined with a council, but should relate every thing that had passed at Puloroon, which should be taken into consideration and an answer sent. I had advised him to say this, to get the easier away. Mr Courthop also urged them to restore our ship the Defence, with her men and goods; but they would not, unless we agreed to surrender Puloroon; offering, if we would deliver up Nylacka and our fort, in which we had twelve pieces of ordnance, that they would then restore both the Swan and Defence, with all our men and goods. Ryall then desired Mr Courthop to sign a note which he had drawn, acknowledging the proffers he had made, but this Mr Courthop refused.

They had so wrought upon Mr Davies, that they expected he might be able to prevail upon Mr Courthop to come into their terms, and now therefore brought him to Mr Courthop, with whom he had much discourse, and particularly urged the truth of the letter they pretended to have from the king of England, as before mentioned. When Mr Courthop told him what he had offered, in case that letter were produced, Mr Davies distinctly saw he had been imposed upon, and broke out into a rage against them, for having told so many falsehoods;[3] adding, that they had promised him and his men good treatment, but that his men complained of being in great want of food and clothing, and of general hard usage. They had sat in judgment upon him and his men, condemning them to remain as prisoners till they had orders from Holland as to their ultimate destination. He even said, that he was willing to continue in durance, provided we could keep them out of Puloroon. The conference being ended, Mr Courthop came back to Nylacka in the galley, and the pledges were restored.

The eastern monsoon being now come, we fitted out a proa to send with dispatches to Bantam, giving an account of what had passed; and it was agreed that Mr Hinchley and I were to go, accompanied by four Englishmen and fourteen natives of Puloroon, of whom five were chiefs, or *orancays*, one of them being son to the sabander, who is the principal

[3] Purchas, in a side note at this place, quaintly converts the name of the Dutch general into Lawrence *Ly-all.*—E.

principal man of the island. We set sail from Puloroon on the 17th April, 1617, and when in sight of Bottone on our way for Macassar, we descried a large ship and a pinnace, which gave us chace under a press of sail, so that we had no means of escape, except by standing in for Bottone. After being chased half a day, we got near the town of Bottone by night, thinking the ships could not have got so far up the river; but seeing the ship and pinnace almost within musket-shot of us next morning, we presently landed most of what we had in the proa, taking refuge in the woods. Having so done, we went immediately to the king, to whom we gave a present of such things as we had, to the value of about thirty dollars, desiring his protection, which he promised in the kindest manner, and faithfully performed. He sent his servants along with us, to put all our things into a house, giving us also two houses for our lodging, desiring us to remain within, that we might not be discovered by our enemies.

Almost immediately afterwards, the Hollanders went to the king, giving him a present three times the value of ours, and enquired who we were that had landed. To which the king answered that he knew not who we were. On being asked by the king how long they meant to stay, the Dutch said they proposed remaining six days; of which the king sent us notice, advising us to keep close for that time, that we might proceed in greater security after they were gone. But at the end of these six days the Dutch said they would stay six days longer, pretending they had to repair one of their masts. Seeing their intention, and because our proa lay in view of the Dutch, we bought another proa, into which the king made all our things be carried by his slaves, causing them to navigate that proa past the Hollanders, and to carry her to the back of the island, whither he sent us over land under the protection of fifty men. We went immediately aboard, but remained under the island till near night, when we stood our course for Macassar, and saw no more of the Hollanders.

We arrived at Macassar on the 7th May, where we found the Attendance intending for Banda, but was unable to beat up, owing to the change of the monsoon. Having shipped in the Attendance 180 *suckles* of mace, purchased at Macassar, we sent the proa to Banjarmassen and Succadanea in Borneo, with advice that a supply of goods could not be sent

there

there as expected, owing to the non-arrival of the Solomon, which had been long expected at Bantam. The 3d June we arrived at Bantam. As Captain George Barkley was dead, to whom Mr Ball succeeded as chief of the factory, I have delivered all the papers to him, and doubt not that your worships may receive them by the first conveyance. These are, two surrenders, the letters from the Hollanders with our answers, and every thing relative to our proceedings in Banda.

When I left Puloroon, it was agreed that another proa was to be dispatched for Bantam in twenty days after our departure, lest we might have been pursued and taken by the Hollanders. Accordingly a proa[4] was sent, in which was laden 170 suckles of mace, containing 3366 cattees, each cattee being six English pounds and nearly two ounces, costing at the rate of one dollar the cattee;[5] which, had it gone safe, might have sold in England for £5000. In this proa there were eight Englishmen and thirty Bandanese, under the charge of Walter Stacie, who had been mate under Mr Hinchley in the Defence. His knowledge and care, however, did not answer expectation, for he ran the proa on the rocky shoals near the island of Bottone, where she bilged and lost all the mace, the men getting ashore. Stacie is much blamed by the rest, some of whom told him they saw land on the lee-bow, but he was peevish and headstrong, calling them all fools, and would not listen to them.

May it please your worships to understand, that the Hollanders replied, when told that their vile abuses to us would lie heavy on them when known in Europe, "That they can make as good friends in the court of England as your worships; that this which they have done will oblige your worships and them to join, so that a gold chain will recompence all, and they have dollars enough in Holland to pay for a ship or two, providing they can hinder us from trading at Banda."

In regard to the trade of the Banda islands, Puloroon is reported to be the worst island. It is about eight English miles in circuit, and the small adjoining island of Nylacka is about a mile round. There is a tolerable quantity of nutmegs and mace grown on Puloroon, and considerably more might

[4] In a marginal note, this is called a junk.—E.

[5] From the statement in the text, the suckle appears to have been about 122 English pounds, and the quantity of mace accordingly, shipped on this occasion, about 185 cwt. or 9¼ tons.—E.

might be got there if the island were well cultivated. Rosengin is a fine island, producing the largest nutmegs and best mace of all the Banda islands; and, if we hold possession of Puloroon, abundance of nutmegs and mace could be had from Rosengin, Lantore, and other places; as the natives would come over to us with their spices, provided we supply them with rice, cloth, salt, pepper, molasses, and other necessaries, and some Macassar gold, which passes as current in Banda as Spanish rials of eight, and at the same rate, though only worth at Bantam two shillings and fourpence or two and sixpence, for the piece called mass. Our cargo was small, having only 100 *quoines* of rice, and our cloth was much decayed, having lain two or three years at Macassar. If we had had three times as much, we could have sold it all at Puloroon for mace and nutmegs, being entreated for cloth and rice by people from Lantore, Rosengin and other places, but had it not, so that some returned home again with part of their spices. They came over to Puloroon in the night with proas and corracorras. The mace and nuts were very good, but must be injured by lying so long, owing to the molestations of the Hollanders, while we had no lime for preserving the nuts. The trade will turn out very profitable, if we may quietly possess the island of Puloroon; but we must buy rice at a lower rate than in Macassar, and I understand it can be had in Japan for about half the price.

In regard to our right to the Banda islands, especially Puloway, Captain Castleton might have made that secure, as I have often been told; and at all events, we have a much better right than the Hollanders, who by force of arms have dispossessed us. Except Puloroon be supplied this year, and the possession maintained, the English name will be utterly disgraced, with little chance of our ever being received there again. If we are able to hold it until your worships have determined what to do in the matter, we shall soon be able to procure there as much mace and nutmegs as the Hollanders; and it may also serve as an entrance into the Moluccas for cloves. The Hollanders pretend an exclusive right to the Bandas and Moluccas, in consequence of having the son of the king of Ternate in their hands as a prisoner. But the Bandanese deny that the king of Ternate has any right of dominion in their islands, every one of their islands being free, and governed by sabanders and orancays of their own appointment.

It

It is indispensible, that supplies of rice and other victuals, and cloth, should be sent for the English and Bandanese, and to bring away the nutmegs and mace we have there in godowns or warehouses. The Hollanders give out that they will take all your ships that go to those parts, so as to famish both the English and Bandanese; wherefore it requires earnest and speedy attention, that we may quietly enjoy our trade to these islands, which have been surrendered to us, and desire our trade. These are Puloway, Puloroon, Rosengin, and Wayre, which last is a town in Lantore. Puloway is reported to be a paradise, and the Hollanders allege that it is as much worth to them as Scotland is to his majesty. Even should your worships not be able to get Puloway restored, yet, if you enjoy the other three, we shall be able to procure enough of nutmegs and mace for the supply of England, and also for the trade of Surat and other places in India. Now is the time or never, considering the vile abuses and murders committed upon us by the Hollanders. At this time, the Charles and the Hope are bound home from Bantam, and I pray God to send them safe to London. I have sent your worships a brief abstract of our cargo for Banda, and of the sales made there. If I seem tedious, I humbly crave pardon; and, with my humble duty, beseeching the Almighty to prosper and give good success to all your designs, I humbly take leave,

being your worships most humble servant in all duty,

Thomas Spurway.

SECTION X.

FIFTH VOYAGE OF THE JOINT STOCK BY THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY, IN 1617, UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

The fleet appointed for this voyage consisted of five ships; the James Royal of 1000 tons, Rowland Coytmore master; the Ann Royal of 900 tons, Andrew Shilling master; the Gift of 800 tons, Nathaniel Salmon master; the Bull of 400 tons,

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 631.

tons, Robert Adams master; and the Bee of 150 tons, John Hatch master; the whole under the supreme command of Martin Pring, general, who sailed in the James Royal.—*Purch.*

§ 1. *Occurrences on the Voyage out, and at Surat, Bantam, and Jacatra.*

On Tuesday the 4th February, 1617, our fleet dropt down from Gravesend. Thursday the 6th, Mr deputy Maurice Abbot, with several of the commissioners, came aboard and mustered all our men, paying their harbour wages. These gentlemen left us next day, when all our men were entered upon whole pay. After much foul weather, we departed from the Downs on the 5th March. The 22d of June we had sight of Saldanha point, and anchored that same afternoon in the bay, whence we departed on the 13th July. The moon was totally eclipsed at night of the 6th August; it began at eight o'clock and continued till past eleven, being totally eclipsed for an hour and half. On the 25th August at night, between seven and eight o'clock, being in latitude 4° 20′ S. the water of the sea seemed almost as white as milk, and so continued till morning, when it began to alter. Next night we found the water similar, but not altogether so white. Before day on the 30th, the water was again white, and likewise the next night; but on all these occasions we could find no ground.

On the night of the 8th September at twelve o'clock, our ship sprung a leak, which, when discovered, had raised the water in our hold six feet and a half. In four hours, with both pumps, the ship was freed, but we afterwards found that the water increased at the rate of a foot in the half hour. In the morning of the 9th, I summoned the chief commanders of the fleet on board, desiring them to send their carpenters to assist in searching for the leak, and some of each of their companies to aid our men in pumping. Some were set to rummage the hold in search of the leak, and others to stick our sprit-sail full of oakum, with which we made several trials under the ship's bilge, but could not find the leak. We at length found, by divers trials within board, that the leak was before the main-mast; and we, next morning, fitted the sprit-sail again, letting it down at the stern, and brought it forwards by degrees, and at length, by

by God's blessing, our leak was partly stopped, as the water only rose about six inches in a glass, which had before risen twelve inches. But within three glasses, the oakum being washed out, the leak increased as before. This night we got an additional pump from the Bull, to free the water from the fore part of our ship, where it stood eighteen inches deeper than in our well. The 11th, we again fitted our sprit-sail with oakum and let it down again, when it pleased God so to favour us, that in an hour after our ship was tighter than ever.

On the morning of the 12th we espied a sail, which the Gift came up with in the afternoon, being a Portuguese ship belonging to Don Pedro de Almeyda, from Mozambique bound for Diu, laden principally with about fifty quintals of elephants teeth. In the morning of the 20th the Bee rejoined us from Swally roads, informing us that the rest of our fleet was safe in that anchorage. They had brought in with them a junk and two other ships, which they had chased on the 16th. The junk was a great ship of Surat, belonging to the mother of the Great Mogul, burden about 1200 or 1400 tons, having in her above 1000 persons, and twenty-nine tons of silver, though some said a great deal more. The other two were English interlopers, called the Francis and the Lion; the former of 160 tons, belonging to *****, and commanded by Captain Neuce; and the latter of 120 tons, fitted out by Philip Bernardy, an Italian merchant in London, commanded by Thomas Jones, who had formerly been boatswain of the Hector.

This evening we anchored in the road of Swally, where we found the rest of our fleet, with the foresaid junk and the two English privateers. On our arrival, we heard of two Dutch ships having been cast away at *Gowdever*;[1] the Rotterdam of 1000 tons, and a small pinnace. The 9th October, I sent up twenty-one chests of coral to Surat, which were landed two days before from the Ann; and at night I sent up eight tons and four hundredweight of elephants teeth, taken out of our Portuguese prize. This afternoon twenty sail of frigates from Goa arrived at the bar of Surat, commanded by the Captain-major Don Pedro de Asadedo, [*Asevedo*?] From one of these, five of the country people came ashore among our men, two of whom were taken by our

[1] This name is inexplicably corrupt.—E.

our guard, and confessed they came from Goa a month before, having orders from the viceroy to range the coast, to discover the English, when they were to return; but if the English were not on the coast, they were to proceed for Cambay, to capture the caffila, or convoy of country vessels.

In the morning of the 14th October, seventeen of the frigates departed for Cambay, passing fairly by us. This day likewise I sent fourteen tons of elephants teeth to Surat, under a guard of thirty-six men, who likewise conveyed our treasure to Ahmedabad; and, on the 17th, I sent other twelve tons four hundredweight of elephants teeth. This day the Portuguese frigates returned again, and passed in our sight to the southwards. Next day we sent off all the rest for our ivory; and on the 22d we landed sixteen chests of coral, and two of sea-horse teeth, out of the Bull.

The 14th November, a month's pay was distributed to all the ships companies, except the chief commanders and merchants, amounting to 3302 Spanish dollars. After this, the Bee was sent off for Jasques; and we landed from the other ships cloth, tin, cases of wine and strong waters, and all the rest of the presents that were in the cabin.

The 17th January, 1618, the Bee returned from Persia. This day seven Malabar junks were seen in the offing, two of which were brought in by the Francis, and two by the Bee. We departed from Swally roads on the 12th March, and anchored that same evening near the bar of Surat. The 17th, in the morning, the wind coming about northerly, the Ann departed for the Red Sea, and on the 18th I dispatched the Bull. At noon of this day, standing to the southward, we were in lat. 11° 25′ N. the wind, as for four or five days before, being, at night, a slight breath from the land, and, by day, in the afternoon, a fresh breeze from the sea. In the forenoon of this day, we saw eight sail to the southward of us, and three between us and the land, besides two gallies and ten frigates. In the afternoon of the 28th, the Francis and the Bee being near the shore abreast of Calicut, the Zamorin sent off a boat desiring to speak with me, but I was too far shot to the southwards before the message reached me.

The 2d April we got in the morning into the bay of *Brinjan*, where we anchored in fourteen fathoms, within half a league of the town, a high peaked hill, like a sugar-loaf, bearing N.E. by E. by the compass, which is the best mark

to know this place by, when the weather is clear. This is a good place for refreshments, having hens, cocoa-nuts, and goats in abundance, and plenty of fish, together with excellent water springing from the rock; but we had to pay seventy dollars, a cloth vest, a fowling-piece, a mirror, and a sword, for leave to provide ourselves with water, and all too little to satisfy the governor, who, after receiving our money and giving us leave, came down with seven or eight hundred men, demanding more money, and if we had not kept a strong guard at the spring, would have put us from it after our money was paid. The 5th, the wind being fair off shore, we weighed anchor and departed, and in the evening were abreast of a headland eight leagues S.E. by E. from Brinjan, from which to Cape Comorin it is seven leagues E. two-thirds S. At six in the evening of the 7th, we had Cape Comorin N.N.E. one-third N. five leagues off, and had soundings in thirty fathoms. And on the 19th June we were in Bantam roads, when Captain Ball and Mr Pickham came on board.

On the 24th I visited the pangran, to accommodate matters for Captain Ball, who had arrested a Chinese junk for certain debts they owed our factory, making offer to restore the junk, if the pangran would give us justice, which he gave me his word to do. I went to him again on 6th July, accompanied by Mr Ball, Mr Rich, Mr Pickham, and several other merchants, when he was so inveterate against Mr Ball, that he refused to see him. On which I sent him word, that Mr Ball had brought the bills of our debt due by the Chinese, and was the only person among us who could explain the transactions between our factory and the Chinese, of which I was entirely ignorant. The messenger returned, saying that Mr Ball could not be received, on which we all left the court.

The 1st September, having the wind off the land, we weighed in the morning, and stood for point Ayre, keeping in seven fathoms till within three miles of the point, where one cast we had a quarter less seven, and the next cast only three fathoms. Some supposed we here touched, but it was not perceived by me. Off this point there is a shoal almost even with the surface of the water, but having seven fathoms within two cables length of its edge. This afternoon, while standing towards three Dutch ships that rode right in the fair-way, and when within a mile of them, our ship grounded;

ed; but, God be praised, we got her off again without any hurt, and so into the bay, where we again fell in with a shoal, of which we came within two cables length, which lies one and a half league from the Flemish islands. We got safely into the road of Jacatra, [now Batavia road] in the afternoon of the 2d September, having been providentially delivered from three several dangers the day before, of which may we be ever thankful.

The 19th, the Angel, a Dutch ship of 500 tons, came in from Amboina, laden with nutmegs and cloves, and departed again on the 25th. Early in the morning of the 26th, I went to visit the king, and found him in a good humour, and conferring with him upon some former business, we came to a conclusion before I left him, to the following purpose: That he was to give us a convenient piece of ground for building upon, for which we were to pay 1500 dollars, and were to be free from all customs on exports and imports, on payment of 800 dollars yearly.

§ 2. *Dutch Injustice, and Sea-fight between them and Sir Thomas Dale.*

The 27th of September, Mr Bishop arrived from Jappara in the roads in a proa, in which was a *Cogee*, bringing a letter from the *Matran* to Captain Ball, wherefore I sent him away to Bantam that night. He left two English behind him at Jappara, one of whom had fled from the Dutch. He likewise brought letters from several of our people who were prisoners in the Moluccas, and one of these was directed to me, from Mr Richard Tatten, in which he complained much of the gross usage of the Dutch, who would hardly allow them a sufficiency of rice to subsist upon, and who constantly clapped them in irons, on every idle rumour of the coming of our ships.

In the evening of the 30th October, Cornelius Marthen, who commanded the French ship taken by the Dutch, came into the roads, and came aboard my ship that same night. After some discourse, he told me we had six ships coming from England for these seas, commanded by Sir Thomas Dale, for some special business at the Moluccas, whither he was bound with the Stathouder, the Neptune, and this French prize, to wait the coming of good friends. The 27th, in the evening, we had four feet and a half water in our

our hold, which we freed in two hours with both our pumps, and kept under afterwards with one pump, till next morning about ten o'clock, when we let down a sail wadded with oakum, which fortunately stopped our leak. The 31st, I found an excellent place for putting our ship on the careen, on a small island within Taniam point, in the bay of Bantam, on which we made all preparations to remove to that place.

The Rose arrived from Tecoo on the 15th of November, bringing news that the Hollanders had established a factory there soon after ours was dissolved. The 19th, the Moon, Clove, Samson, and Peppercorn arrived from England, and anchored between Vium point and Pulo Paniang. Perceiving the Clove to be admiral, I went first on board her, taking such fresh victuals as we could spare. I here found Sir Thomas Dale admiral, and Mr Jordain president, and learnt that they had lost company of the Globe to the westward of the Cape, and, what was far worse, they had left the Sun, the flag ship, in great danger of being cast away on the isle of Engano, the whole fleet having much difficulty to double that island. They had afterwards waited two days for the Sun, but she had been bilged on the rocks, as we afterwards learnt, to our great regret. In the morning of the 22d, these ships sailed into Bantam roads, and on passing the island where our ship lay, we saluted them with fifteen guns we had planted on the shore, and struck my flag in compliment to Sir Thomas Dale, who was admiral of that fleet.

Two boats arrived on the 28th from Engano, with sixty-eight men belonging to the Sun, bringing the lamentable news of the loss of that ship, with many of her company, on that island. The 29th, the Globe arrived in the morning, and this day our leak broke out afresh, but was quickly stopped by removing the bonnet.[1] The 30th, our ship being entirely cleared from stem to stern, the carpenters went below to search for the leak; and as they passed forwards, removing the lining as they went, they found an auger hole left open in the middle of the keel, in the foremost room save one, which hole was four inches and three quarters about, and, had it sprung upon us while at sea and alone, would have tired out our whole company in twenty-four hours. In this the

[1] Perhaps this means by shifting the wadded sail.—E.

the great mercy of God was manifest, that it never broke out upon us but when we had a fleet along with us for our aid.

A fast being proclaimed to be held on board the fleet, and the exercise to be in the James on Sunday the 3d December, Mr Wren, the chaplain of the Sun, preached in the morning, and our own minister, Mr Copland, in the afternoon. This day the Bee sailed for Engano, in hopes to recover some money and goods belonging to the Swan, from the inhabitants of that island. The 4th, a Dutch ship, called the Black Lion, arrived from Patania, and rode to the westward of Pulo Paniang. As Mr Denton was well acquainted among the Dutch, he was sent aboard in the barge to enquire whence she came. On coming aboard, he met an old acquaintance, Hendrick Janson, who had been a long time chief factor for the Dutch in Patania. He, and another inferior factor, came aboard the Moon along with Mr Denton, where they were well entertained till Sir Thomas Dale came on board, and were soon after set ashore at Bantam. That same night we held a council, when it was determined to proceed before day with four ships, the Moon, Clove, Globe, and Samson, against the Black Lion, the better to prevent her escape. At break of day on the 6th, we were close around her, and after a short parley, they yielded their ship, on condition of being allowed to land with all their private property; and we brought her that same day near the island, among the rest of our fleet.

The Bee returned on the 14th, having been forced back by contrary wind, and unable to get through the straits. On the 16th, twenty Portuguese came on board the James Royal, who had fled from the Dutch at Jacatra, and whom we received kindly. This evening we were ready to sail, having eleven ships, great and small, and being in hopes to drive the Dutch from Jacatra. Our fleet consisted of the following ships:—The Moon, in which Sir Thomas Dale sailed as admiral; the Gift, in which I sailed as vice-admiral; the Unicorn, Clove, Globe, Samson, Pepper-corn, Thomas, Bee, Rose, and Black Lion. We left behind us the James Royal, the Advice, and our prize, because the James was not ready, and the other two had most of her provisions and stores on board.

We sailed in the morning of the 19th, and anchored that evening between Pulo Paniang and Pulo Tunda. In the evening of the 20th, we anchored with our whole fleet about a league

a league to the northward of Hector island. This night we sent a barge to the Flemish islands, where they found no persons on the southern island; but there lay there a Dutch galley, which they set on fire, and so returned on board. That same evening we saw seven Dutch vessels in the bay of Jacatra. Early in the morning of the 21st, they all stood out towards us till near the islands, when they anchored all together, and we stood towards them in the afternoon, coming to anchor about a mile to windward of their fleet. In the evening, we held a consultation on board the Moon, when it was resolved to assault the Dutch fleet in the following manner:—The Globe and Samson were appointed to assail the Sun, and the Thomas was to pass in between them, filled with combustible matter as a fire-ship, to set the Sun on fire. The Moon and Clove were to attempt the Golden Lion; the Gift and Bee were to assail the Angel; the Unicorn and Rose were to attack the Devil of Delft; and the Pepper-corn was ordered to surprise the *burger-boat* come from Jambee, which rode about three leagues from the rest, and whose boat, with thirteen men, had been intercepted by our barge, while making for the Dutch fleet, about seven this evening. This arrangement being written down, we departed, every man to his own particular charge.

After we were gone, the admiral, Sir Thomas Dale, sent his boat to the Thomas for three *sackers*, which kept them at work till next morning at eight o'clock, so that the Hollanders were all away before these guns were got on board the Moon. We were then all in a hurly-burly to weigh and get out to sea, that we might have sea-room, and the advantage of the turn of the tide, which we at length attained, getting without the isles of Point Aire. In the mean time, the Dutch fleet passing between these isles and the main of Java, anchored that night on the coast of Java, and our fleet in the offing, without the islands. On the 23d, in the morning, the Dutch fleet stood off to the westwards, close under *Anti-Lackie*, in which course the Devil of Delft borrowed so near, that she got aground, and remained fast for a quarter of an hour. On seeing this, we made towards them, but she was got off before we could get any thing near, when she and all the rest of their fleet stood to the northwards. As our fleet had the weather-gage, we *paid room upon them*,[2] till we came

[2] This antiquated expression evidently means bearing down upon them to leewards.—E.

came within shot, and then the Moon, commanded by our admiral, Sir Thomas Dale, began the fight with the head-most ship of the enemy, called the Sun. The battle continued for the space of three hours, during which time we spent upon them some 1200 cannon-shot, when we left them for the night, they standing so far to the northwards, that they got the *burger-boat* again into their company, and then anchored about half a league from us to the westwards, where they remained all night.

Both fleets weighed anchor on the 24th, ours plying to the westwards to gain the wind, and the Hollanders ran in shore towards Point Aire. In the mean time, we descried three sail coming before the wind from the westwards, which at length we perceived to be the Little James, the Hound, and the Francis. By and bye we joined altogether, and chased the Dutch fleet through the bay of Jacatra, to its eastern point, where we all came to anchor for the night. During the night, the Dutch from Jacatra sent a junk filled with combustible matter, and on fire, which came so near our fleet that we were fain to weigh our anchors and get out of her way. The 25th, being Christmas-day, we again saw the Dutch fleet standing to the eastwards, and we sent our barge to follow them all night, to see what course they took, because we had left the James Royal in the bay of Bantam, with the Advice and our prize, which they might have surprised, if they got to Bantam before us, as there was no ship of force but the James, and she was unprepared, being busied in taking in her goods and stores, after being emptied to find her leak.

The 27th of December, after midnight, the Black Lion, our Dutch prize, was set on fire by the carelessness of three wicked fellows, and burnt to the water's edge. The president went ashore on the morning of the 30th, to wait upon the king of Jacatra, accompanied by Mr Henry Jackson, when an unfortunate shot carried away his leg, of which wound he died.[3]

The 1st of January, 1619, the James Royal, the Advice, and the prize, joined us from Bantam. The 2d, Sir Thomas Dale went ashore to Jacatra to visit the king, and to learn what were his intentions respecting the Dutch fort. The king

[3] It appears in the sequel that it was Jackson who lost his leg and life, though the text leaves it dubious whether he or the president.—E.

king gave to both him and the president much satisfaction, in words at least, promising to grant the English any reasonable conditions, if they would assist him to surprise the Dutch castle. This morning, before day, the Francis departed for Puloroon, with provisions for the relief of Mr Nathaniel Courthop and his companions. The 6th we held a council of war aboard the Moon, when it was determined that we should land from our greater ships six pieces of large cannon, three culverines, and three demi-culverines, with a proportional store of powder and shot, to assist the king of Jacatra against the Dutch; that Sir Thomas Dale was to remain in that road with eight sail, to cover this business, while five ships, under my command, were to ply up for the straits of Sunda, to lie in wait for the Dutch ships.

The 25th, we got into the road of Becee, and anchored in fifteen fathoms, about two miles from the shore; the S. point of Becee bearing S.W. ¼ W. and the N. point *Sabaicas*, which shut in the western isle of Pulo Tiga, bearing N. by W. three leagues off. We watered our ships on the 27th and 28th, and cut wood. I and Mr Coytmore, with several other masters, went twice ashore to view the harbour, which we found to be an excellent place of refuge for a small fleet against a superior enemy. The 31st, by order of the president, we repaired with our fleet into Bantam roads.

The 1st February, Captain John Jourdan the president came on board, who acquainted me with all that had taken place between them and the Dutch, in regard to the castle of Jacatra, during my absence, the Dutch having agreed to deliver up that fort to the English, on condition of being allowed to depart with bag and baggage, and a ship, *for two thousand rials of eight*, to carry them to the coast of Coromandel.[4] Sir Thomas Dale arrived in Bantam roads on the 4th, with the Moon, Clove, James, Pepper-corn, Hound, and Advice. As the pangran of Bantam had practised underhandedly with the Dutch to have the castle of Jacatra delivered into his hands, by which we had been unjustly deprived of that acquisition, we agreed, in a general consultation, that the president, and all the rest of the principal persons of our factory at Bantam, should repair on board, and get

[4] This agreement was crossed by the Pangran of Bantam, who gave us leave to beat the bush, and thought to have caught the birds himself, but was deceived in the end.—*Purch.*

get all our goods and provisions put aboard the ships. Accordingly, we were occupied from the 10th to 16th, both inclusive, in getting all the money and goods belonging to the honourable Company on board. During this time, the pangran sent several obscure persons to the president, as of their own accord, to enquire the reason of his departure, pretending that the pangran had given no just cause for leaving the country. Upon this the president drew up a memorial, enumerating the several grievances and wrongs which the English had suffered from him, meaning to have it translated into the Javan language, and then to be transmitted to the pangran.

The 17th, advice was received from Mr Ufflet, at Jacatra, that the Dutch were daily occupied in repairing and strengthening their fortifications; and that, when the messengers of the pangran demanded the surrender of their fort, with part of their money, goods, and ordnance, they gave for answer, That all these things were the property of their masters, which therefore they could not give away. We this day received news of two Dutch ships in the road of Jacatra, and that same night Sir Thomas Dale set sail with eight ships in quest of them, while I remained with four to attend upon the president. The 26th, having certain intelligence that four Holland ships were at anchor in the mouth of the Straits of Sunda, I went out that same evening to look for them, with the James, Gift, Unicorn, and the Little James. Next morning we anchored near Pulo Paniang, to take in water, and to put our ships into order, by taking aboard some planks that were alongside.

We weighed again in the morning of the 1st March, making sail towards the mouth of the Straits, where we observed the two Dutch ships at anchor near the island of Tamporan, about three leagues to the westwards of Viun, or Palambangan point. We immediately made all sail towards them, while they, as in a careless manner, plied to and fro, having their topsails half mast down. At length, as we drew nigh, the Dutch admiral and all the rest of his ships bore up with my ship, which was most to windward, and gave us two shots, one of which went through the ship's side under the half-deck, and the other through the steerage. They had no sooner begun than they were as quickly answered from my ship, and in such measure, that, in the space of two hours, they became as quiet as lambs; their admiral, who gave the onset

onset with so much arrogance, being the first to run away, followed by all the rest. We chased them till night, and then finding them too swift of foot, we gave over the chase, standing over towards Pulo Tunda. We came to anchor again on the 2d of March in the road of Bantam, on which day we had intelligence that one of the two ships lately come to Jacatra had got aground near the castle, and had been set on fire by themselves on seeing Sir Thomas Dale. The other ship, which had taken in a valuable loading from the castle, was also cast away on some rocks, ten leagues east of Jacatra.

On the 4th, we had a letter from John Powell, residing at Jacatra, stating that Sir Thomas Dale had sailed on the 1st, with the Moon, Hound, Rose, and Bee, in search of the stranded Dutch ship. The 14th we heard from Sir Thomas that he had got almost within shot of the four Dutch ships we met with, but had been taken by a dead calm for twelve hours, succeeded in the night by a tempest, which scattered them so far asunder by next morning, that they lost all hopes of the chase, and had therefore returned to Point Ayre, whence he proposed bringing the Moon immediately to Bantam, leaving the rest of his ships to take in provisions at Jacatra. In a consultation as to the best course to be taken with the fleet, it was resolved to go to the coast of Coromandel, which we were informed was a good country for recovering the health of our men, and abounding in rice, wheat, butter, and other provisions, which could not be procured here for any money.

§ 3. *Departure for Coromandel, with Occurrences there, and the Death of Sir Thomas Dale.—Capture of English Ships by the Dutch; and Occurrences at Tecoo.*

On Monday the 19th of April, 1619, all our ships being together in Bantam roads, with three Chinese junks riding among us, it was resolved in council to execute the commission given us by the Honourable Company, by appropriating to them the goods in these junks, in payment of former debts due by the Chinese. Next day *Kewee* came aboard to the president, accompanied by the three *nockhadas*, or captains of the junks, to know his intentions. He gave him the following answer:—If the young king of Bantam would displace the pangran, who had treated us with so much injustice,

tice, he would then return on shore and *bichar*[1] with him, and restore the junks. The 28th, being ready to sail, intending to go for Morrogh to take in water and unload the junks, we descried a sail coming from the westwards round Palinbangan point, which turned out to be a Portuguese frigate, captured at Jasques, manned by twenty Englishmen, and sent by Captain Bonnar with advice to the president at Bantam. We learnt from these men that Sir Thomas Roe, the lord ambassador to the Mogul, was gone for England in the Ann Royal, having left the country with great honour and reputation to himself, and much advantage of the Honourable Company. Bodman, who was the cause of setting the Black Lion on fire, was hanged on the 22d of May, and that same night we set sail.

The 30th May, Sir Thomas Roe stood in with his fleet under the island, while we held on our course for Masulipatam, having the Unicorn, Gift, and Bee in our company. The 30th June we anchored in nine fathoms, about two leagues from the coast of Coromandel, where we rode four days, being hardly able to visit each other in all that time, owing to W.S.W. winds, and a continual current setting to E.N.E. The surf also broke so lofty on the beach, that we durst not attempt landing with any of our boats. We were at length able to communicate together, when Mr Roberts, the master of the Unicorn, gave us notice of a bay on this coast in the latitude of 17° N. about five leagues to the eastwards of Nassapore, [Narsipore] where there was good riding during the westerly monsoon. This was exactly what I wanted, having no hope to recover Masulipatam against wind and current. We accordingly set sail on the 4th, in the morning, and stood to the eastwards, the coast trending W. S.W. and E.N.E. And having run about nine leagues by estimation, with the wind and current, we found the land to turn away N. and N. by W.[2] giving me hopes of a good road. At this point of land there cometh out a great river,[3] by the stream of which there has been raised a reef or shoal, extending half a mile into the sea from the point, and occasioning a smoother road. Bringing that sand to bear S.S.W. there is good and safe anchorage in six and a half fathoms, two

[1] This unexplained term probably means to make peace.—E.
[2] Obviously rounding Cape Godawery, in lat. 16° 83′ N.
[3] One of the two main branches forming the Delta of the Godawery.—E.

two miles from the land. Two leagues north from this point, which, for distinction, I name Cape Comfort, there issues forth another branch of the same river, by which the headland is made an island, and off the mouth of this river there is likewise a long spit of sand, which is dry at low water.

The 4th of July I sent the boat belonging to the Unicorn into the second branch of the river, which we called Mullet Sound, to see if they could discover any town where a guide might be procured, to conduct Robert Pickering and William Clarke to Masulipatam, by whom we proposed sending a letter to Mr Methwould. Our boat returned on the morning of the 6th, reporting that a guide had been procured at a little village three leagues up the river. They likewise brought aboard twenty hens, which they had bought for two shillings. The 8th, the barge returned from Captain Ball with seventy-one sheep and goats, and thirty-nine hens, having left Captain Ball and others at a town called *Narsapela*, six leagues up in the country. The 12th, Mr Methwould came from Masulipatam in one of the country boats, and brought with him twenty hogs, two large jars of arrack, six goats, and two baskets of bread. He also brought us news of a Dutch ship richly laden, then in the port of Masulipatam, and ready to depart for Holland.

In the evening of the 26th, I went in the barge to seek out some bar or creek by which we might reach Coringa, the principal town in these parts near the sea side. That same night, I got over the bar of Coringa, which place I came to about two miles up the river, and was well received by the principal persons of the place, who were very ready to trade with us, and sent notice that same night of my arrival to the governor of Vingeron. Next morning, having rowed about three miles up the main river, and two miles up a little creek, we had sight of Vingeron, about twelve miles off.[4] I now landed, and walked towards Vingeron; but, before I reached it, the governor sent his horse for me, with all the music the place afforded; and among these instruments there were two great brass horns instead of trumpets. The governor received me very kindly, but more kindly my present, which consisted of two pieces of China velvet, and six pieces of China taffeta.

[4] The town of Rajahmundry exactly answers to these circumstances, in reference to Coringa, and is in fact the head town of the province in which Coringa is situated.—E.

taffeta. Our compliments ended, I took leave of him, when he caused me to be conveyed in his own palanquin to a house near at hand, which he had appointed for my lodging.

I returned on board the James on the 1st of August, when I learnt, to my sorrow, that the shallop belonging to the Unicorn had been cast away three days before, near Ponara, on which occasion Mr Harris was drowned, together with two of the coxwain's crew, and a black; Captain Spaulding, Mr Yard, and others, escaping with much difficulty. In the morning of the 2d, the governor of Vingeron came aboard to see our ship, expecting some great present; on which occasion I gave him a piece of China damask, and four pieces of taffeta, which gave him more delight than the sight of a thousand ships, and he departed when he found he got nothing more by begging. The 23d I caused all the men to come on board, intending to proceed for Masulipatam, and this evening we got on board 150 goats, to serve us for fresh provisions at sea. The 24th there arrived a ballegat from Narsepore, bringing twenty-six candees of garavances, a candee of butter, and an hundred gallons of arrack.[5] I also had letters from Masulipatam, announcing the melancholy news that Sir Thomas Dale had died at that place on the 9th of August.

In the morning of the 6th September, having rode most part of the preceding night in nineteen fathoms, about three leagues S.S.E. from the bar of Narispore, and having the wind at N.W. we again set sail toward Masulipatam,[6] and anchored at night four leagues to the eastward of that place. Off the river of Narsipore we found the current to set by day to the S.S.E. and N.N.E. in the night, at the rate of half a league an hour. In the morning of the 7th we could see the English ships in the road of Masulipatam, in which road we came to anchor in the evening, finding here the Moon, Clove, Globe, and Advice, which last being found unserviceable, was here cast off, and her stores and provisions put on board the Moon and Clove. Next day, Mr Spaulding, Mr Ball, and Mr Methwould came aboard the James, giving me a report of all matters that had passed in my absence, as also a state

[5] Though not so expressed, these seem to have been intended for the use of the English ships.—E.

[6] The true name of this place is Mutchelipatnam; in Purchas it is called Messulapitan and Masulpatam.—E.

a state of the Company's business. I accompanied them ashore in the afternoon, that we might the better consult together how to proceed in the important concerns committed to our charge. The first thing proposed was the union of both fleets, which was thought adviseable, and I was made choice of as admiral and chief commander of the whole ships and men thus united, according to the direction of the Honourable Company.

The 18th of October, a ship belonging to Masulipatam arrived from Mokha, by which we had news of the Lion being at Mokha, having a small frigate or bark in her company. The same day the Bee arrived from Narsipore-pete, with provisions for the fleet. The 19th, the Dragon's Claw came from Narsipore-pete[7] almost laden with rice and paddy.[8] On Thursday the 9th December, Mr Ball, Mr Methwould, and the other merchants who were to remain in the country, went ashore in the afternoon. In the morning of Friday the 10th, we left the road of Masulipatam, and anchored in the afternoon off the headland, to wait for the Pepper-corn, which came to us in the evening. By my estimation, the difference of longitude between the island of Engano and Masulipatam is 19° 30′ of a great circle; and, although this does not give the true longitude in these parts near the equator, as custom has so called it, I do, that I may not savour of innovation.

Next morning, very early, we descried the land of Sumatra, the hill of Passaman bearing E.N.E ½ N. twelve leagues distant,[9] and the high land of Priaman E. ½ S. fourteen leagues off. We here met with two shoals, within a mile of each other, E. and W. The Gift came over the eastermost, and had not less than four and a half fathoms. I sent the Claw over the other, on which were four fathoms where she first

[7] This may designate the road of Narsipore; but petah usually signifies in India the suburb or town connected with a fortress.—E.

[8] Paddy is rice in its natural state as it comes from the plant on which it grows; rice is paddy deprived by art of its coarse husk.—E.

[9] Purchas must here have omitted a part of the text, particularly the series of dates between Masulipatam and Passaman in Sumatra. As the text now stands, it would seem as if they had gone from Masulipatam to the coast of Sumatra, a run of about 1600 miles, in one night, an utter impossibility. But from the context, instead of the 11th December, 1619, the day after leaving Masulipatam, it would appear they reached the coast of Sumatra on the 23d January, 1620, giving forty-four days for the run across he bay of Bengal.—E.

first crossed, but only two fathoms in returning, a little more to the northward. About nine this morning the wind came to the S.E. and so continued 'till three in the afternoon, by which time we had got to the southward of all the shoals; and so, with little wind, we spent the night between these shoals and the island of Battoo, [Batoa.] In this situation, a sagging current bore us to the northwards near the shoals, which, if it had set S.E as formerly experienced, it ought to have carried us near to Tecoo.

The 24th, in the evening, we had sight of the isles of Tecoo, and came to anchor about eight o'clock, in forty-four fathoms, these isles bearing E. by N. seven leagues off. The 25th, with the first of the tide, we again weighed and steered for Tecoo; and, as we drew near, we espied three sail standing to the northwards, which came to anchor near the coast that night, while we anchored with our whole fleet about a league without them. Next morning they weighed anchor and joined us, when we found them to be the Palsgrave, Elizabeth, and Hope. From them we had the doleful news of the Dragon, Bear, Expedition, and Rose, having been taken by six Dutch ships, while at anchor, within the isles of Tecoo; as also that the Star had been taken by the Dutch in the straits of Sunda. They also said that the Hollanders had sent four great ships, doubly manned, in quest of the Samson and Hound, and that they were exceedingly doubtful as to the safety of these ships. Thus the English ships now taken by the Hollanders were almost equal in number to our three fleets now joined in one under my command.

On Monday the 31st January, 1620, we held a consultation aboard the James Royal as to our future proceedings, when it was unanimously agreed to go to Acheen, in hopes to meet our ships from Surat, that we might keep our force together, according to the instructions of the Honourable Company. Our chief reasons for this proceeding were the want of rice and other provisions, which could not at this time be had at Bantam; secondly, the strong naval force of the Hollanders, as we did not think it prudent to risk the entire property now belonging to the Company in India upon such desperate terms, as the Dutch had four ships for every one of ours; and, lastly, which was an imperious necessity, that we might careen three of our ships, the James, the Gift, and the Unicorn, which could not be much longer deferred without imminent hazard. For all these reasons, we resolved

ved to proceed for Japan, where, as we were given to understand, all things necessary for careening our ships, and abundance of provisions for our relief, were to be had.

The 11th, Mr Mills arrived in the Bee from Priaman, with 300 sacks of very good rice, and eleven hogsheads of oil, giving us great encouragement to send there again. The 12th, the Claw was sent off for Pedang and Cuttatinga, to procure rice and other provisions; and, on the 15th, the Bee was sent back to Priaman for more rice and oil. The 19th the Claw returned with thirty-four bags of rice, 16,000 cocoa-nuts, and ten goats; and the same night the Bee came back with 980 sacks of rice, procured with much difficulty by Mr Mills, merchant of the Elizabeth.

The 3d March we departed from the road of Tecoo, intending first to touch at *Mintaon*, on purpose to dispatch the Bee for England, and thence to go for Acheen, in hopes of meeting the Charles and the Ruby from Surat. The 20th March we all anchored in the bay of Samanca, about a mile from shore, where we took in wood, water, and other necessaries. Next day we sent to recall the Bee from Balembeen. The 1st April we sent the shallop belonging to the Unicorn for Anniar, to enquire concerning the Dutch force, and how the pangran stood affected towards us.[10] At eleven this night, twenty-two of our men ran away with our barge. Next morning the shallop returned from Anniar, and brought news that there were fifteen sail of Dutch ships at Bantam and Jacatra, upon which we resolved to proceed to Bantam, to treat with the pangram, hoping that the Dutch *might not venture to attack us.* The Bee arrived in the afternoon from Ballambeen, [Palimbangan.] The 6th we set sail for Bantam, and on the 7th, between Crackastaw and Becee, we met a proa with some of our people coming from Anniar.

§ 4. *News of Peace between the English and Dutch.*

At four in the morning of Saturday the 8th April, 1620, we met the Bull, newly come from England, bringing the joyful news of peace having been concluded between us and the

[10] The intended voyage to Acheen seems to have been laid aside; perhaps the monsoon had become adverse, and forced them to the S.E. towards Bantam.—E.

the Dutch. She was accompanied by a small ship, called the Flying Hart, with letters of advice for us, or any other of the English ships, giving notice of the agreement and union that had taken place between the two Honourable East India Companies of England and Holland. We came to anchor with all our fleet in the afternoon, near the point of Palimbangan. In the morning of the 11th, we descried the Dutch fleet coming from Jacatra to meet us, and to congratulate with us on the joyful intelligence of peace. General Coen was there in person, and as soon as he came to anchor, the Holland fleet and ours began to salute each other with peals of ordnance, to communicate the intelligence to the natives, and to express our own joy of the happy news of peace.

The 12th, we came altogether into Bantam roads, the Dutch fleet consisting of fifteen sail, besides two others of their nation which we found already in the roads, and ours of twelve sail. This day, Mr Janson, commander of the Dutch fleet, accompanied by their fiscal, and divers others, came to visit me, and invited Mr Brockendon, Mr Spalding, and myself on board the Dutch admiral's ship, where we conferred with General Coen concerning our future conjunct arrangements. After we had compared the articles and letters, the Dutch general agreed that we should jointly proceed in conformity with the instructions we had received from our Honourable Company; but he declined publishing the articles till the arrival of some ship from Holland, with the articles and instructions from their Company. On the 14th, in the morning, by mutual concert between us and the Hollanders, we sent Mr Beaumont and Philip Baduge on shore, with one Dutch merchant, to communicate the news of our peace and agreement to the pangran, and to inform him, as we were now united, we only desired to have a reasonable composition with him, through which we might remain quietly in his country, enjoying a free trade on just and equitable conditions, as in other parts of India. But the pangran was so much dissatisfied with the news, that he would give no answer to their message, often times asking them why we had become friends with the Hollanders, so that they had to return without any answer. We sent the same message to him next day, but our messengers were not allowed to land.

" The differences and maritime warfare which took place between the Dutch and English East India Companies, of

which some notice has been taken, and the peace and union which are announced, as having been communicated to their respective commanders at this time, would lead to historical discussions and deductions, which do not properly belong to the object of a Collection of Voyages and Travels; but which, if altogether passed over, would leave much of the foregoing circumstances, and some that have to be noticed in the sequel, abrupt, isolated, and almost unintelligible. It has therefore been deemed proper to give a brief account of these differences, and of the singular so called *union*, which took place in consequence, extracted from the Annals of the East India Company, vol. I. p. 201, *et seq.*[1]

"When the differences and aggressions which had occurred in the spice islands were reported in Europe, the English and Dutch Companies presented memorials and remonstrances to their respective governments, each complaining against the servants of the other, as guilty of unwarrantable aggressions. In Holland, calculating on the pacific character of King James, it was expected that the opposition to the projects of the English for participating in the trade of the spice islands, although of at least a tendency towards warlike aggression, would not lead to national hostilities, but might be discussed by means of remonstrances and negociation.

"After long conferences between English and Dutch commissioners, for settling the disputes between the two Companies, a treaty was concluded at London on the 17th July, 1619; by which, after specifying an amnesty for all past excesses, and a mutual restitution of ships and property, the trade of the two nations in the East was declared to be free;—That the pepper trade at Java should be equally divided;—That the English should have a free trade at Pullicat, on paying half the expences of the garrison;—That the English were to enjoy one third of the export and import trade, at the Molucca and Banda islands, commonly called the spice islands; commissioners to be appointed for regulating the trade, and the charges of the garrisons, under their inspection, to be defrayed in that proportion by the two Companies;—That each Company should furnish ten ships of war for the common defence; which ships were not to be employed to bring cargoes to Europe, but only in the carrying

[1] This addition to § 4. of the present voyage, is made by the Editor; but almost entirely derived from the historiographer of the East India Company.—E.

ing trade, between one port and another in the East Indies.—The whole proceedings arising out of this treaty, were to be under the regulation of a *Council of Defence*, composed of four members appointed by each Company, who were to reside in India; and this treaty was to subsist in force for twenty years.

"It would lead far beyond any due bounds that could be afforded in this work, to follow out this compact, singularly weak on the part of King James, and assuredly either contrived by his boasted *king craft*, or devised by some wily Dutch politician, who was acquainted with his majesty's wonderful sagacity. This union and the council of defence, turned out a most fruitful source of advantage to the Dutch, who had completely duped the king and government of England, and totally expelled the English Company from any share whatever in the trade of the spice islands; after contriving to make them pay more than two thirds of the expence of fortifications and garrisons, instead of one third, all of which were effectually converted to their injury and exclusion. In the sequel of these voyages, several instances will be found, completely illustrative of these positions; and from the year 1625, or thereabout, the Dutch enjoyed the entire profits of the spice trade, including the whole island of Java, till within these very few years; when, as subjects of Buonaparte, they have been driven from every foreign possession, and entirely excluded from all participation in the trade of the East."—*Ed.*

§ 5. *Voyage of Captain Pring from Bantam, to Patania and Japan, and return to Jacatra.*[1]

The 26th of April, 1620, we sailed from Bantam roads, with the James Royal and Unicorn in company, intending, by the grace of God, to go for Japan, there to careen and trim our ships. Mr Brockendon departed at the same time for Jacatra with six ships; proposing, about a month after our departure, to send five good English ships after us to Japan,

[1] Purchas gives two relations of this voyage, one brief, "lest the longer one might interrupt the more delicate muses of some readers with sea-sickness, the other for those that are more studious of nautical knowledge." On the present occasion, we have preferred the more extended narrative, and have therefore united both accounts as given by Purchas, being the remainder of § 4. joined to the whole of § 5. giving one instance of minute nautical remarks of our earlier navigators.—E.

pan, that we might have the fittest season of the year to go from thence to the Manillas. The 27th, we took leave of this fleet, and steered towards the north, borrowing within half a league of the eastern point of Pulo-Tunda; and came to anchor in the evening about a league off the N.E. point of that island, in twenty-three fathoms upon ooze, waiting till the western stream of the tide began to return to the eastwards, which was about ten at night, when we proceeded on our course.

The 28th at night, we anchored in 18 f. on ooze, Pulo Antekero bearing N.E. three leagues off. Pulo Antekero bears N.N.E. ½ E. from Pulo Tunda, about eight leagues distant. The depth of water between the two islands, runs from 16 f. to 26, and so to 22, 20, 18, 16, 14, and 12 f. all ooze. Pulo Antekero is westermost of the islands which extend in a row from the bay of Jacatra, [or Batavia,] to the westwards. Continuing our course, we anchored, in the evening of the 29th, in 15 f. Pulo Kero bearing N. by E. ½ E. 2½ leagues off. Pulo Kero bears N.N.E. nearly from Antekero, six leagues off. After passing half way between these islands, we had 20, 18, 16, 14, 12 f. on ooze. At noon on the 30th, we had Pulo Kero six leagues off, S. ½ E. our depth continuing 13, 12, 11 f. all ooze.

At noon on the 1st May, Pulo Kero bore S. ½ W. nine leagues, and the depth 12 f. being just able to see that island from our top-mast head. By observation of the sun, we were then in lat. 4° 45′ S. From noon till five p. m. our course was N.N.E. four leagues. We then anchored in 12 f. on ooze, having Pulo Kero by estimation thirteen leagues S. by W. This night at nine, being still at anchor in the same place, I made the ship, by observation of the Croziers, in lat. 4° 40′ S. allowing 29° for the complement of declination. We set sail at four a. m. of the 2d, and by noon had run about six leagues N.N.E. the depths continuing as before, 13, 12, 11 f. By noon of the 3d our course was S. by E. five leagues, the soundings as before, all the ground from Bantam roads hitherto being ooze. From Bantam for the first two days, we had land and sea breezes; afterwards, till the afternoon of the 2d, the wind was constant between E. and S.E. when the wind came northerly, and so continued till the 3d at noon. From Pulo Paniang to Pulo Antekero, the current set to the westwards, somewhat strong; but from thence

thence we found the currents more gentle, and changing into every direction in the course of the twenty-four hours.

Our course from noon of the 3d till noon of the 4th was N.N.E. eleven leagues, the depths from 12 to 10½ f. From noon this day till seven at night, we made 5½ leagues N. and then anchored in 9½ f. We weighed in the morning of the 5th, having but little wind and that variable, till half an hour after six, when it sprung up fresh at S.W. From four to nine a. m. we made three leagues N.E. ½ E. and from nine till noon only half a league N.W. by N. This day at noon we were in lat. 3° 30′ S. when we descried a small island N.N.E. ½ E. four leagues off, which appeared at first like a great tree rising out of the see. From noon till six p. m. our course was five leagues N.W. We here saw two or three hummocks like islands, N. by W. seven leagues off. From thence till three a. m. of the 6th, we sailed W. six leagues. At six in the evening of the 5th we had 9 f. which increased as we stood westwards in the night, to 10, 11, and 12 f. and afterwards decreased to 8 f. where we came to anchor. The stream by night set S.E. and by day N.W. We weighed again at six a. m. of the 6th, and steered W.N.W. 1½ league, when we had sight of many hummocks rising like so many islands, but which at length we perceived to be all one land. Coming now into 6½ f. we altered our course to the N.E. making our course N.N.E. till noon, about 2½ leagues; at which time, by an observation of the sun, we were in lat. 3° 20′ S. We were now in 8 f. and found the current to set N.W. by W. About noon of this day, a junk belonging to Johor came up with us, which had been at Cheribon in Java, and was returning to Johor. The afternoon, we steered in with the eastern part of the hummocky land of Banka, making our course N.N.E. ½ N. in which we came again to 7 f. afterwards increasing regularly to 24 f. and then decreasing again to a quarter less 7 f. when we came to anchor against the E. point of that land, which bore from us N.N.E. ⅓ N. four leagues off.

We weighed in the morning of the 7th, and stood in nearer the point, in hopes of being able to pass through between that island and one which lay three leagues to the E. But in our way, we found the soundings, after increasing from 7 to 17 f. to decrease again to 6 and to one-half less 4 f. and about two miles off the point in the fair way we had only

only six feet water in the fair way, or mid-channel. To the eastwards, there appeared many islands, and by the report of the people in the junk, the sea is full of islands between the S.E. end of Banka and the island of Borneo. The S.E. end of Banka now bore N.N.E. ½ N. about two leagues off; and the land from this point to the entrance of the straits of Banka, lay W. by S. the straits being thirteen leagues from us. Where we lay at anchor, the before-mentioned point bearing N. by E. ½ E. 2½ leagues off, we had an observation of the sun, giving the latitude of the ship 3° 8′ S. Having little hope of finding a passage between Banka and Borneo among these islands, by reason of the fearful shoalings we had already met with, we resolved on the 8th to go through the straits between the island of Banka and Sumatra, called the Straits of Banka; wherefore we set sail, retracing as nearly as we could the course by which we came into the present shoal water; in which course we found still more dangerous shoalings than in our in-coming. After we had got about eight leagues off, S.S.W. from the before-mentioned point of Banka, we steered S.W. by W. the current setting N.W. which made our course nearest W. by S. In this course we proceeded five leagues, and anchored in 8 f. on ooze, about nine at night.

In the morning of the 9th, we descried Lucepara, N.N.W. seven leagues off, and steered towards it, till we had it N. two leagues. In this course we passed over a spit, where we had only 4½ f. and 4¾. But on nearing Lucepara, we had 5¼ f. all ooze. We then steered N.W. by N. till Lucepara was N.E. of us, having 5 f. and the same ground. We then went W.N.W. having always ooze, till we were within two leagues of the Sumatra shore in 6 f. The isle of Lucepara bore then E.S.E. 3½ leagues off; and a hill on Banka with a deep swamp, N. by W. being about a sail's breadth open of the point of Sumatra, which bore N. by W. ½ W. from us, about three leagues off. We steered thence away with the said point N. by W. Having 6½ and 7 f. soft ground, till we came within a league of the point, where edging too near we had but 5½, and only 4½ in the boat hard by us: But, if we had kept a little farther from the point, we might have gone in 7, 8, 9, and 10 f. all through the strait, borrowing carefully with the lead upon the Sumatra shore; whereas by keeping nearer to Banka than Sumatra, the soundings are very variable, sometimes deep, and sometimes

shallow,

shallow, and mostly foul ground. On the Sumatra shore, even if coming into shoal water, the ground is mostly soft ooze, and the soundings far more regular and certain.

In the evening of the 12th May, having brought the N.W. point of Banka to bear N.E. we opened two smooth hills with a little hummock between them; one of these hills being the northermost land of Banka, and bearing N.E. nine leagues, from the N.W. point of that island. This night we steered N.N.E to get through the channel between Lingan and the N. end of Banka, having 23, 22, 20, 18, and 16 f. all ooze, till we came near the entrance, and afterwards 15, 14, 13 f. in going through the passage. Lingan rises at first in three islands, the northermost being larger than both the other two, being near two leagues long and full of hummocks. Among these three islands there are certain fragments of isles intermixed, like so many hay-cocks, which is a good mark whereby to know these islands. From the smooth hill which is the north end of Banka, to the south-westermost isle of Lingan, it is N. by W. ten leagues. From the middle of the largest isle of Lingan, which is the north-eastermost, there is another smooth island nine leagues off, E.N.E. ½ N. From that there is another flat island, and off the north point of the round smooth island, there is a little fragment like a rock. In the fair way between this island and Lingan, there are 14 and 13 f. the course being midway between, and to the N. to pass along by the E. side of Bintang. This day at noon, being the 12th May, our latitude was 1° S.[a] the greatest isle of the Lingan group being S.W. from us five leagues, whence we estimated its latitude to be 1° 10′ nearly.

At noon of the 14th, having made way twenty-four leagues to the northward, by aid of the wind and a current setting to the north, we had sight of the high land of Bintang, rising with two hills and a deep swamp or hollow between, and, as we judged, twelve leagues from us. At this time, likewise, we had sight of three or four hummocks, S.W. by W. eight leagues off, which seemed separate islands. We had here 20 f. our soundings from Lingan being 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, and 20 f. From noon of the 14th till noon of the 15th, we made

[a] This is an evident error, as the northern side of the largest island of the Lingan group is exactly on the equator, and Bintam, or Bintang, is in lat. 1° N.—E.

made twenty-seven leagues N. ⅓ W. our soundings in these twenty-four hours being 21, 22, 23, and 24 f. From noon till three p. m. of the 15th we made 3½ leagues, and then had sight of Pulo Laor, N. W. ½ N. about twelve leagues off, having then 27 f. the ground resembling fuller's earth. At night, Pulo Laor being N. W. by W. eight leagues off, we had 39 f. on ooze. From noon of the 15th till eight a. m. of the 16th, we made our course N.N.W. ½ W. fifteen leagues. At night of the 16th, Pulo Laor bore S. W. by S. five leagues; the body of the island of Hermano de Layo W.S.W. ½ W. seven leagues; and the S. end of Pulo Timon W. ½ N. ten leagues, its N.E. end being W.N.W. ½ W. ten leagues. We anchored this evening within four leagues of the N. point of Pulo Timon, in 24 f. *streamy* ground, that point bearing W. by S. ½ S. In the evening I sent my boat round the point, where they observed a town, with a junk riding close by the shore, and several proas fishing. One of these came to enquire what nation our people were of, and told them there was good fresh water at the town, with plenty of buffaloes, goats, and poultry.

In the morning of the 17th, we sent the Unicorn's long-boat along with ours to the town, whence they came back in the evening with four butts of water each, not willing to fill more, as it was brackish. They found at the watering-place a junk belonging to Johor, fitted out for war, having twenty men armed with fire-arms, besides lances and javelins. They reported that they had taken a Chinese junk, which they had sold on the coast of Johor; the nokhada sending me word, that he would assist me against the Portuguese at the hazard of his life. In the bay next to the southwards of Pulo Timon, we found excellent fresh water, but could not conveniently take it in by means of our long-boat, which drew five feet water when loaded. Having thus spent the day to little purpose, we set sail at the beginning of the night, directing our course for Patane, and steering N. all night with little wind.

At noon of the 18th, we were in the latitude of 3° 40′ N. At four p. m. we had sight of Pulo Tingoran, N.N.W. fifteen leagues off. At night we passed by Tingoran, about six leagues to the eastwards, having 28, 30, and 32 f. on soft ground. At six a. m. of the 19th, Tigoran bore W.S.W. seven leagues from us, when we had thirty-six f. soft ground. At noon of this day we were in lat. 5° 30′ N. Tingoran bear-

ing

ing S. $\frac{1}{3}$ E. fourteen leagues off, by which we estimated the latitude of that island to be 4° 50′ N. We had likewise, at noon, the south isle of Pulo Rowdon, [Ridang,] N. W. by W. seven leagues off. The same night at eight, I observed the croziers, making the latitude of the ship 5° 48′ N. At this time, the largest of the Ridang isles, which is the eastermost, bore from us due W. four leagues distant. From eight this night, till noon of the 20th, our course was nearly N. W. by W. nine leagues, our sounding being from 28 to 17 f. The northermost of the Pulo Ridang isles was then S. $\frac{1}{3}$ E. four leagues off, being a round hummock, much like Pomo in the gulf of Venice, but somewhat higher and more complete. These isles consist of good high land, having fair depth all along their eastern side to seawards, and I am told have a free and safe channel between them and the main land. There are thirteen or fourteen islands in this group, great and small.

From noon of the 20th till eight in the morning of the 21st, our course was W.N.W. nine leagues. We saw two hills by the water-side, bearing W. and five leagues off, resembling two great tortoises. From Pulo Tingoran all the way to Patani, the land up the country is very high, while that just within the coast is low, with a sandy beach. This is the case for at least twenty leagues south of Patani, but how much farther I know not. In the afternoon of the 20th, while standing towards the two hills just mentioned as resembling tortoises, we came from 17 into 14 and 13 f. with hard ground; and as we drew nearer these hills, the depth again increased to 19 f. on ooze, and then shoaled again to 18 and 17 f. on ooze.

The 21st of May, being Sunday, from eight a. m. to seven p. m. our course was N. W. $\frac{3}{4}$ W. thirteen leagues, keeping mostly within four leagues of the low sandy shore, the depth all the way being 15, 14, and 13 f. We then anchored in 13$\frac{1}{4}$ f. streamy ground, the northermost point in sight, falling down from a reasonably high land at the far end of the low land, bore from us W.N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. near 3$\frac{1}{2}$ leagues off. S.E. by S. from this point, six leagues off, there is a rock, as high above water as the hull of a small ship, which we passed about 1$\frac{1}{2}$ league on its E. side, finding no alteration in the soundings. This point I named the Gurnet's Head. From this point, the land trends W.N.W. and W. by N. all the way to the entrance into Patani roads, being

all

all low land from the Gurnet's Head to the point of the road, this point being the lowest of all. The distance from the Gurnet's Head to that low point is six leagues, all the way of fair depth till coming near the low point of the road, to which a good birth must be given, as there lies a shoal from it half-way over to the western shore, wherefore it must not be approached too near, till you find in the first place the shoaling of the western shore, which is the softest ground. From the low point, in going across the bay to the western shore there are only from 5 f. to $4\frac{1}{2}$ when in the road; and then the low point bears from the anchorage, E.N.E. $\frac{1}{3}$ E. the highest mountains in the western side of the bay bearing S.S.W. $\frac{1}{3}$ W.

We anchored in the road of Patani on Thursday the 25th of May, when we found the Sampson and a Dutch pinnace there at anchor. I went ashore the day before to the English factory, where I found Mr Adam Denton and Mr Richard Welding, lately come from Jambee in Sumatra in a proa, with several of the Sampson's people, who were all rejoiced to see our ships coming into the port. On getting to the English house, I told Mr Denton that my chief purpose for coming here was for arrack and fresh victuals, of which we were in great need, upon which he gave immediate orders to procure every thing we needed, so that in six days we were supplied with sixteen butts of arrack and arrack-apee; three butts of which last we had from the Dutch, for which courtesy we were chiefly obliged by their anxiety to have us away. We had also beeves, goats, and poultry, in abundance. We also bought here *dammar* and oil, for the purpose of repairing our ships, as I understood these things were dear at Japan. I here found a small frigate or country bark, which had been bought by the English; and as she was of no great use there, it was agreed that she, with most of the English sailors, should attend upon us to Japan.

We departed from Patani on the 31st May; and at seven a. m. of the 1st June, we saw a small rock, just above water, being very dangerous for ships bound from Patani for the point of Camboja. When this rock bore N.N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. at the distance of a league, the high land over Gurnet Head was S.S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. eighteen leagues off; and by computation, the low point of Patani road was then eighteen leagues off, W.S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. After getting out of Patani road into 7 f. the depth increased regularly to 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, and 24 f. till we got sight of the rock; and two leagues

from

from it we had 25 f. on ooze, as was the ground all the way over from Patani. This day at noon, we found the latitude of the ship to be 7° 20′ N. the rock bearing W. about four leagues off.

From that time till the 3d, at noon, our course was E. ½ N. forty-five leagues, when we had sight of Pulo Hube, bearing E.N.E. ½ N. eight leagues off, having 14 f on ooze, as we constantly had for the last forty-eight hours, the sounding being from 27 to 36 f. and thence decreasing again to 14 f. Pulo Hube rises at first as one round hill, and on coming nearer some high land is seen rising in hummocks, but not above two-thirds so high as the round hill, being all one land with it. Then another and smaller island is seen to rise, nearly of the same height with the hummocks, and close to the larger island. At the east end of this lesser round island, there are two little isles very near, and a mile east of them there is a long rock like the hull of a galley. This night we anchored in 13½ f. on ooze, about three leagues from the largest and highest isle. In the morning of the 4th we weighed, and stood E. by S. with little wind. At six p. m. we had the body of Pulo Hube W. by N. four leagues off. From thence we steered E. by S. and E. till six next morning, but were so opposed by the current, that we made our course to the northward of east. From six a. m. of the 5th till six p. m. we ran fifteen leagues in the before-mentioned course, when we saw a very small round isle about four leagues to the southward, having a long flat rock S. from it about a mile, a good height above water. From Pulo Hube till three leagues from this island, our soundings were 13, 14, 15 f. and then 15, 14, 13 f. again, all ooze. When within two leagues of this small island, we had 13 f. on sand.

Here we descried Pulo Condor, its N. end bearing E. by N. from this small island about seven leagues off. This day at noon, we made our latitude 8° 42′ N. the highest land on Pulo Condor bearing from us E. six leagues off. From Patani till we were in sight of Pulo Condor, the wind was mostly S.S.W. This day at noon, we steered away N.E. then N.E. by N. and in the night N.N.E. so that we made our course on the whole, till next day at noon, N.E. by N. about twenty-four leagues, the depths being 13 and 14 f. on ooze. At noon of the 6th, we had sight of two hummocks on the coast of Camboja, bearing N. by E. nine leagues off, with low land to the westwards. From Pulo Condor

Condor till we had sight of this coast, the current set E. by N. At this time we had 12 f. on streamy ground. The 7th at noon, we were in lat. 10° 42′ N. having run from the former noon twenty-five leagues N.E. ½ N. and found that the current had carried us ten leagues to the N of our computation. Our depths were in these twenty-four hours, from 12, to 16, 20, and 24 f. and then back to 20, 18, 16, 14, on sandy ground.

From the before-mentioned two hummocks, as we coasted along, about eight leagues from the land, sometimes more, and sometimes less, we saw high land all the way in the inland country, and a smooth land in most places by the sea side, about the height of the Lizard, with many plots upon it resembling white sand, as well as the sea side. The first of these white spots was on a point ten leagues W. of Cape Cessier, which we at first thought had been a town with fair white houses and white walls. This day, at noon, being the 7th, when in the lat. of 10° 42′ N. that Cape bore from us about six leagues W.N.W. ½ W. At noon of the 8th, we were in lat. 11° 30′ N having gone twenty leagues N.E. ½ N. from noon of the 7th. From the 8th, till noon of the 9th, we steered along shore N.N.E. sixteen leagues, N. by E. six leagues, N. six leagues, and N. by W. nine leagues, making our course in all N. by E. ⅓ E. thirty-six leagues. We now had Cape Varella[3] W.S.W. eight leagues off, and were in the lat. of 13° 13′ N. This cape is called Jentam by the Chinese, signifying a chimney in their language, because it has a sharp hummock on the top of the hill, much like a chimney on the top of a house. From noon of the 9th, till noon of the 10th, our course was N. two-thirds W. twenty-six leagues; our latitude on the 10th being 14° 30′ N. when we were about ten leagues from the land.

The 11th, at noon, we were in lat. 16° 10′ N. having run, from the foregoing noon, thirty-three one-third leagues due N. Next noon, the 12th, we had made other twenty-six leagues, N.N.E. ½ N. and were in latitude 17° 40′ N. the current having set us six leagues to the N. of our computation. This evening, at six, we descried the island of Aynam, [Hainan] its high land bearing N.W. by N. twelve leagues, and we had run from noon seven leagues N E. From hence, till noon of the 13th, our course was N.E. by E. twenty-two leagues,

[3] Cape Verelly is in lat. 12° 40′ N. on the coast of Cochin China.—E.

leagues, and we were then in lat. 18° 30′ N. We this morning chased a Portuguese frigate, but she was so light that we could not get near her. The 14th, at noon, we were in 19° 35′ N. our course having been these twenty-four hours N.E. twenty-six leagues, the current having carried us four leagues to the N. of our reckoning; and yet this day at noon, in seventy-three f. on ooze, our boats found no current at all. We here saw many ripplings, like the overfalls of some rapid tide, yet found none. At six this evening, we again anchored our boat in sixty-eight f. on oozy sand, and found a slight current to the southwards. By the 15th, at noon, we had run seventeen leagues N.E. by N. and our latitude was 28° 30′ N. the current having carried us seven leagues to the north of our reckoning. We had here forty-five f. sandy ooze. The 16th, at noon, in 21° 20′ N. we had sight of three islands, the eastermost N.N.W. the westermost N. W. and the nearest land nine leagues off. We had here twenty-two f. on oosy sand, the wind being E.S.E. and very fresh; but, from Cape Verelly till now, the wind had always blown from S.S.E. to S.W. Next morning, at eight, we had twenty-eight f. on ooze, having run, from noon of the 16th, eleven leagues S.W. Finding the wind to increase, we thought it better to come here to anchor than to run back again.

In the morning of the 18th June, the weather being somewhat fair, we endeavoured to weigh our anchor; but when it was right apeak, the cable gave way, though a new one, never before wetted, by which we lost our anchor. Just at this time the Unicorn fired a gun, on which I sent immediately to know what was amiss, and was informed she had sprung a great leak, by which all her men were tired out with bailing. I then sent thirty men to her aid, to ease her crew, till it might please God they should find the leak. This day we had the wind at S.E. and stood E. making our course N.E. till six p. m. when we again saw the former high island ten leagues from us, bearing N.N.E. one-third E. This evening our men returned from the Unicorn with the joyful news that the great leak was firmly stopped. From six p. m. till midnight, we made fourteen leagues N.E. when we had twenty f. in ooze. From that time, till five next morning, we stood to the southwards, making a S.W. course three and a half leagues.

From five in the morning of the 19th, we cast about towards

wards the land, with the wind at S.E. making a course N.E. and at six o'clock were within eight leagues of the before-mentioned high island, bearing from us N. by E. At eight this morning, Mr Roberts, the master of the Unicorn, came on board the James, to inform me that another great leak had broke out in that ship, and that it was necessary to seek out for some smooth place to ride in at anchor, to enable them to search out the leak, and fit their foremast better into the step. Upon this intelligence, I resolved to bear up under the lee of the great island, which bore now from us N. by E. in hope to find there a smooth anchorage for the purposes of the Unicorn. There were many more islands in sight, both to the eastwards and westwards of us, but that being the nearest, and the likeliest for our purpose, and only three leagues from us, we steered for it. The night approaching, and the wind becoming dull, we plied off and on till morning of the 20th, when the wind had come round so much to the northwards, that we could not fetch our intended place of anchorage. I went aboard the Unicorn this day to enquire into their intentions and situation, when I found them all willing to stand on our original course, as the wind was fair, and they were hopeful of being able to overcome their leak. I therefore sent all my Lascars on board the Unicorn, in aid of her crew, after which we stood on our course all that day till midnight, with a fair wind and favourable weather.

Towards midnight of the 20th June, the wind increased so much, that we had to lay our ship a-try all night under her main-course. In the morning of the 21st, we saw the Unicorn a league and a half astern of us, having a foresail and spritsail out, which I afterwards perceived was for the purpose of floating her about towards the shore. I immediately caused our fore-courses to be made ready to float our ship about after the Unicorn, though we had little hope of being able to assist her in any thing, as the sea was become very rough. While our men were throwing loose the fore-course, there came so violent a gust, that they were obliged to furl it again, otherwise it had been blown away. After the gust was over, we set our foresail, and, to make her wear better round, we brailed up our main-course, part of it being blown out of the bolt rope before the men could furl it. After that was up, we put our helm hard a-weather, thinking the ship would come round, but all in vain, for our ship would

would not wear beyond two or three points, and then came to again. The sea was now so much grown that we durst not let fall our spritsail, and the wind so violent that we could not loosen our fore-topsail; and by this time the Unicorn had gone out of sight.[4] Finding we could not wear ship, we steered away as near as we could lie S. by E. till noon, having by that time made a course S. by E. thirteen leagues from the southermost island we had seen over night, which I called the Morocco Saddle, or Saddle island, because of a high hill having a deep swamp or hollow between two peaked tops. This Saddle island is in lat. 21° 45′ N.[5] There are four or five small islands close to its western side, and three on its eastern side. Besides which, there are many other islands in different directions, some N.W. others W.N.W. and W. by N. the southermost of all the islands in sight bearing from Saddle island to the W. about fifteen leagues off.

This afternoon our ship became very leaky, having suddenly four and a half feet water in the hold, which kept both pumps going a long while before we could free her. Towards evening, it pleased God that we discovered three or four great leaks between wind and water; and after our carpenters had stopped them, we had great comfort, as we could then let the pumps stop half an hour, and afterwards free the ship in a quarter of an hour. From this day, the 21st, at noon, till noon of the 22d, we made five leagues S.S.W. with a pair of courses, and nine leagues S.W. by W. a-hull, having twenty-seven and a half f. in ooze. In the afternoon of the 22d, the violence of the wind and waves began to abate, and our ship became tighter, which plainly shewed that most of our leaks were between wind and water, wherefore, on the first fair weather, I caused our carpenters to search the ship's sides, where they found and stopped many bad places, some a yard long, where the oakum was all rotten in the seams.

The 24th, we had sight of a great island to the N. about seven leagues off, having a high hill on its southern end, being the island formerly mentioned as about fifteen leagues W.

[4] It will be seen in the sequel that she was lost on the coast of China, probably run on shore to save the men's lives from the effects of the increasing leak.—E.

[5] The indicated latitude leads to one of the numerous islands on the coast of China, at the mouth of the bay of Canton, about the longitude of 113° E. from Greenwich.—E.

W. from Saddle island. From thence, till the evening of the 26th, our course was S. by W. twenty-four leagues, the depths increasing from nineteen to thirty-six f. on ooze. We had here a small round island S.W. by N. two leagues off, nearly in latitude 20° 20′ N.[6] This island has four small islands on its S.W. side, but all of them considerably lower, for we saw this from the distance of at least ten leagues, rising in the shape of a Chinese hat. From hence, till noon of the 27th, our course was E. by N. two-thirds N. twelve leagues. This morning at two o'clock the wind veered round to S.S.E. and at noon was due S. From noon of the 27th, to noon of the 28th, we stood E.N.E. eighteen leagues, and had then almost forty-one f. on ooze. Till noon of the 29th, we made other eighteen leagues E.N.E. when we were in 21° 10′ N. To the 30th, at noon, other eighteen leagues E.N.E. To noon of 1st July, our course was E.N.E. ½ N. twenty-two leagues, our latitude being then 22° 10′ N. Here, from the topmast-head we saw land N.N.W. ½ N. From noon this day, till seven p. m. we sailed N.E. by N. six leagues. At six this evening we saw three Chinese fishing-boats.

This evening the wind came up at E.S.E. with which we stood to the southwards; and having sprung our main topmast only a little before, we could only bear a course and bonnet, and therefore made our way no better than S.W. From noon of the 2d, till eight p. m. our way was S. four leagues. Till noon of the 3d, we sailed N.N.W. ¼ W. seven leagues. We here saw land twelve leagues off, from N. to N.E. rising in certain hummocks, which land I estimated to be nearly in 22° 45′ N. On the 8th, I had an observation of the Scorpion's Heart, by which I made our latitude 22° 35′ N. Next day, at noon, on observation of the sun gave the latitude 23° 6′ N. At this time we had sight of the high land of Logosse, eleven leagues off, N.W. by N.[7] This morning we saw eight or more fishing boats, and came within hail of one, but could not persuade the people to come on board.

On

[6] There must be a material error here, as the latitude in the text would carry us back to the peninsula to the north of Hainan, more than two degrees of longitude backwards. Indeed, the text seems corrupted in many respects, even the bearings being extremely suspicious.—E.

[7] The latitude of the text points to the coast of China in about the longitude of 117° E. but no such name as Logosse occurs in these parts.—E.

On the 10th we had sight of some small islands, one of which, rising in form of a sugar-loaf, bore from us W.N.N. about eight leagues off.[8] We this day hoisted out a small boat, built by our carpenters upon the forecastle, by which we made trial of the current, and found it to set E.N.E. At eight this evening, we anchored in 28 f. having made no way at all this afternoon but with the current, which went at the rate of about a mile an hour N.E. The 11th we weighed, and drove away with the current to the N.E. having no wind. This day at noon we had sight of the high land of Formosa above the clouds, the highest part bearing S.E. by E. about eighteen leagues off, the nearest island on the coast of China bearing seven leagues from us N.W. We here saw great numbers of fishing boats all round about us, which sent little boats to us with fish, for which we gave them double the value to encourage them to come back. At six this evening, the wind sprung up at N.N.E. by which, and some help of the current setting N.E. by E. we made our way nine leagues E. to the 12th at noon. Our latitude was then 25° 20′ N. The high land of Formosa being S.E. and the nearest port eight leagues off; the northern point ten leagues E. by N. and the depth 46 fathoms on ooze. The 13th the northern point of Formosa bore E.S.E. ten leagues off, being then in lat. 25° 40′ N.

The 22d of July at noon, we were in lat. 32° 40′ N. the great sound of Langasaque, [Nangasaki,] being E. nine leagues off, and the S.E. of the Gotto isles W. by N. ten leagues off. The 23d, we arrived in a port of the island of Firando named Cochee, [Coetch,] which is about 4½ English miles to the southwards of Firando haven.[9] On the 25th, Captain Cox sent a great number of funnies, or *toe* boats, to our assistance, by the help of which we got safe in the afternoon into the harbour of Firando, where we found the Swan and Expedition, sent hither, as I suppose, by the Dutch, for the disgrace of our nation in this remote part of the world. This day, before we got in, the Elizabeth brought in with her into Coetch, a frigate, containing silks and hides, and some sugar, her mariners being Japanese with some Portuguese, a part of whom were friars. Captain Adams, the

[8] These appear to have been the Pougboy, or Pescadores islands, off the western coast of Tai-ouan, or Formosa.—E.

[9] Coetch, about 17 miles W. by N. from Firando, the former on the western, and the latter on the eastern side of the island.—E.

the admiral of the united fleet, arrived in the same place about three hours after me in the Moon, as likewise William Johnson in the Trow.

The 26th, a general council was held of all the English and Dutch, in the English house at Firando, when it was resolved to call in the ships that lay nearest the coast of *Sashma*, because we were certainly informed that the Portuguese frigates were just arrived from Macao at Nangasaki. The 30th, the king of *Crats* came aboard the James, appearing much delighted to see such a ship, demanding of the jurabassa if this were one of the English frigates; whence we concluded the Dutch had reported we had only small ships like frigates. The 1st of August we held another council at the English factory, to make choice of two men, an Englishman and a Hollander, to carry a present to the emperor. As I could not be spared so long from the James, nor Captain Adams from his fleet, we made choice of Mr Charles Cleavengar, commander of the Palsgrave, and Mr Joseph Cockram, Cape merchant of the fleet, to go on the part of the English, and Jasques le Febre of the Harlaem, and Mathias de Brooke, were chosen on the part of the Dutch.

On the 6th the Palsgrave arrived in Coetch roads. The Bull arrived there on the 7th, having cut away all her masts by the board, as they said to save the ship and goods. This day Captain Adams and I paid a visit to the king of Firando, carrying a small present, which was well received, and we were courteously entertained. On the 9th the king invited the English and Dutch to dine with him, shewing respect to our nation by placing us on his right hand, while the Dutch sat on his left, and the first dish of every course was offered to us.

The 4th September we had a great tuffoon from the north, which forced the Moon on shore, and overset the Expedition, which instantly went down. The Trow had likewise been overset, had not her master veered out the cable, and allowed her to go on shore, stern foremost. The 5th I sent all my men aboard the Moon to help her off, when we all strove a long time to no purpose; but she was again got off on the 13th, having fortunately received no damage by lying so long ashore. Having every thing taken out of the James Royal, except some bars of lead to help in trimming her over, she was hove down on the 19th almost half way to the keel. The 21st we brought her down so low as to see part of

of her keel, and then began to sheath her with all expedition, and in four days the carpenters sheathed the whole of one side, from the keel up to her lower bends. The 27th I sent a cooper, two quarter-masters, and a butcher, to Nangasaki, to kill and salt such meat as was provided for us.

On the 12th October, we got the James hove down on the other side to the keel, and on this side we found four very dangerous places, where the main plank was eaten quite through by the worms. Into each of these we graved a piece of plank, and in one of them we drove a trunnel where none had been before. We also nailed a piece of lead on the end of the bolt, which had been formerly driven through the keel to stop our great leak. Our ship was then righted, both sides being finished up to the lower bends. The Moon was likewise finished on the 21st on both sides. The 24th we had news that Nangasaki was greatly injured by a fire which began in the Portuguese street, and consumed four or five of the richest streets in the city.

The 7th of December we departed from Firando, and anchored the same evening in the bay of Coetch. The 16th, Captain Cleavengar and Captain Le Febre returned to Firando from the court of the emperor, bringing the joyful news of having succeeded in their business. I took my leave of them on the 17th; and the wind being fair, with favourable weather, I set sail from the road of Coetch.

§ 6. *Voyage from Japan to Bantam, and thence Home to England.*[1]

The 18th December at noon, the islands of Mexuma bore from us N.W. four leagues off, our course from Pomo being S.S.W. twenty-five leagues. At noon on the 19th, our latitude was 31° 32′ N. the isles of Mexuma bearing N.E. by N. nine leagues off. The 12th January, 1621, we stood in for the coast of Sumatra, and anchored at midnight in the river of Palembangan in twelve fathoms. We weighed again in the morning of the 13th, steering along the Sumatra shore through the straits of Banka; and past midnight of the 14th we

[1] In the former subdivision of this voyage a sufficient sample has been given of dry nautical detail of courses, bearings, winds, and soundings, and it does not seem necessary to insert the minute uninteresting detail of the return voyage to Bantam, which was along the coast of China, Cochinchina and Camboja, nearly retracing the former course.—E.

we got to anchor near Pulo Paniang. The 16th, seeing four ships in Bantam roads, we weighed and stood a little way within Pulo Paniang, when the Pepper-corn's boat came to us with the master, Mr Morton, who told me there were two Dutch ships in the road and one French ship, the pangran having consented to grant trade, and that it had been agreed to share the pepper in thirds among them. I also learnt from him, that most part of our loading was already prepared for us at Jacatra. I set sail, therefore, in the morning of the 17th, and arrived that evening near Antilaky; and in the evening of the 18th we arrived in the bay of Jacatra, [now Batavia bay,] where we found the Charles, the Gift, and the Clove, as also two Dutch ships, the Leyden and the Sun. The Globe and the Bee were at Hector island.

I here found the master of the Unicorn with several of his ship's company, having come over in a junk, after losing his ship on the coast of China.[2] The James here discharged her lading, and was ready to reload for England, there being here at this time, in the Charles, Clove, and Gift, about 600 tons of pepper and other goods, and the Bear daily expected from Jambee with 200 more, so that we had good hope of soon making up our loading with pepper, benzoin, cloves, and silk. Having taken in our whole loading of pepper, except fifty-five pekuls, and a few sapetas of silk and some cloves, I departed in the morning of the 26th February from the road of Jacatra, and set sail for England.

In the afternoon of the 20th May, we arrived in the road of Saldanha, [Table-bay,] at the Cape of Good Hope. We here found the Ann Royal and the Fortune, two ships belonging to the honourable Company, and three Dutch ships, the Gowda, Black Bear, and the Herring, all bound for Bantam and Jacatra. We trimmed our ship on the 21st, and on the 22d we sent some water-casks on shore, and set up a tent for our sick men and coopers, landing twenty-five men as a guard for their protection. This night I sent out sixty

[2] Purchas, II. 1700, informs us, that the Unicorn being wrecked on the coast of China, the company saved themselves and part of their goods on shore. At first the rude Chinese would have assaulted and rifled them; but they stood on their defence, till a magistrate came and rescued them from the hands of the vulgar, after which they had kind usage and just dealing. They were allowed to purchase two vessels, with all necessary provisions, for their departure, and in these, part of the company went to Japan, and the other to Malacca.—*Purch.*

sixty men, along with sixty Dutchmen, in quest of cattle, but they returned without procuring any.

We left Saldanha bay in the morning of the 6th June, with the wind at S.S.E. The 21st, at six in the morning, we got sight of St Helena, and about ten in the forenoon of the 22d, we anchored in Chappel Bay, half a mile from the shore, in twenty-six fathoms. The 25th, we changed to the valley leading to the lemon-trees, being the best in all the island for refreshments. Having remained seven days at this island, where we filled our water-casks, and got at least fifty goats and hogs, and above 4000 lemons, we weighed anchor on the 29th, at nine a. m. The 16th of August we saw the high land of Pico, E.N.E. about 15 leagues off. The 15th September we got sight of the land's end of England; and on Tuesday the 18th of that month we arrived in the Downs, having been absent on this voyage, four years, seven months, and fourteen days.

SECTION XI.

VOYAGE OF THE ANN ROYAL, FROM SURAT TO MOKHA, IN 1618.[1]

The Ann Royal belonged to the fleet commanded by Martin Pring, of which an ample relation has been given in the foregoing section. The present section gives an account of a subordinate voyage, arising out of the former, and intended for settling a trade in the Red Sea. The Ann Royal was commanded by Captain Andrew Shilling, and this narrative is said by Purchas, to have been extracted from the journal of Edward Heynes, who appears to have been second merchant in the Ann.—*Ed.*

Sir Thomas Roe, lord ambassador from his majesty to the Great Mogul, having given certain articles of instruction to Captain Andrew Shilling, commander of the Ann Royal, and Joseph Salbank, Edward Heynes, and Richard Barber, merchants in that ship, for establishing and conducting trade at Dabul or other places in the Red Sea, as they might see convenient, it was thought meet by Captain Martin

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 622.

tin Pring the general, Thomas Kerridge, and Thomas Rastell, on the 12th March, in a consultation on board the James Royal, that we should sail direct for the Red Sea, as the season was already too far gone for going to Dabul.

Sailing therefore from the road of Swally, we got sight of Aden on the 10th of April. The 13th, about seven in the morning, we passed the Bab, or straits of Bab-al-Mandub, so named from an island at the entrance, or mouth, of the Red Sea, and forming one side of the straits. About five in the evening we came in sight of Mokha; and as night was coming on, we cast anchor. Shortly after, a canoe came on board, sent by the governor to enquire who we were, and what were our intentions; and having given them an answer, they departed, having first begged a few biscuits. Next morning we weighed, and came again to anchor a league and half from the shore, when we saluted the town with nine guns. The water-bailey, or shahbander, brought off, as a present from the governor, a young bullock, two goats, with mangoes, limes, cucumbers, and water-melons. He welcomed us in the name of the governor, and desired us to send some persons on shore to inform the governor of the purpose of our arrival. About three in the afternoon, there came aboard a Jew born in Lisbon, together with an old renegado Venetian, who was in great favour with the governor, and in his name assured us of meeting with good usage to our content.

The 15th, Ali Asgee, the chief scrivano, sent a present of goats and fruits, with a message of welcome, by two old men of good condition, who were sent by the governor to remain aboard in pledge for such of us as were to go on shore, with many protestations of good usage. Accordingly, Mr Salbank and I went ashore, accompanied by two linguists and an attendant, carrying as a present for the governor, six yards of stammel broad cloth, six yards of green, a fowling-piece and a looking-glass. Above a thousand people were on the shore expecting our arrival, and several officers were in waiting to conduct us to the governor. His house was large and handsome, built of brick and stone, having a fair gate of entrance with a porter's lodge, and several servants in waiting. From the gate, we went into a great court, whence a winding stair of thirty steps led to a square terrace, from which we were conducted into a large room, at one end of which was a great bow-window looking towards the sea. The

governor

governor sat in this window, and there were others on the sides of the room, which looked to the wharf or landing-place. The floor of this room was all covered with fine mats, and towards where the governor sat, with fine Turkey carpets and Persian felts. Where he sat, there lay a party-coloured sattin quilt, with several rich cushions of damask and others of velvet. He was dressed in a violet-coloured vest of sattin, under which were garments of fine India muslin or calico, having on his head a sattin cap, wreathed round by a white sash. He was attended by the chief scrivano, the principal officers of the customs, some Turks of importance, many Indian merchants, and about an hundred servants. He seemed about fifty years of age, and his name was Mahomet Aga.

On our approach, and doing reverence, he bowed to us, and desired us to sit down, demanding who we were, and what was our business. We answered that we were Englishmen and merchants from London, who, by command of the ambassador of the king of England to the Great Mogul, with whom we had a league of peace and amity, had come to this place to treat for liberty of trade. That we were in friendship with the Grand Signior, and had free trade at Constantinople, Aleppo, and other places in the Turkish dominions, and hoped to enjoy the same here; for which purpose we were come to desire his and the pacha's phirmauns, giving us such privileges as we already had in other parts of the dominions of the Grand Signior, both for the present time and in future, as we meant to visit his port yearly with plenty of English and Indian commodities. We said likewise that we were commanded to say by the lord ambassador, that hearing there were sundry pirates, English, Dutch, French, Portuguese, Malabars and others, who infested the trade of this port, and principally that carried on by the Guzerats, who were our friends, we had his orders to free the seas of all such incumbrances, protecting all honest merchant ships and junks from injury. These, we said, were the true causes of our coming here.

The governor then rose up and bid us welcome, applauding our declared purposes, but asked why we were so fearful as not to come on shore without pledges. We answered, that about six years before, some of our countrymen being here, were enticed on shore by fair promises of good usage, who were betrayed and imprisoned by the then governor, and

and several of them murdered. For these reasons, we were under the necessity of being careful of our safety. We said moreover, that he would shortly be certified we were exactly what we professed, by means of two junks of Guzerat, one of which had not come this year, but for the pass and promise of the ambassador that they were to be protected in the voyage home by our ship, against the enterprizes of any pirates who might be in these seas, as one had been last year by some of our ships, which came opportunely to their rescue, and conducted her safely to their port, and had sent the chief commanders to England, to be tried and punished for their wrongs against the friends of our sovereign.

The governor acknowledged the friendly conduct of our nation in that affair, promising that we should live as safely on shore, and conduct our business with as much freedom and security, as in our own country, for which we should have his phirmauns, which he would procure to be confirmed by the pacha to our entire contentment. He said likewise, that the former governor was a bad man, long since deposed, and now living at Constantinople in disgrace; and swore by his beard, and by Mahomet, that not a hair of our heads should be diminished, nor any wrong offered to us, as he should make proclamation of our liberties, that no one might pretend ignorance and do us harm or discourtesy. He desired us, therefore, to look out for a house for ourselves and our goods, commanding two of his chiauses to attend upon us, and recommended us to lodge with the Jew merchant till we could fit ourselves better, desiring him to assist us in all things.

After giving many thanks for his kindness, and delivering the present as from our captain, we went, by the advice of the Jew, to visit the scrivano, who is likewise chief customer or shahbander; and as he was not at home, his servant received and entertained us with much civility. They conducted us into an handsome room, not much inferior in building and furniture to that of the governor, where we had left their master, who soon came home and welcomed us with much politeness, assuring us that all the governor had promised should be faithfully performed, as he himself should see all executed, and had also power to see us righted. We were informed that this man's power was as great in Mokha as that of the governor, who was directed by him in all matters of importance. This officer seemed a hearty old man.

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After making us drink coffee and sherbet, we took our leaves, and remained all night with the Jew.

Next morning we spent an hour in viewing the town, and observing the countenances of the people towards us, whom we found gentle and courteous, especially the Banians and Guzerats, many of whom reside here as merchants, shop-keepers, and mechanics, having neatly-built shops and warehouses. Their market or bazar seemed well furnished with all manner of necessaries, among which were plenty of fruits, which are brought daily from the country. Most of the town is built of brick and stone, neatly plastered over with Paris plaster, some of the houses being two stories high, and all flat-roofed, with terraces on the top, on which in summer they construct lodges of canes and mats, in which they sleep and spend the first quarter of the day, having at that time a fresh breeze from the sea. All the rest of the day at that season is so hot that they can hardly endure even a shirt. Mokha lies quite level along the sea-shore, being about two miles from north to south, and contains many good-looking houses, with three principal mosques. The streets are kept clean, every person having to sweep and water before his door every morning and evening, so that they resemble sandy alleys for bowling, more than streets. No filth is allowed to be thrown into the streets, but must all be carried to an appointed place, where it is scoured out by the sea. In fine, I have never seen a sweeter, cleaner, or better ordered town any where.

The wharf is situated between the governor's house and that of the scrivano, and is about twelve score square.[4] Near this, and adjoining the governor's house, there is a platform or fort, built of hewn stones, having battlements towards the sea, being about forty paces square, in which there are thirteen or fourteen pieces of ordnance of little value. Over against the landing-place two fair brass cannons are planted, above five feet long. At the other end, is the Alfandica, where there is a brass gun six feet long, carrying a large ball. Besides these defences, there is a stone house at the north end of the town, built like a sconce or redoubt, with a few pieces of ordnance; but they trust little in their ordnance, relying mostly on their soldiers, of whom they have always 200 in the town, and about 300 more in the country, within

[4] This is obscure, as it is not said whether it be 240 feet, yards, or paces.—E

within a day or two days march, who are all constantly in readiness for service.

The son of Cojah Nassan, the principal India merchant of the town, whom we waited upon at his house, promised us all kindness, and regaled us with tobacco and coffee, as is usual among these people. We went afterwards to wait upon the governor before we returned on board. He rose up at our entry to meet us, causing us to sit down by him, and repeated all the fair promises of free trade he had given the day before, declaring that he would deny us nothing that was reasonable. He then told us there was another governor shortly to succeed him, who was as his brother, and honester even than himself, who would faithfully perform every thing he had promised. At our request, the governor ordered the water-bailiff to furnish us at all times with boats, either for our conveyance, or to carry water to the ship. From the governor, we again went to visit the scrivano, who received us with much civility, promising to come aboard to visit our ship, and compliment our captain. After treating us with coffee, we took leave, and returned to the ship, when the pledges were dismissed, acknowledging the good treatment they had received, and were saluted on going ashore with five guns.

On the 17th, the scrivano, with our two pledges, our Jew friend, and twenty other persons, came aboard, bringing a bullock, with bread, quinces, and other fruits, a great round cake or pasty, like puff-paste, in which were several fowls and chickens, well seasoned and baked, and most excellent eating. We also, with a large quince pye, and many crabs, together with sack and cordials, added our best welcome. The scrivano was so well pleased with his reception, that he insisted upon becoming the sworn brother of our captain, which was accordingly celebrated with a cup of sack; and, after much mirth, and having taken a view of our ship, he departed highly gratified.

We were well supplied with water by several poor people of Mokha, who brought it off to the ship at a reasonable rate. Also, with the concurrence of the governor and scrivano, we made every junk that arrived anchor under our guns, and to ride in that situation till they discharged their cargo; which indeed the governor wished us to do, because some junks passed by that port to trade at others, to the injury of Mokha. At six in the evening of the 21st of April, we had a vio

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lent storm of wind off the land, accompanied by much thunder and lightning, but no rain, which continued for half an hour, all the rest of the night being extremely hot. Although we rode above a league from the shore, this tempest brought great quantities of dust, and even sand on board. The 25th, we had a message from the scrivano, saying that the governor and he had received letters from the pacha at Sinan, commanding them to entertain us with all manner of kindness, and to give us free trade, with liberty to reside among them in all quietness and security.

On the 27th the new governor arrived, when the ordnance of the town, and of our ship and the several junks in the road, all fired to welcome his arrival. He sent the former pledges on board to return thanks for our salute, accompanied by a present of plantains, limes, mangoes, melons, and bread, with one bullock, promising, in the name of the pacha, as free trade as our nation had in Constantinople. The pledges remained all night aboard, and went ashore with us next day, when we found the new and the old governors sitting together at the end of a large room, much in the same way as we had found the old one at our first arrival. The new governor was named Regib Aga, and was accompanied by several principal Turks, and by all the principal merchants from Surat, Diu, Dabul, Scindy, Calicut, and Cananore. On our approach, he and the other Turks only moved their bodies, but all the merchants rose up to salute us. He made us sit down beside him, and told us that the pacha had commanded him to give us satisfaction in all things; and that he knew besides, we were of a nation in friendship with the Grand Signior, and had free trade in Constantinople, Aleppo, and other parts of the Turkish empire, being a nation of a friendly and honest disposition, and we should therefore always find him disposed to give us free trade, and every other courtesy. In reply, we told him we proposed, at our next coming to Mokha, if our reasonable requests of a free trade were granted, to settle a permanent factory at this place, and to come yearly to the port, with plenty of English and India goods, and should defend the trade against pirates. We even distantly hinted, that it was needless to deny us a free trade, being in a condition to force it if refused, and to hinder all others from coming hither, the fear of which had already caused some junks to pass by Mokha to Jidda, the port of

of Mecca, a town of great trade, 150 leagues farther up the Red Sea, and to other places.

The new governor replied, that we should be made as welcome as in any place of our own country; and swore by God, and Mahomet, and by his own beard, that we should live as free from all injury as in our own land. We asked what security he would give us besides his word, when he said we should have his phirmaun under his *chop*, or seal, and would procure us the same from the pacha. With this we seemed satisfied, and gave him many thanks; and indeed they all seemed perfectly willing to give us every satisfaction, yet, in my opinion, not from good-will or justice, but from fear, as they knew we were able to intercept their whole trade. After some conversation about our ambassador, who now resided at Constantinople, and about the Portuguese and Spaniards, whom Rajib said were proud and faithless nations, we spoke of Sir Henry Middleton, asking the cause of their treacherous conduct to him and his people. He answered, that the then Vizier was a bloody, cruel, and ill-minded man, and made worse by the instigation of the Turks and Arabs of Mokha, who were enraged by the uncivil behaviour of our people, who made water at the gates of their mosques, forced their way into the houses after the citizens wives, and being daily drunk in the streets, would fight and quarrel with the people,[5] things hateful in their eyes. These were only in part the cause, for the covetousness of the governor, hoping to have got their ship and goods, was the main cause of that scandalous conduct, for which he was soon afterwards sent to Constantinople to answer for his crimes.

We dined that day with the scrivano, and hired a house of Hassan Aga, one of our pledges, at seventy dollars the monsoon, or yearly rent, it being all the same. The scrivano insisted to swear himself our friend on his Koran, yet denied the present governor to be the person who captured Sir Henry Middleton, which we afterwards found to be Turkish faith, or absolute falsehood. We now agreed to pay at the rate of three in the hundred, *ad valorem*, both inwards and outwards, though the scrivano swore that all others paid five; all money, with silver and gold in bullion, to pass free of duty. We remained this night with the scrivano to supper, and gave him a present.

[5] Let English Christians read, blush, and amend!—*Purch.*

On the 29th of April we expected to have had our phirmaun publicly read before all the merchants, and proclaimed to the people; but most part of the day was spent in ceremony by the governor and other chiefs at the mosque, on account of the death of Sultan Achmet, the Grand Signior, and the accession of his brother to the throne. They came riding past our house while we were sitting at a window which opened to the street, whence we made our obeisance to them, and they bowed in return. They were all in grand gala, having their horses richly caparisoned. At four in the afternoon we were sent for, but our linguist had got to a Jew house and was drunk with arrack, so we sent an apology, under pretence that Mr Salbank was indisposed, and promised attendance next day. On the 31st, the governor sent for us, and made our welcome known to all the merchants, causing his scrivano draw up a phirmaun as full as we could have wished, which he signed with his chop or seal in the afternoon, at the house of the principal scrivano, entirely according to what was before agreed upon, by which we were to pay three per cent. for all we landed, excepting money, and the same for all we took on board, except victuals. We got afterwards a similar phirmaun from Mahomet, the pacha of Sinan; and Rejib Aga gave us a particular safe conduct for Mr Salbank and the rest.[6]

It was now agreed among ourselves that Mr Salbank and I were to remain ashore to conduct the business of sales and purchases, while Mr Barber staid on board to prepare and send such goods as we required. The 5th of May we went to the scrivano to get leave to make arrack for the use of our sick men; because, since our linguist and several of our people had got drunk in the house of a Jew, we had complained, and procured an order prohibiting the Jews from selling them any, and the governor had even strictly enjoined the Jews and Turks not to sell any more arrack or wine in the town. At our request through the scrivano, the governor granted leave for a Jew, nominated for the purpose, to brew arrack at our house, but forbid any to be made elsewhere.

In the afternoon of the 8th, learning that the governor and

[6] Copies, or translations rather, from the Arabic, are given in the Pilgrims of all these three phirmauns, which it was not thought necessary to insert.—E.

and principal men were sitting in form at the Alfandica, to receive the Surat captain who was then coming on shore, we went also to see the ceremonial of his reception. We found the governor at the upper end of a long room, sitting on a stone bench spread with carpets, having on the same bench with him various merchants and Turks of quality, to the number of about twenty. Opposite to him sat about as many in chairs, forming a lane down the room to a square platform raised three steps from the floor, railed in and matted, in which the scrivano and other officers of the customs sat on carpets. The governor bid us welcome, saying he had given orders to the chief broker to examine our goods and promote their sale. He then desired us to sit down, two merchants offering us their places, and called for coffee and tobacco to regale us.

About half an hour after, the nokhada, or captain of the Surat ship, came ashore. His boat was curiously painted, having a tilt of red silk, with many streamers, and sails of fine white calico. He was rowed by twenty of his servants, all dressed in fine white calico, and he was accompanied by a wretched band of music, consisting of drums, waits, and bad trumpets, the noise from which was augmented by the discharge of guns from his own great junk and those belonging to the town. Attended by a few slaves, decked out in silks and coarse sattins, he entered the long room where we were, when the governor rose and saluted him, and placed him next himself on the stone bench. Many compliments of welcome passed between the nokhada and the other merchants; but in the height of his pride he overlooked us, and we him accordingly. Yet we thought he might have shewn us more respect, considering that Captain Shilling had sent his long-boat and men to free his junk of 400 or 500 tons, when aground, and had entertained him with much civility aboard our ship.

After some time spent in compliments, coffee was again brought in for all the company; after which six vests were produced, two of which were given to the Surat captain, and one each to his four principal merchants. When these were put on, and mutual *salams* or reverences given, they again sat down, like so many painted images, dressed up in coats of coarse gold and silver velvet. We here observed one usual custom of this town, at the arrival of any junk, and the landing of her nokhada or captain, that free liberty is given to

to all the mariners and passengers to bring ashore as much goods as each man can carry on his back, without payment of any duty; accordingly, at this time, about 300 persons belonging to this junk passed with their luggage to the captain's residence, unmolested.

On the 9th, our landlord and the scrivano told us that three junks from Diu, and four Malabar vessels, were at Aden, whence they were afraid to proceed without our pass or licence. Accordingly we sent them a free pass, signed by our captain and three merchants. In this, after reciting that we had found good usage from the governor and merchants at Mokha, we engaged to give them all freedom to pass quietly, assuring them of kind usage, provided they were not enemies to our sovereign or his subjects. A more general pass was afterwards granted by us for the quiet and free departure of all junks and other vessels, with their cargoes, mariners, and passengers.

On the 10th, the captain of the Dabul junk invited us to a banquet at his house, where we found the governor with about fifty principal persons, besides attendants, all of whom rose up to bid us welcome. Coffee, sherbet, and tobacco, were served round, with various fruits, as plums, apricots, and mangoes, and thinking these had been the feast, we were about to depart; but the governor and the Dabul captain desired us to remain, that we might *eat bread and salt with them*, which we did. The feast at last made its appearance, though late, being about sixty dishes of meats, baked, roasted, broiled, stewed, and boiled, but all mingled with rice and various kinds of sallads, in the fashion of India.

Our cargo consisted mostly of bad wares, which had lain in India till they were nearly spoiled, and so hung long upon our hands; wherefore we importuned the governor to dispeed our sales, which he charged the broker to do with all expedition. We also had leave granted to come and go between the ship and the shore at our pleasure, without demanding leave, contrary to the usual custom of the port, the water-bailiff being ordered to give us no molestation. On the 20th, it was noticed that the monsoon had changed. The 24th, the scrivano observed to us that our sailors, on coming ashore, were in the custom of selling *baftas* and sword-blades in the bazar. He said the governor had promised liberty for the goods of these poor fellows to pass free of custom, and therefore they might freely bring them ashore for

for sale, but must sell them at our house, and not in the public bazar, which was a disgrace to us and our nation.

On the 31st, our ship was in great danger of being burnt. Some one happened to be smoking on the spritsail yard-arm, when the burning tobacco fell out unobserved into a fold of the sail, where it burnt through two or three breadths, and was long smelt before it could be found. After this, smoking was strictly prohibited, except in the cook-room or the captain's cabin. At this time, for the recovery of our sick men, the exploration of the coast, and procuring ballast instead of lead taken out of the ship for sale, it was concluded to send the ship over to Assab, on the African coast, on which occasion Mr Baffen, the master's mate, was sent before to sound and discover the passage.

On the 10th of June we had a conference with the governor, and, among other discourse, he told us that he was governor of Aden when the Ascension was there, when he imprisoned the captain and Mr Joseph Salbank for two days, suspecting them to be freebooters, and not merchants, as he alleged. He said also that he was governor here at Mokha when Sir Henry Middleton was apprehended, but laid the whole blame of that transaction on the then pacha, whose servant he was, and who had given orders for that and much more, which he called God to witness was much contrary to his inclination, and declared that these things were past, and we had now nothing to fear. By this avowal, we had a clear evidence how far he and the scrivano were to be trusted. The governor sent for us again on the 13th, saying that he had acquainted the pacha with our purpose of sending to him for his phirmaun, and that he had promised a hearty welcome and full contentment, whether we went personally or sent a messenger; but the governor advised that one of us should go up to Sinan, for which purpose he would provide us with horses, camels, and attendants, and should write in our behalf to the pacha.

The 19th a junk arrived from Jiddah, with many passengers from Mecca, bringing camblets, bad coral, amber beads, and much silver, to invest in spices and India cotton goods. She brought news of a ship, laden last year from Mokha for Grand Cairo, which had lost her monsoon, and was forced to wait till next year, at a place only a little way beyond Jiddah. By this ship, the governor had letters informing him that the Grand Signior had sent various state ornaments to the

the pacha of Sinan, whom he had confirmed in his government for seven years longer, and appointing himself to continue governor of Mokha for the like time, of which he seemed not a little proud.

As I was constantly indisposed, it was thought fit that Mr Salbank should go up to Sinan to wait upon the pacha with a present, and to carry up some goods also with him for sale at that place. On this occasion, the scrivano offered him his own mule to ride upon, which he thankfully accepted. He was furnished with two camels, a cook, a horsekeeper, and three servants belonging to the governor, all of whose wages he agreed to pay at certain fixed rates, and was also accompanied by a linguist named Alberto. Taking leave of the governor, who gave him letters for the pacha, he departed from Mokha about six in the evening of the 23d June, the nights being the accustomed time of travelling.

In the morning of the 23d, we had a letter from our captain, then at Assab, informing of his safe arrival there, and the good health of the people, and that he had procured ballast and provisions to his satisfaction. On the 26th, the governor sent me a horse by one of his servants, inviting me to accompany him to his banqueting house, about half a mile out of town, there to spend the day in mirth along with other merchants. About half an hour after, the chief scrivano came to accompany me, with whom I went, joining the governor by the way, and rode with him to the place. It was a fair house, in the middle of a grove of date trees, beside a large tank or pond, having several rooms handsomely fitted up for sitting. After a little while, the governor and several others went into the tank to bathe, where they sported themselves for half an hour. Coffee was then handed round to the company, after which grapes, peaches, and both musk and water melons, were brought in, together with blanched almonds and great quantities of raisins, as there were between fifty and sixty guests, besides attendants; and always between whiles coffee, sherbet, and tobacco were handed round. Thus, and with indifferent music, we spent the forenoon. After prayers, the governor went again into the tank, where he spent an hour sporting with his company. In the sequel, the time was spent in cards and chess, and in looking at various juggling tricks, till four in the evening. At this time above an hundred dishes were served up, all of good meat, but cold, and ill dressed, each dish being sufficient

cient to have satisfied four hungry men. He treated me with much kindness, and was earnest to have me go with him into the tank, but I excused myself, on account of my late indisposition. He then said, if at any time I was inclined to bathe, I might come to this place when I pleased, and he would give orders to the keeper to admit me and use me well.

The 12th July, the Surat captain made a fine display of many artificial fire-works before the governor, it being then new moon. The governor sent for me to see them, and placed me in a chair beside himself, telling me he had letters that day from Sinan, informing him that the Pacha had granted a phirmaun for us before the arrival of Mr Salbank, but hearing of his coming, had delayed sending it, and had since granted another, according to his instructions, and had delivered it to Mr Salbank with his own hand.

On the 13th there passed by the roads a junk of four or five hundred tons from Jiddah, bound for *Kitchine*, a day's sail within the entrance of the Red Sea, which I suppose is not far from Cape Guardafui, on the coast of Africa.[7] She is said to contain great sums in gold and silver, with much valuable merchandize. This ship comes yearly to Mokha at the beginning of the western monsoon, bringing myrrh, and boxes for *coho* seeds, [coffee] and goes from hence to Jiddah or *Aliambo*, [Al Yambo] where she sells her coffee and the India goods procured at Kitchine; which last are brought thither by Portuguese barks from Diu and other places. Her outward lading consists of indigo, all manner of India cotton goods, gum-lac, and myrrh.[8] She is freighted by the Portuguese, and the governor of Mokha wished much we had met with her, which we had probably done, had not our ship been absent, which returned into the road of Mokha on the 21st. I went aboard, and was told that the king of Assab and his brother had been aboard, and were kindly entertained, in return for which he promised to supply them with abundance of beeves and goats; but that same evening, in consequence of a signal of fire, he and all his people fled into the mountains, pretending they were threatened by an attack

[7] The only place resembling this name is Kissem, on the oceanic coast of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, nearly due N. from Cape Guardafui.—E.

[8] This must refer to her homeward lading, called outward in the text in respect to India.—E.

tack from their enemies, and never even gave thanks for their entertainment.

Before day of the 27th July, Mr Salbank returned from Sinan in perfect health, and much satisfied with his phirmauns. He gave me an account of his whole journey, having been respectfully treated every where; always before entering any town, being met both by horse and foot to conduct him to the different governors, by whom he was kindly received. All his provisions were provided by their officers, but at his own expence; and the servant of the governor of Mokha caused him every where to be well used. He was met a mile from Sinan by forty or fifty Turks, well mounted, sent by the Pacha to escort him to a well-furnished house prepared for his reception. He was there kindly received and entertained by the xeriffe and the pacha's chief treasurer, who were both deputed to give him welcome in the name of the pacha. Two days afterwards, he had audience of the pacha, from whom he received courteous entertainment, receiving two phirmauns of the same tenor, one of which was much more ornamentally written than the other, and intended for being shown to the Grand Signior, if necessary.

According to his report, the city of Sinan and its neighbourhood will give vent yearly for a good quantity of English cloth, as the weather there is cold for three quarters of the year; and even while he was there, though the height of summer, a person might well endure a furred gown. Besides, there is a court at that place to which belongs *forty* or *fifty* thousand gallant Turks,[9] most of whom wore garments of high-priced Venetian cloth. Not far from thence there is a leskar, or camp, of 30,000 soldiers,[10] continually in the field against an Arab king in the adjoining mountains, not yet conquered; all of which soldiers are said to wear coats of quilted India chintzes, which are dear, and of little service to defend them from the cold of that region, which is there excessive. To this I may add the city of Teyes, near which there is a *leskar* of thirty or forty thousand soldiers, commanded by a German renegado under the pacha of Sinan. That place, though only about five days journey from Mokha,

[9] This is probably a vast exaggeration, though in words at length in the Pilgrims; and we ought more likely to read *four* or *five* thousand Turks. —E.

[10] A similar reduction to 3000 is probably needful for this army.—E.

ha, is very cold, and much cloth is worn by the people about that place.

On the 2d of August the governor sent a rich vest to our captain by the chief shabander, attended by drums and trumpets, his boat being decked out with flags and streamers. This was delivered with great ceremony, and reverently received. The Dabul nokhada, Melic Marvet, and Roswan, the nokhada of the Chaul ship, sent us letters of recommendation to their kings, on the 11th August, according to our desire, certifying the friendly usage they had experienced from us at Mokha, and our kind offer to protect them on the homeward voyage, from pirates, and entreating therefore for us freedom of trade and friendly usage in their dominions. The 14th, as we had formerly done to others, we gave our passes to two Malabar captains, Amet ben Mahomet of Cananore, under Sultan Ala Rajah, and Abu Beker of Calicut, under the Zamorin.

This day there came a galley into the road from Cairo, having many Turks and Jews as passengers, bringing great store of dollars, chekins, coral, damask, sattin, camblet, opium, velvets, and taffetas. She had come down the whole length of the Red Sea in thirty days. I had a conference with the Jews, one of whom I had formerly known in Barbary. They reported that the brother of the former Grand Signior, on being made emperor, had imprisoned his two nephews, and put to death several of the grandees, and had otherwise given great offence to the great men at Constantinople, whereupon he was deposed and imprisoned, and his eldest nephew made emperor in his stead. They said likewise that an army of 200,000 men was sent against the Persians, for the conquest of Gurgistan, adding various other particulars, some of which turned out true, and others false, like merchants news in general. Some Turks and Jews desired to have passage for themselves and goods in our ship to Surat; and it is likely, when they know us better, much profit may be made in this way, as their junks are usually pestered with rude people.

Having sold and bartered our goods as well as we could have expected, considering our cargo, and dispatched all our business, we visited the governor, and desired to have his testimonials to the lord ambassador, which he gave us. We took leave of him on the 19th of August, and of the scrivano and other chief men of the town, from whom we received protestations

protestations of continued kindness on all future occasions. We went aboard that same day, proposing to sail the next day for India, taking the Surat junk under our convoy, according to our instructions.

SECTION XII.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE TO SURAT AND JASQUES, IN 1620.[1]

"According to the title of this journal in the Pilgrims, the fleet which sailed on this voyage consisted of the London, of 800 tons, William Baffin master, on board of which was Captain Andrew Shilling, chief in command, or general; the Hart, of 500 tons, Richard Blithe master; the Roebuck, of 300 tons, Richard Swan master; and the Eagle, of 280 tons, Christopher Brown master. The account of the voyage in Purchas is said to consist of extracts from the journal written by Richard Swan, the master or captain of the Roebuck."—*Ed.*

§ 1. *Voyage from England to Surat.*

We sailed from Tilbury-hope on the 26th of February, 1620, and anchored in Saldanha road [Table Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope] on 24th of June, where we found the Lion homewards-bound, and nine Dutch ships bound for Bantam, commanded by a gentleman named Nicolas van Baccum, who was said to have studied seven years at Oxford. Next morning the Lion and the Dutch fleet departed, each their several way; and in the evening arrived the Schidam belonging to Deft, outward-bound, which being suspected by both admirals, the master was sent for, and producing his commission, gave satisfaction. On the 3d of July we made a solemn proclamation of the right and title of his majesty King James to Saldania, and on the 7th King James's mount was erected.[2]

We

[1] Purch. Pilgr. I. 723.

[2] It thus appears that the first fortified station at the Cape of Good Hope was erected by the English, to whom that colony now belongs. It would surely be a better appellation for this important colony, which may be called the key of India, to restore its old name of *Saldania*, than to continue its present awkward denomination, The Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.—E.

We sailed from the Cape of Good Hope on the 25th of July, and 26th of October we put into Dabul roads, where we remained till the 2d of November to refresh our men, and to provide the two ships bound for Persia. The 6th November, the Hart and Eagle took leave of us, and the 9th we anchored in Swally roads, where we found the Wappen van Zeland, of 1000 tons, which at our arrival took in her colours, and saluted the London with three guns, and the Roebuck with two. I was sent on shore, and brought off Mr Thomas Kerridge, the president of the factory at Surat, with Mr James, and Mr Hopkinson. Next day, in a consultation, it was determined to dispatch us speedily after the Hart and Eagle, as we had intelligence that four Portuguese galleons were waiting at Ormus, or in Jasques roads, to intercept them.

§ 2. *Voyage from Surat towards Jasques.*

The 19th November, having dispatched our business at Swally with all expedition, we set sail towards Jasques. The 21st we chased a ship, which surrendered without resistance, being the Nostra Sennora de Merces, of 200 tons, bound from Muscat for Chaul, having on board forty-two Arabian horses, her principal loading, and for which trade she was built. The residue of her cargo consisted of dates and raisins. The name of her captain was Francisco de Mirando.

The 5th December, when in latitude 24° 55′ N. we met the Hart and Eagle coming from Jasques for Surat, because not of sufficient strength to encounter the Portuguese force which was waiting for them with the intention of ruining our Persian trade. Thus happily rejoined to our former consorts, we shaped our course for Jasques to accomplish our purpose. The 8th, at the earnest desire of the Portuguese and Moors taken in the prize, we set them on shore, except some Moor seamen whom we detained in our service, and the Portuguese pilot, who entreated to stay, as he feared some hard usage from his own people. On the 12th, certain volunteers who had engaged to set fire to our prize, and run her aboard the Portuguese admiral, were put on board of her, and she was fitted as a fire-ship. The 15th we had sight of the east point of Jasques roads, having upon it a tomb or old square flat-roofed house, which bore W.N.W. by compass

pass, twelve miles off. From Diu head to this point, I make the longitude, by the ordinary plain chart, 9° 55′ 36″ W. but by Mercator's projection, 10° 51′. From where we were, we could see the Portuguese men of war sent from Lisbon to oppose our trade with Persia, consisting of two Portuguese galleons, one of which was larger than the London, and two Dutch ships, one as large as the Hart, while the other was less than the Eagle. Their general was Don Ruy Frere de Andrado; the vice-admiral, Joam Boralio; and the two Dutch ships were commanded by Antonio Musquet and Baltazar de Chaves.[1]

§ 3. *Account of the first Fight with the Portuguese.*

In the morning of the 16th December, our admiral and all the masters of our squadron went on board the prize, carrying two barrels of powder, some tar, and other combustible materials, to fit her up as a fire-ship, intending to lay her on board the Portuguese admiral athwart his hawse, that both might burn together. After she was fitted, we bore up for the Portuguese squadron, but it fell calm, and the current set us so near them, that they reached us with their shot. We kept under sail all night, and in the morning of the 17th, being to leeward of them in consequence of the land-breeze, they weighed and made toward us, when we waited their approach, although they preserved the advantage of the weather-gage. The fight began about nine in the morning, and continued without intermission for nine hours. In the afternoon, a fine gentle sea-breeze sprung up from the westwards, which gave us the weather-gage; and the Portuguese admiral anchored, either of necessity to repair some defect about his rudder, or of policy to gain some expected advantage. His vice-admiral and the large Dutch ship anchored to the eastwards, and the lesser Dutch ship to leeward of them all, stopping his leaks. We were now in great hopes of putting our fire-ship to a good purpose; but being too soon fired and forsaken by those who had her in charge, she drove clear of them all, to their joy and our disgrace.

Seeing

[1] According to a special account of this and the succeeding sea-fight, appended to the present relation in Purchas, the Portuguese fleet on the present occasion, besides the four galleons, consisted of two galliots and ten frigates or armed barks, none of which are here mentioned except the four galleons.—E.

Seeing them remain at anchor, and keeping to windward of them, we turned to and again close a-head of them as they rode at anchor, raking them as we passed, through and through, fore and aft, especially the admiral, receiving only in return their prow and bow-chases. By these, as I passed to the north, two unfortunate shots cut asunder the weather leech ropes of the Roebuck's foresail and fore-topsail, in the middle depth of both sails; owing to which we could not bring her into stays, and were forced, for repairing these sails, to bear down to leeward, between the enemy and the shore; in which course, the three great ships plied their whole broadsides against us, but with less hurt than I could have imagined, God be praised. Having compassed the three large ships, I luffed up to rejoin our squadron, which still held the advantage of the wind, and plied their great guns on the Portuguese like so many muskets. When I had got to windward of the smaller Dutch ship, which stood off as I did till he had our fire-ship directly between him and me, he turned tail, and steered right before the wind along shore to the eastwards, with all the sail he could carry. The other three now set sail to his rescue, and were now so tame, that as the Hart passed along their broadsides, she received only a few shots great and small from any of them, and from some none at all. The night now coming on, and our people being all wearied by the long continuance of the fight, we all desisted from any farther chase, and came to anchor in our usual road.

In this fight, the London and Hart had very little harm in their hulls and tackling, and less, or rather none, in their men. The main-mast of the Eagle was hurt in five places, four of which were quite through, and one of her men lost his right arm. In the Roebuck, I had one man slain by a cannon ball striking his head. A piece of his skull and some splinters of the ball wounded one of my mates in the forehead, and destroyed his left eye; and two others of my men lost the use of their right hands. God be praised for our good fortune; for I never heard of so small loss in so long a fight as we now sustained. I cannot truly state the loss of the enemy: but, by the report of our merchants, their vice-admiral and another captain were slain, and thirty or forty men in the admiral's ship alone, the rest as yet unknown. As to their Moors, they do not count them among the number of their men.

In

In the morning of the 18th, the day after the action, we could see the Portuguese at anchor ten miles to the east of us, having the wind fair to have come down, but they did not. We then held a consultation, whether it were better for us to take the first of the sea breeze, which usually begins about noon, to stand towards them and try it out for the mastery, before they could receive supplies from Ormus, Muskat, or Goa, or else to make sail for Jasques roads, on purpose to land our goods and money, in case of the worst, these being the prize they sought to obtain and we to defend. Accordingly, the London got that night into Jasques road, but the rest could not get in before the 20th, by reason of contrary winds. On the 21st and 22d most of our goods were landed.

§ 4. *Second Sea Fight with the Portuguese.*

On the 22d, seeing the Portuguese galleons open the road of Jasques, and supposing they might intend to come in with the sea breeze, we set sail and stood off for them. At first, they made a shew of giving us battle, but soon afterwards made off upon a tack; and till the 28th, they were either to windward, or so favourably placed at anchor, that we could not attempt to attack them without manifest disadvantage. During this time, they were joined by two or three frigates, or barks, from Ormus, bringing them a supply of men and ammunition. We made one attempt on Christmas day, but were forced back by a sudden flaw of wind; on which occasion, some blacks aboard of us, said the Portuguese had brought a witch from Ormus, to supply them with favourable winds.

On Innocents day, 28th December, perceiving the drift of our Portuguese *Fabius cunctator*, to protract and avoid fighting, that by delays and the advantage of his frigates, he might hinder us from prosecuting your business in Persia, we determined to attempt closing with him. About one o'clock there sprung up a favourable east wind for our purpose, on which we immediately weighed and put every thing in order for battle. The London and Hart came to anchor within a cable's length and half of their broadsides, and so endured the main brunt of this second fight; for, no sooner were they at anchor, but it fell calm and so continued all day, insomuch that the Roebuck and Eagle, which had steered

steered nearer to the shore, with the intention of coming to anchor, one on the bow of their admiral, and the other on the bow of their vice-admiral, got astern, and could not with all our diligence be of any service for a full half hour after the action began. At length we got within point-blank shot of them, and then were forced either to anchor or drive farther off with the current, as there was not a breath of wind.

We now brought our broadsides to bear, and our whole squadron plied their ordnance upon them so fast, that had the knowledge of our men equalled their resolution, not one of them had escaped from us. Not willing to endure such hot entertainment, they cut their cables about three o'clock, and drove from us with the tide to the westwards, till out of our reach. Then came their frigates, which the day before had made a bravado along shore with drums, trumpets, flags, and streamers, and, now employed in a fitter task, towed them away all mangled and torn. Their admiral, in the very hottest of the fight, was under the necesity of giving his ship a heel to stop his leaks, his main-top-mast and the head of his main-mast having fallen overboard. The great Dutch ship had both his top-masts and part of his boltsprit shot away, and the smaller lost all his shrouds and top-masts. Their vice-admiral escaped best this day, having commonly one or other of their own ships between him and us.

We kept them company all night, in hope of being able next morning to give them their passports; but having taken a survey of our shot, which we found scanty, and considering the importance of the voyage we still had to perform, we thought it best to give over the chase and return to Jasques; leaving them glad of our absence, their two great ships towing the two smaller. We have had no account of their loss in this action. All your worships ships remain serviceable, God be praised, and only five men slain outright in these two long and severe engagements. Our worthy admiral and kind commander, Captain Andrew Shilling, received a great and grievous wound by a cannon ball through his left shoulder, which he bore with such wonderful courage and patience, that we were in great hopes of his much-wished-for recovery: But he had likewise two of his uppermost ribs broken on the left side, and died on the 6th January, 1621, shewing himself a resolute commander in the action, and an assured Christian in his death. We intend-

ed

ed to have carried his body to Surat, to have there performed his funeral rites according to his great merit, and our surgeons undertook to preserve his body by means of embalming and cere-cloth, but it became so noisome that we were forced to bury him at Jasques, which was done on the 7th, with all the solemnity and respect in our power.

In this engagement, the London expended 1382 great shot of several sorts, the Hart 1024, the Roebuck 815, and the Eagle 800, in all 4021. In consequence of the death of our worthy admiral, the white box, No. I. was opened; and according to your worships appointment, Captain Richard Blithe succeeded to the supreme command of the London, I was removed into the Hart, Christopher Brown into the Roebuck, and Thomas Taylor was made master of the Eagle.[1]

§ 5. *Sequel of the Voyage.*

The 14th January, 1621, having had forty-eight hours continual and excessive rain, which, or much wind, is usual at Jasques for three or four days at the full and change of the moon, and having finished our business at Jasques, we set sail on our return to Surat, where we arrived on the 1st February. Nothing material occurred on the passage, except that, on the 27th January, between Diu and the *sand-heads*, we surprised a small ship of war, called Nostra Sennora de Remedio, of 100 tons, commanded by Francisco de Sylva, manned by thirty-five Portuguese and twenty-five Moors, sent out by the governor of Diu to protect their small merchant ships against the Malabar rovers. We dismissed the men and kept the ship for our use, calling her the Andrew, after our late excellent general. She had in her neither meat, money, nor commodities, and scarcely as many poor suits of clothes as there were backs.

The 27th of February we began to take in our loading. The 5th of March, the Eagle was sent down to keep guard over the junk belonging to the prince, and to hinder her from

[1] This account does not agree with an accompanying official letter, dated 13th January, 1621, giving a similar account of the two engagements, often in the very identical words used by Swan, in which the name of Thomas Taylor is omitted, instead of whom William Baffin is the last in the list of signatures; and the christian name of Swan is made Robert instead of Richard.—E.

from any farther loading, till they granted free passage for our carts with goods and provisions, which had been restrained for six or seven days by the vexatious procedure of the governor of Olpar, a town near Surat. By this means, no cotton wool was allowed to come down till our ships were fully laden. On the 16th of March, having notice that the Caffila, from Agra, had been robbed by the Deccan army, we resolved to seek restitution upon the ships of the Deccan prince and his confederates in this transaction, as we intended wintering in the Red Sea. The 19th, the governor of Surat having given us satisfaction in regard to the carts, and a supply of powder and shot for our money, and promise under his hand for redress of other injuries, we dismissed the junk belonging to the prince from duress.

From the 25th of March to the 6th of April, 1621, the winds have been S. and S.S.W. or W. and blowing so hard from noon till midnight, raising so great a surf on the shore, that no business could be done except on the last quarter of the ebb and first of the flood tide. We sailed on the 7th April. The 9th, the Eagle and a Dutch pinnace, called the Fortune, parted company, being consigned to Acheen and Bantam. The London, Hart, Roebuck, and Andrew, were intended for the Red Sea, if not too late.

The 1st May, the Andrew and our boats surprised a Portuguese ship of 200 tons called the St Antonio, which we named the May-flower. Her principal lading consisted of rice taken in at Barcelor, whence she had gone to Goa, and sailed from thence for Ormus and Muskat on the 8th of April. We learnt from this prize, that Ruy Frere de Andrada was busy in repairing his ships at Ormus, and that Don Emanuel de Azeredo had departed from Gor fifty days before for Ormus, to reinforce Andrada with two galleons, one of these being the same in which the viceroy was personally, when he engaged our fleet under Captain Downton. During a calm on the 7th, we captured a small frigate-built ship called the Jacinth, which we named the Primrose, which had come from Mozambique and was bound for Goa. Thence to the 13th, we had variable winds, with calms and much rain. Finding the May-flower delayed us much, and that our pilots were either ignorant or malicious, we resolved to trust to our own endeavours for finding an anchoring place, for our safe riding till the strength of the adverse monsoon

was over, for which purpose we determined upon going to Macera.[2]

We descried land on the 2d June, and anchored in seventeen fathoms three miles off shore, in lat. 20° 20′ N. variation 17° W. We found plenty of water in four or five pits, three quarters of a mile from the shore. I had forty tons from one well, which we rolled in hogsheads to the beach. The people were tractable, but we got little else besides water. A tuft of date trees by the watering place bore N.W. by W. from our anchorage, and the other end of the island N.E. ½ E. five leagues off. The 12th we sailed for the N.E. end of the island, and in the afternoon came to anchor in a fair bay, having seven fathoms on clean ground, a black oozy sand, the N.E. point bearing S. ½ a league off, the landing place W.S.W. two miles off, and the north part of the bay N. by W. four miles off. The latitude of this bay is 20° 30′ N. and the variation 17° W.[3] In this bay you may ride safely in any depth between five and twelve fathoms. It is an excellently healthy place, cold and hungry, affording no refreshments except water, enough of which is to be had by digging pits; but it is ill to boat except at the usual landing place. This place afforded us no better supplies than the former, except that we got a few goats and lambs in exchange for canikens. Though good anchorage, this bay was much troubled by a tumbling rolling sea, yet we resolved to remain here with the Hart and Roebuck till the fury of the monsoon were past.

Having separated some time before from the London, our admiral, we sent on the 19th of June, one Abdelavie, an inhabitant of this island, as far as Zoar with letters in quest of the London. He returned on the 6th July with letters in answer, informing us that the London was at Zoar, seven leagues within Cape Rasalgat, having watered with difficulty at Teve, where their surgeon, Mr Simons, and the chaplain's servant, were surprised on shore by the Portuguese and Arabs. The Hart and Roebuck sailed from Macera, [Mazica,] on the 6th of August, and anchored in the evening of the 8th beside the admiral

[2] From the latitude of this place, mentioned afterwards in the text, this seems to refer to Mazica, an island about sixty miles long and fifteen or twenty in breadth, a few miles from the oceanic coast of Arabia, in lat. 20° 43′ N. and long. 57° 30′ E. from Greenwich.—E.

[3] The north end of Mazica is in lat. 21° 12′, and its south end in 20° 15′, both N.—E.

admiral in the port of Zoar. This road differs from that in which we were in, being calm, but the air was so hot as to take away our appetites.

We sailed from Zoar on the 15th of August and returned to Swally roads. The 21st September, our whole fleet sailed from Swally, and on the 27th we took leave of the fleet bound for Jasques, consisting of the London, Jonas, Whale, Dolphin, Lion, Rose, Shilling, Richard, and Robert. The 1st January, 1622, we were between Johanna and Mayotta, two of the Comoro islands. The 29th we anchored in Saldanha roads, [Table Bay,] having come thither from Surat in nine weeks and three days, blessed be God for our safe and speedy passage. We here watered, bathed in the river, caught fish, and buried our letters; purchasing three cows, one calf, and four sheep, all unsavoury meat.

We sailed again on the 3d February, and anchored on the 19th at St Helena, where we found the Wappen and the Hollandia, two Dutch ships, the latter of which caught fire on the 22d, owing to her cloves, which had been taken in too green at Amboina. There was likewise a third small Dutch ship. They arrived eleven days before us, and it will take them at least ten days more to discharge and reload their damaged cloves. We sailed from St Helena on the 28th February, and anchored in the Downs on the 7th June, 1622.

Section XIII.

RELATION OF THE WAR OF ORMUS, AND THE TAKING OF THAT PLACE BY THE ENGLISH AND PERSIANS, IN 1622.[1]

"In the Pilgrims of Purchas, vol. II. pp. 1785—1805, there is a long confused account of this business, contained in four several sections; to which many letters and certificates on the subject are subjoined. The *first* is a brief historical memoir of the foundation of Ormus, from a chronicle in the Arabic, said to have been composed by *Pacha Turunxa*, perhaps Pacha Turun Shah, one of the kings of that petty sovereignty. The *second* is a relation of the Ormus war, by Mr W. Pinder, who appears to have served under Andrew

[1] Purch. Pilgr. II. 1793.

Andrew Shilling, during the preceding voyage, and sailed as master of the Andrew on this occasion. The *third* is an account of the earlier part of this war of Ormus, written by T. Wilson, a surgeon serving in the expedition. The *fourth* is a more particular relation of the whole events of this expedition, extracted by Purchas from the journal of Mr Edward Monoxe, agent for the East Indian merchants trading in Persia. This last has been chosen, as best adapted to give a distinct view of the expedition, but some freedoms have been assumed with it, by assisting the narrative from the other documents in Purchas, already specified."—E.

At a consultation held in Swally roads on the 14th November, 1621, a commission was given by Mr Thomas Rastell, president, and the rest of the council, of our factory at Surat, to Captains Richard Blithe and John Weddell, who were bound for Jasques, with five good ships and four pinnaces. The ships were the London, Jonas, Whale, Dolphin, and Lion, and the pinnaces the Shilling, Rose, Robert, and Richard. They were directed to sail with the earliest opportunity for Jasques, keeping together for their mutual defence against the enemy; and, as the Portuguese had disturbed the trade, and made sundry assaults on our ships, killing, maiming, and imprisoning our men, they were authorized to chase and capture any vessels belonging to the ports or subjects under the viceroy of Goa; as likewise, if they met any ships belonging to Dabul, Chaul, or other ports of the Deccan, or to the subjects of the Zamorin of Calicut, to arrest them, in replacement of goods robbed and spoiled by these powers, without embezzling any part of their cargoes, that restitution might be made, after due satisfaction rendered on their parts. A sixth part of the goods taken from the Portuguese were to be distributed as prize, the ships and the rest of the goods to remain to the company; and all the prisoners to be retained, that they might be exchanged for our countrymen, held by them in miserable bondage. They were directed to hasten their business and dispatch at Jasques, if possible within thirty days. And as our enemy under Ruy Frere de Andrada, was reinforced to six galleons, with other small vessels, waiting on the coast of Persia in all likelihood to attack our fleet, they were authorized, both defensively and offensively also, to use all opportunities or advantages against the Portuguese fleet, even in their own ports, if approved by a general council of war.

We

We arrived in Costack roads on the 23d December, about twenty-seven leagues from Jasques, Ormus being in sight about ten leagues W.N.W. by a meridional compass. Our factors here informed us, that after our sea-fight in the former year, the Portuguese governor of Ormus had erected a fort on Kismis, an island within sight of Ormus, to which the Persians had laid siege for seven or eight months ineffectually, and had lost eight or nine thousand men in the siege; wherefore the Khan or prince of Shiras had, by his ministers, demanded the aid of our ships against the common enemy, the Portuguese, otherwise threatening to detain all the goods and money belonging to the company in Persia. In a consultation held on the 26th December on board the Jonas, in which were present, Captain Richard Blithe, John Weddell, Edward Monoxe, William Baffin, and many others, articles of agreement for giving our aid to the Persians against the Portuguese were drawn up, and being translated into the Persian language, were forwarded by the governor of the province of Mogustan to the Khan of Shiras, then on his way towards Mina, near the mouth of the Persian gulf.

In this consultation, it was considered, as it was required of us by the Persians, that we should give them aid with our ships and people in this war, not only for the purpose of vanquishing the Portuguese navy, but for conquering the island and castle of Ormus; and as we were confident they would endeavour to force us into this service, by embargoing our goods, the governors having already refused to give us camels for their carriage from Mina to the ports: Wherefore, the foresaid proposition being maturely considered, together with the commission from the factors at Surat, warranting us to right ourselves for the great losses and hindrances suffered from the Portuguese, by interrupting our trade both in India and Persia, and their attack last year against the fleet under Captain Shilling; we therefore agreed to proffer the following articles to the Khan, for the public benefit and the securing a peaceable and profitable trade.

First.—In case of conquering the island and castle of Ormus by the Persians with our aid, one half of the spoil and purchase of both to belong to the English, and the other half to the Persians. *Secondly.*—The castle of Ormus shall be delivered up to the English, with all the ordnance, arms, and ammunition thereunto belonging; and the Persians to build another fortress there for themselves, at their own charges. *Thirdly.*—The customs of Ormus shall be equally divided between

tween the English and the Persians, and the English shall be for ever free from customs. *Fourthly.*—All Christians made prisoners in this war shall be given up to the disposal of the English, and all Mahomedan prisoners to the Persians. *Fifthly.*—The Persians shall be at half the charges of the ships employed in this enterprize, in victuals, wages, wear-and-tear, and shall furnish all necessary powder and shot at their sole expence.

These were the chief articles, besides which several others were agreed upon, to be proposed to the Khan. After his arrival at Mina, Mr Bell and Mr Monaxe were sent to wait upon him, on the 8th January, 1622, and were entertained at a sumptuous banquet. A great feast and triumph was also made, in consequence of intelligence that the Shah had conquered a great country in Arabia, with its capital Aweiza.[2] Next day, the Khan sent his vizier and two other principal officers to give an answer to our proposed articles. The *first* was granted. For the *second*, it was substituted that the castle of Ormuz was to be occupied by both nations till the king's pleasure was known. The *third* was granted, provided also, that the goods from India belonging to the king and the Khan were to pass free of duty. In regard to the *fourth*, reservation was made as to the two principal Portuguese captains, Ruy Frere, captain of Kismis Castle, and Simon de Mela, governor of Ormus, till the king's pleasure were known. Other articles were agreed upon; such as that no change was to be made in regard to religion, and the expence of military stores was to be divided. The Khan and Mr Bell signed these articles; and presently our goods were laden upon the Khan's own camels at free cost, which could not be procured before for any money.

The 10th of January we returned to Costack, and going on board, acquainted our commanders with the success of our mission. When the news of this agreement became known among the several ships companies, they consulted among themselves, and with one voice refused to take any share in the business. This broke out first in the London, in which ship fifty or sixty of her crew took part in refusing to have any thing to do with this warlike measure; but, after taking

[2] This assuredly alludes to Ahwas in Khosistan, to the N.W. of the lower Euphrates, opposite to Bussrah, which, though not in Arabia, is in its immediate neighbourhood, and principally inhabited by people of Arabian origin.—E.

taking much pains to reconcile them to the propriety and necessity of joining with the Persians, Captain Blithe at last prevailed with them, and they promised to go with him wherever he chose to lead them. In a day or two, the flame of discontent and opposition spread among the other ships, alleging that it was no mercantile business, and that it might lead to a breach of the peace between our nation and Spain; but formal protests being taken against the crews, what with the fear of forfeiting their wages, and a promised gratification of a month's pay, they all at last yielded.

We set sail for Ormus on the 19th of January, and anchored on the night of the 22d before the town, about two leagues from the castle, expecting that the enemy's armada would come out to fight us, consisting of five galleons, and some fifteen or twenty frigates, or armed barks; but they hauled in so near the castle, that we could not get nigh them. For which reason, and because our avowed enemy, Ruy Frere de Andrada, was in his newly-erected castle of Kismis, we sailed to that place, where we arrived the next day, and were just in time to save the lives of the Portuguese, who were no longer able to hold out against the Persians, and were willing rather to yield to us than them. After many meetings and treaties, they yielded up both themselves and their castle into our hands on the 1st February, it being concluded that the whole garrison was to depart with their private property to any place except Ormus, their commander only remaining in our hands as a pledge for the fulfilment of the capitulation. In this service two of our people were slain, one of whom was Mr Baffin.[3]

There were about a thousand persons of all sorts in this castle, of whom the Portuguese and some Mahometans were sent away: But the Khan required certain Mahometans to be given up, who he pretended had revolted from him. They were accordingly delivered up, and, though he had formerly promised them mercy, he put them all to death. This castle had seventeen pieces of ordnance, one of which was a brass *pedro*, two iron demiculverins, four brass sackers, two iron minions, and six iron falcons.[4]

Leaving

[3] Mr Baffin was a mathematician and mariner, to whom our northern and north-western voyages are much indebted.—*Purch.*

Hence almost certainly the person to whom Baffin's bay, in the north-east of America, owes its name.—E.

[4] On a former occasion, we have given an account of the various kinds

Leaving some Englishmen to assist in keeping possession of this fortress along with the Persians, according to agreement, we set sail on the 4th February for Gambroon, on the mainland of Persia, within three leagues of Ormus, and directly opposite. Ruy Frere de Andrada, the late commander of Kismis, was sent off for Surat, in the Lion, accompanied by the Rose and Richard. The London, Jonas, Whale, and Dolphin, with the two prizes of 250 tons each, remained to transport the Persians in safety to Ormus. We were royally feasted at Gambroon by the Khan, who was much dissatisfied that Andrada and some of the Moors had not been delivered up to him, yet dissembled his discontent, in regard of his farther need for our ships in the enterprise against Ormus. After the feast, all the English gentlemen present were presented with vests, each according to his rank.

On the 9th of February we set sail for Ormus, having about two hundred Persian boats of all sizes, besides two frigates or barks, and our ships, having in them about 2500 or 3000 Persian soldiers, of various sorts. We anchored that night about two leagues from the castle; and next forenoon all the Persians were landed on the island of Ormus, a little way from the town, to which they marched in a confused manner, penetrating as far as the Meidan, or market-place, without resistance. The market-place was barricadoed and defended for some time by the Portuguese with shot and pikes; but the Persians soon made way, with small loss, and drove the Portuguese before them into the castle, like so many sheep. One Persian only, who first entered, was slain by a pike, and he who slew him soon lost his head, his heels being too heavy to carry it away.

On first entering the city, the Persian general, named Einam Culi Beg, placed captains with detachments of soldiers in various quarters, proclaiming that each officer was to be answerable for the safety of the quarter assigned to him, and threatening death to all who were found pillaging. Some infringing these orders were severely punished, some being hanged, others having their ears or noses cut off, and others bastinadoed

of ordnance used about the 17th century. The *pedro* was probably a gun of large calibre for throwing *stone* bullets. In modern times, cannon are designated by the weights of their respective balls, in combination with their being long or short, land or sea, field or garrison, single or double fortified, iron or brass.—E.

bastinadoed even for trifles. Yet, in two or three days after, the shops and houses were forced open, and every man so wearied with carrying away plunder all day long, and sleeping so securely at night without any proper military precautions, that the Portuguese might easily have slain many, if they had ventured upon making a sally.

On the night of our landing, I took possession of a very commodious house for a factory, which, for convenience and goodness of its rooms, exceeded, as I think, any factory belonging to the Honourable Company. But it proved too hot for me on the 13th, in the night, as one of the master's mates of the Whale, with others of his companions, after I was in bed, by carelessness of candles, while searching for plunder, set a room on fire in which were some goods given me in charge by the general. Fortunately the wind favoured us, so that the house was not consumed. Considering the strength of this city, and that every house was as it were a little castle, I was astonished the Portuguese should have abandoned it so soon. But it seems they were afraid of being intercepted by the Persians in their retreat to the castle, and dreaded that the Mahometan inhabitants might have betrayed them.

The Persians began presently to throw up trenches, and daily approached nearer the castle, and, with our help, erected batteries for ordnance, and sconces or redoubts for securing their men, and protecting the trenches. With the cannon from our ships, we sore galled the Portuguese ships, forcing them to haul in as close as possible to the castle. On the 24th of February, four of our boats set fire to the San Pedro, formerly admiral of Andrada's fleet, which put all the rest in great danger, but the tide carried her out to sea, and her relics were towed on shore at Gambroon by the Arab and other country boats, some iron ordnance and shot being got out of her burnt carkass. The Khan was much rejoiced at this exploit.

The Persians having succeeded in constructing a mine under one of the bastions, which was charged with upwards of forty barrels of powder, it was exploded on the 17th of March, by which a practicable breach was made in the salient angle of the bastion. The Persians made immediately a fierce assault, and Shah Culi Beg got possession of the bastion with 200 of his bravest men, and maintained himself there for at least three hours; but the Portuguese made a brave defence, and

and with powder-pots, scalding lead, and other devices of fire, did much hurt to the assailants, burning, scalding, and slaying many of them, so that the Persians were at last driven out with considerable loss, most of them being wounded, scalded, or scorched. On the same day, the city was set on fire in several places, by the command of the Persian general, as was reported, because his Arab soldiers lurked among the houses, and could not be got forth to do any service in the siege.

To the number of four or five thousand men, we were now cooped up in a barren island without shelter, producing nothing in itself except salt; and I know not by what mistaken policy the general had been induced to send away *all* the rice and other victuals, by which means we were reduced to depend upon the continent for a daily supply of provisions, and even water; so that, if a fleet of Portuguese frigates had come, as was expected, we must have been famished, as the country boats durst not have ventured to us from the main. The rain water in the open cisterns was daily wasted, and became brackish, no care being taken to fill the jars and private cisterns in almost every house, while it remained good. The Persians are quite ignorant in the art of war, for they entered the breach without fear, precaution, or means of establishing themselves; and they lost with shame what they might have defended with honour. I observed other defects in their management, even of the very sinews of war; and I am astonished that Shah Abbas, the wonder of our age, should have sent his army on this expedition so weakly provided with money, arms, ammunition, ships, and all other necessaries. I am even satisfied that all the money belonging to the khan was consumed in one month's pay to our ships, and I fear we shall have to wait for the rest till the plunder is converted into money. In regard to arms and ammunition, they have only small pieces, with bows and arrows, and swords, some of their chiefs having coats of mail. They were so scarce of powder, that after blowing their mine, they had hardly enough to supply their small arms for entering the breach, though furnished with twenty or twenty-five barrels from our ships. They had not a single scaling-ladder to assist their entry. Were we to forsake them, they would soon be completely at a stand, yet they have already broken conditions with us in several things, and I much fear,

when

when all is done, we shall be paid with reversions, and what else they themselves please.

Our ordnance so galled the Portuguese ships from the shore, that a galleon was sunk on the 19th of March, and two more on the 20th and 23d. The last come ship from Goa, which was their admiral, and one of the others, were, I think, sacrificed by the policy of the governor, that the garrison might have no means of escape, and might therefore defend themselves manfully to the last, in hopes of relief from Goa, though some thought they went down in consequence of injuries from sunken rocks, in hauling them so near the castle to get them out of the range of our battery.

On the 27th, news was brought me that some of the Portuguese were come from the castle to treat of peace, upon which I repaired to the general's tent, where I could well perceive, by the countenances of our two English commanders, that I was by no means welcome: But, to requite them in their own coin, both they and I soon saw that none of us were acceptable to the Persians, for they long delayed bringing in the Portuguese messenger, in hopes we would have gone away, but at length, seeing we remained, he was brought in. The drift of his speech was to the following effect:—"His captain had sent him to kiss the hands of the general, and to ask the reason of making war upon the Portuguese, who were friends to the Persians, and thought it strange, considering their ancient league and friendship, that so great a war should be made only for one or two wells of water. Besides, that the governor and people of Ormus were not to blame for what had been done at Kismis by Ruy Frere de Andrada; yet were they willing, so far as might consist with the honour of their sovereign, to purchase peace, which they needed not to do either from fear or weakness, having above a thousand able-bodied men in the castle, with provisions and water for many months; besides which, they were in daily expectation of succours from Goa. He concluded by saying, that the Persians would find it a hard matter to win the castle, as they were resolved to defend themselves to the last man."

The latter part of this speech, consisting of bravado, was by no means pleasing to the Persian general, who desired the messenger to declare the purpose of his coming. On which he said, the governor wished to know what the Persian general would have? To this the general answered, that

he

he would have the castle; and with that answer the messenger was dismissed, without even the offer of a cup of wine, if I had not caused one to be given him. I suspect he brought a more substantial message, which was omitted on account of our presence, having been so instructed by Shah Culi Beg, in whose house he was at least for an hour before he was brought before the general. I fear therefore some sinister designs of the Persians, which a few days will discover.

Our captains, by means of their interpreters, now moved their own affairs with the general, to which he gave no great heed, but desired that business might be deferred for some time; yet had he that very day earnestly entreated them to send him a quantity of powder from the ships, meaning that night to attempt blowing up the castle, for which the mines were all ready, and he wanted nothing but powder. They had accordingly sent him thirty-four barrels, for which forwardness I fear the Company at home will give them little thanks.

The 28th March, understanding that two chief men of the Portuguese garrison were in Shah Culi Beg's house, where they had been four or five hours in conference with the Persian general, without sending to us, which increased our suspicions that the Persians meant to deal *fraudulently* with us; the two English commanders and I went together to the tent of the Persian general, and expressed our dislike of this underhand manner of proceeding. We stated, that we were partakers with them in this war, in which we had hazarded ourselves, our ships, and our goods, besides the hindrance we sustained by losing the monsoon, and that we ought to be equal participators in all treaties and proceedings, as well as in the war, and desired therefore to know what they had concluded, or meant to conclude, with the Portuguese. To this he answered, that nothing had been done, neither should any thing be concluded without acquainting us. This was a mere empty compliment, which all his actions belied. We must, however, be content to suffer all with patience: Yet, were it not for our merchants and goods in Persia, we could easily have remedied this affair, and have brought the Portuguese to such terms as we pleased. As matters stand, however, we are so tied down, we must be patient, and I fear things will turn out very ill, though they pretend all things shall be done to our contentment.

About

About noon this day, seeing many Arabs in the Meidan armed with pikes and guns, whom I did not usually see so armed, I at length observed them ranged upon both sides of the market-place, and presently afterwards two Portuguese gentlemen passed, attended by six or eight pages and servants, one of whom carried an umbrella over their heads. They were accompanied by Shah Culi Beg, and other chief Persians, who conducted them to the house of Agariza of Dabul. Though uninvited, I went there also, and intruded into their company, where I found the Persian general and other chiefs, his assistants and counsellors. The general gave me a kind welcome, and made me sit down next himself, which I did not refuse, that the Portuguese might see we were in grace and favour. Having made my obeisance to the Persians, I then saluted the Portuguese officers, who returned the compliment, after which I had some general conversation with them, not pertaining to the great purpose in hand, of which I did not presume to speak, till the general gave me occasion, which was not until after a collation of *pilaw*, and other dishes, after the fashion of Persia.

The collation being ended, the general asked them what was now their desire. They answered, that the captain of the castle had given them written instructions, but had desired them to make their proposals to the Khan himself, who now resided at Gombroon, if they might be permitted to wait upon him. To this the general answered, that he durst not allow them, unless the Khan were first made acquainted with their desire. I could plainly perceive that this proceeded only from affected delays on both sides, to give time for attaining their several purposes. The Portuguese then proceeded to complain, as formerly, against Ruy Frere, as if he durst have presumed to seize and fortify Kismis without orders from the king his master. They alleged also that the affair was in itself of no moment, being only a barren island with a well or two. To this the Persian general replied, it was of no matter what might be its value, but they had gone to war against the king of Persia and his subjects, for which their castle of Ormus must make satisfaction; wherefore, if they would surrender the castle without any more bloodshed, they should have good quarter and kind usage. The Portuguese said they had no commission to treat of any such matter, and so the conference ended, and they were dismissed.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding of the Portuguese being refused leave to go to the Khan, they had licence that same night, and were sent over to treat with him at Gambroon. I could never know the certainty of the proposed treaty, but shall here insert what I heard reported on the subject. They proposed, in the first place, to the Khan, to raise the siege, and permit them to enjoy their city and castle of Ormus as formerly, in consideration of which, they offered to pay 200,000 tomans in hand, and the yearly rent they had formerly paid to the king of Ormus, from the revenue of the custom-house, which, as I have heard, was 140,000 rials of eight or Spanish dollars yearly. But some said, besides the 200,000 tomans in hand, they offered as much yearly.[5] It was reported that the Khan demanded 500,000 tomans in hand, equal to £172,413 : 10 : 7 sterling,[6] and an yearly rent of 200,000 tomans.

The 2d April, with the aid of the English, the Persians blew up two other mines, by which a fair and practicable breach was opened, through which the besiegers might have entered without much difficulty, yet was there no assault made. Having noticed this carefully, Captain Weddell went to the Persian general to learn his purposes; when, to excuse the backwardness of his people, he pretended that the breach was too difficult to be assaulted with any hope of success. Yet we knew the contrary, as an English youth, who was servant to the master of the Jonas, bolder than any of the Persians, had gone up the breach to the very top of the castle wall, and told us it was as easily ascendible as a pair of stairs, and broad enough for many men to go abreast. In representing this to the general, and asking what were his future plans of proceeding, he told us he would be ready with another mine in three days. This I believed to be true, for his mining is to procure gold, not to make breaches, unless breach of promise to us, which he can easily do; for of late they have not performed any of their engagements, yet will not this teach us to look to ourselves.

The greatest hurt done by the Portuguese to the Persians in the assault on the castle, was by means of powder-pots, by which

[5] A toman, by the data in the text immediately following, is about seven shillings; hence 200,000 tomans are equal to £70,000 sterling.—E.

[6] At the former computation, this sum is equal to £175,000; and the conversion in the text gives 6s. 11¾d, and a small fraction more for each toman, being very near 7s. which is more convenient.—E.

which many of the assailants were scorched and severely burned. To guard against this, the Khan has now sent over many coats and jackets of leather, as not so liable to catch fire as their calico coats, quilted or stuffed with cotton wool. Yet, according to the English proverb, *The burnt child dreads the fire*; notwithstanding their leathern coats, none of them are hardy enough to attempt this new breach, though much easier to enter than the former, any farther than to pillage certain bales of *bastas* and other stuffs which have fallen down from a barricade or breast-work, thrown up by the Portuguese for defending the top of the breach from the fire of the Persians.

On the 5th of April the Persian general had news that 100,000 maunds of powder were arrived from Bahrein. On the 12th, a Portuguese came to the Persian general, having escaped from the castle, and gave accounts of the great wants and weaknesses of the garrison, insomuch, that six or eight died daily of the flux, chiefly owing to their having nothing to drink, but corrupted brackish water, of which even they have so little as to be put on short allowance, so that several have died of thirst. Their only food consists of rice and salt fish, both of which would require a good allowance of drink. Notwithstanding all this, the Persian general wastes his time in constructing new mines, of which he has no less than three in hand at this time, as if he proposed to blow up the wall all round about, before making any fresh assault. On the night of the 12th, one of our frigates or barks, which belonged to the London, being on guard alone, to prevent the escape of the Portuguese frigates, was clapped on board by two of these at once, but beat them both off. I know not what might be the loss of the Portuguese on this occasion, but two of our men were slain, and seven wounded; yet, had not our black rowers forsaken them, our people might easily have taken the assailants.

The 14th, the Persians sprung another mine, by which a very assailable breach was made, yet no assault was attempted. On this occasion, the mine had to be sprung before it was quite ready, because the Portuguese had already come so near it with a counter mine, that the Persians were afraid of their mine being rendered useless before they could place their powder. Another deserter came from the castle on the 15th, who confirmed the report given by the former, and told us that the two frigates which had assailed ours had

come

come from Muskat, with the son of the deceased Don Francisco de Sousa, late governor of the castle of Ormus, who had come on purpose to carry away his mother and other women from the castle.

At this time, the Moors who had surrendered to us from the castle of Kismis, were delivered up to the Persian general, at his earnest request, and partly with their own consent, on promise of being pardoned for having served under the Portuguese against their own king and country, and of being provided for and employed in the siege of Ormus. He seemed to ratify this promise, both to them and us, by entertaining some of their chiefs in our presence, with much apparent courtesy, even giving fine new vests to five or six of the principal officers. Yet next morning he caused eighty of their heads to be cut off, and sent the five or six newly-vested chiefs to the Khan at Gambroon, to receive their final doom, which was soon settled, as they were sentenced to the same fate with their fellows. Mir Senadine, their chief captain, was executed by the hands of Shere Alli, governor of Mogustan, who had married his daughter, and yet put his father-in-law to death with as much willingness as if he had been his mortal enemy.

The 17th of April, the Persians sprung another mine, closely adjoining their first. This did not produce the effect expected, as it burst out at the side, carrying part of the wall along with it, yet did little or no harm upwards, which was the point aimed at, on purpose to widen the former breach. Yet it encouraged the Persian general to try another assault, with at least 2000 soldiers. They ran up the breach with great resolution, into part of a bulwark or bastion, which they might easily have gained, had not their haste run their resolution out of breath; insomuch, that eight or ten Portuguese, assisted by a few blacks, armed only with rapiers, made them give ground and retire to the outer skirt of the bulwark, where there was not room for forty men to face the enemy. They here endeavoured, however, to entrench themselves; but, before they could establish a lodgement, the Portuguese plied two or three pieces of ordnance upon them from a flanking battery, which sent some scores of the Persians with news to their prophet *Mortus Alli*, that more of his disciples would shortly be with them. This accordingly was the case, chiefly owing to their own ignorance and cowardice; for, had they not made a stand in that

that place, but rushed pell-mell along with the Portuguese into the castle, they might have carried it with less than half the loss they sustained that day to little purpose. Had I not been an eye-witness, I could hardly have believed the stupid ignorance of the Persian general on this occasion. He had two breaches, almost equally good, yet applied all his men to the assault of one only, instead of attempting both at one time. Besides, he had at least eighty or an hundred scaling-ladders, yet not one of them was brought near the castle walls. His soldiers hung clustering on the breach, like a swarm of bees, or a flock of sheep at a gap, none having the heart to enter, while the Portuguese gleaned away five or six at a shot, sometimes more, driving forwards their black soldiers to throw powder-pots among the Persians.

The assault was renewed on the 18th, but with more harm to the Persians than the Portuguese. During the intervening night, two blacks made signs to the Persians on the top of the breach, that they wished to come over to them, and were drawn up with ropes. By these it was learned that the captain of the castle had been wounded in the head by a stone; that there were not above an hundred men in the garrison able to handle their arms: and that their water grew daily more scanty and worse in quality, by which the mortality continually increased. They reported also that great difference in opinion prevailed among the Portuguese, some wishing to endeavour to escape by sea, while others held it more honourable to sell their lives at a dear rate, by defending the castle to the last extremity, and proposed, when they could no longer hold out, to put all their women and treasure into a house and blow them up, that the Persians might neither enjoy their wealth nor abuse their wives; and, when this was done, to rush upon the Persians, and so end their days.

In the evening of the 19th, the Persians made another effort to press forwards, and got possession of the entire bulwark, forcing the Portuguese to retire farther within the castle. In this conflict many of the Portuguese were wounded, and sore scalded with fire-pots, in the management of which the Persians had now become expert, though many of them had paid dearly for their instruction. In this conflict four Portuguese were slain, and their heads brought to the Persian general. In this art of cutting off heads, the Persians are particularly cunning, insomuch, that I do not think there

there is an executioner in all Germany that can excel them. No sooner does a Persian lay hold of an enemy, than off goes his head at one blow of his scymitar.[7] He then makes a hole in the ear or cheek with his dagger, by which he will sometimes bring three or four heads at once to his general. When it is proposed to send these heads taken in war to be seen by the king or the khan, they very adroitly flea off the skin of the head and face, which they stuff up with straw like a foot-ball, and so send them by whole sackfulls.[8]

This night, one of the frigates that came from Muskat for Douna de Sousa, made her escape, no doubt very richly freighted. Her consort, which likewise attempted to get away, was chased in again. That which escaped, being hailed by the Arab boats that lay in wait to intercept the passage, got off by using the watch-word usual between the English and Arabs, *Ingres ingresses*, which had not been once changed since the commencement of this enterprize, in which oversight both the Persians and English were highly blameable, as, by the continual use of this watch-word, it had come to the knowledge of the Portuguese, who thus used it to their great benefit.

During the night of the 20th April, the other frigate made an effort to escape, but was intercepted and taken by the frigate and pinnace belonging to the London. This frigate was employed to carry away the Portuguese *almirante,* named Luis de Brito, a kinsman to the viceroy of Goa, but the captain of the castle would not permit him to go away; and the men belonging to this frigate, being seven persons, fearing the capture of the castle, and desirous to secure their own lives, stole away without leave.

The 21st, the Persians made a display of making themselves masters of the castle by storm; but, while we expected to see them put this bold measure in execution, I discovered that they and the Portuguese were engaged in a parley. While I was preparing to wait on the Persian general, to enquire the cause of this sudden change of measures, I met a messenger from our English commanders, informing me that a boat had come off to our ships from the castle, bearing a flag

[7] This, however, is to the praise of the Persians, as good swordsmen, on which account the Turks fear coming to hand blows with them.—*Purch.*

[8] In Turkey they manage this barbarous trophy of success more conveniently, as the Grand Signior is satisfied with a display of the ears of his enemies preserved in salt.—E.

flag of truce, and desiring my presence on board to see what was the purpose of this communication. On my getting on board the London, I found two Portuguese there, with the following letters from the captain of the castle, and the almirante:

"There hath been such ancient friendship between the Portuguese and English nations, that, considering the present war at this place, we ought to come to a mutual good understanding. From what I see of the mines made by the Persians, by which one of my bulwarks is already won, I am of opinion these could not have been constructed without your aid. Wherefore, I request you would be the means of procuring peace for me with the Persians, if the same may be done with your and their good pleasure, yet so that I may not lose my credit, nor you fail to gain honour. Thus, not else, our Lord keep you," &c.

Simon de Mela Pereira.

"This castle is so hard pressed, that the Persians demand us to surrender by capitulation, but which we will not consent to: For, when reduced to that necessity, we will call upon your worships for that purpose, as it were not reasonable for us to capitulate with the infidels when you are present. We hold it more humane to deliver our innocent women, and other unnecessary people, to the rigour of our own weapons, than to the clemency of the Persians; and that you might know this our purpose, I have written these lines to accompany the letter from our captain. What else you may wish to know, you may learn from the bearer of these letters, to whom you may give the same credit as to myself. And so God keep your worships," &c.

Luis de Brito Dareto.

Dated 1st May, 1622.[9]

Taking these letters into consideration, and commiserating their situation as Christians, it was resolved to give them a favourable answer, which was done accordingly in a letter to the Captain Simon de Mela, offering to become an intermedium for procuring them such conditions from the Persians as might save the lives of the Christians who still remained in

[9] The 1st of May, *new style*, was the 21st April, *old style*; the difference being then ten days.—E.

in the castle, which we had in our power to warrant, and were willing to shew them such farther courtesy as might tend to their relief, as far as we could see. We desired him therefore to put his demands in writing, and send them to us as soon as possible. A similar answer was written to the almirante, and with these the two messengers were sent back to the castle in one of our own boats. They soon returned with other letters from the captain and almirante, saying, "That they left themselves entirely in our hands, the necessity of their situation not allowing time for farther writing, lest the Persians might in the mean while break in and put them all to the sword."

Upon this we addressed ourselves to the Persian general, requesting him to grant a truce of two days to the distressed Portuguese, in which time we might treat with them for such conditions as might be at the same time beneficial for the Persians and ourselves. At length, a Persian officer and I were deputed to go into the castle to treat with the Portuguese, and they also desired our vice-admiral, Mr Woodcock, might accompany us. We all three went to the castle gate, but could not be allowed to enter; yet were met by Luis de Brito, the Portuguese almirante, and five or six other *cavalieros*, but did not see the captain, as the inferior officers and soldiers had mutinied against him, and detained him as a prisoner. Our whole conference, therefore, was with the almirante, who chiefly addressed himself to Captain Woodcock, our almirante, or vice-admiral.

Mir Adul Hassan, and Pulot Beg, had been sent for to the ship, where some persons had embezzled a portion of treasure, as we now wished them to be present at the conference on the part of the Khan. They came accordingly to the English house, when one of them made a long speech, saying how kindly the Khan esteemed the services and assistance given by the English in this war, which he should never forget, nor allow to pass unrewarded. They next declared that the Khan intended to proceed, after the surrender of Ormus, to besiege both Muskat and Sware, and therefore that the Portuguese ought on no account to be allowed to go to either of these places. Lastly, they insinuated basely and dishonourably, that we should betray the Portuguese captain, and five or six more of his principal officers, into their hands, as this would tend greatly to the honour and satisfaction of the Khan, by enabling him to present them to Shah Abas. On hearing

hearing this vile and dishonourable proposal, I left the room, that my ears might not be contaminated by such abominable conditions; saying, at my departure, to these Persians, that I would not be guilty of consenting to so infamous a business for a whole houseful of gold.

The Portuguese being reduced to such extremity as to be under the necessity of surrendering on any terms that might save their lives from the cruelty of the Persians, sent on the morning of the 23d, offering to put themselves into our hands, on condition that we furnished them with the means of being conveyed either to Muskat or India. We agreed to this proposal, on which Captain Blithe and I went as hostages into the castle, to see them safely set out; the Persian general promising that not one of his soldiers or men should enter the castle till all the Portuguese were gone out, and that only three of his people and three of ours should sit at the gate, to see that they did not carry away any thing of value. This the Persians watched so narrowly, that they most basely searched and abused the women. But the king of Ormus with his rich vizier, together with their women, treasure, and servants, were all conveyed over the breach in the wall, and not a single Englishman called or allowed to see what they carried out with them. Not only they, but all other Mahometans and Banyans, with their treasure and best things, were conveyed out of the castle in the same manner; whole bales of goods, with boxes and caskets full of treasure, to an unknown amount, were carried at the same time over the breaches. No sooner were the gates opened for letting out the Portuguese, but at least forty Persians got in and spread themselves about the castle, besides whom, some of the ruder sort among the English got in likewise, whose coming in I fear was the cause of the Persians doing the same, judging themselves as worthy of this liberty as our people.

Before mid-day of the 24th, both the Persians and English began to pillage in a most shameful manner, so that I was both grieved and ashamed, yet could see no means of remedy. The Persians drove out the poor sick, wounded, and scorched Christians, who were not able to help themselves, so that my heart yearned with compassion to see their woeful plight. In the evening, the Khan of Shiras came over, as if in triumph, to view the castle and its great ordnance, of which there were near three hundred pieces,[10] part of which belonged

[10] In a shorter relation of this siege, by Mr W. Pinder, the ordnance in

belonged to the galleons, and the rest to the castle. This evening, the commanders and I, wishing to retain possession of the church in which we had placed a quantity of plate and treasure, for its better security against being embezzled, our design was utterly denied by Pulot Beg, who told our commanders, in plain terms, that they might lie out of doors. Being justly incensed at this, we all three left the castle, the two captains going on board their ships, while I went to the city; but, as the tide was up, and I could not get a boat, I had to remain at the castle wall till near midnight. At this time there came about sixty Persians, by their own report, sent by the Khan to prevent the Arabs from conveying away any of the ordnance which lay by the shore, but I suspect their real object was to cut the throats of the poor Christians who lay at the shore, for want of boats to carry them on board; but fortunately they were protected by an English guard. Our chief business the whole of this day was to see the poor Portuguese sent safely out of the castle, most of them so weakened by divers maladies, but chiefly by famine, and many of them so noisome by their putrified wounds, and scorchings with gunpowder, that their pitiful cries and complaints might have moved pity in a heart of stone; yet such was the cruel disposition of the Persians, that they drove them out of the castle like so many dogs, stripping many of them even of their shirts.

On the evening of the 27th, we allowed the Portuguese to depart for Goa, to the number of 2500 persons, including men, women, and children, to whom we gave our two prizes, the Robert and Shilling, for their transport, with victuals and water necessary for the voyage, and a pass to free them from any molestation, in case they met with any of our ships at sea. Besides these, there were upwards of an hundred persons, so maimed or sick as to be incapable of being sent off at this time, for want of room in these two ships.

The king of Ormus was very poor, and lived chiefly on a pension or allowance of 140,000 rees, allowed him by the king

the castle of Ormus are thus enumerated:—Fifty-three pieces mounted, of the following descriptions,—four brass cannons, six brass demi-cannons, sixteen brass cannons-pedro, nine brass culverins, two brass demi-culverins, three iron demi-culverins, ten brass basses, one iron minion, one iron culverin, one iron cannon-pedro. Besides ninety-two brass pieces not mounted, and seven brass bastels which they had landed from the ships that were sunk. In all, 152 pieces.—E.

king of Spain, with some small reserved petty customs. In rummaging among his papers, we found the copy of a letter from him to the king of Spain, complaining loudly of the injustice of the Portuguese, and charging them with the entire overthrow of the kingdom of Ormus.[11]

When we expected to have received 1200 tomans[12] from Pulot Beg, who was chief commissioner under the Khan of Shiras, as our pay for the time occupied in this enterprize, he contrived to make us a larger sum in their debt, under pretence of embezzling the plunder in the castle; while we, on the other hand, made counter demands of a much larger sum due to us from the Persians, in the same manner. At length, three months pay were allowed, and our other demands were shifted off, as he pretended to have no power to liquidate them without an order from the Khan. After business was ended, our misery began, occasioned by the insufferable heat of Ormus, and the disorders of our own people in drinking arrack, and other excesses no less injurious; through which such diseases arose among our people, that three-fourths of them were dangerously sick, and many died so suddenly, that the plague was feared to have got among them, although no symptoms of that dreadful malady as yet appeared. This extremity lasted for fourteen days, during which time, six or seven of our men died every day; but after this, it pleased God to stay the mortality, and the rest recovered. Ten pieces of ordnance belonging to the Portuguese, were taken into our ships, to replace that number of our own which had been broken or otherwise spoiled during the siege. Our fleet was detained till the 1st September, owing to the shifting of the monsoon, and waiting its return. Leaving Ormus on that day, we arrived in Swally roads on the 24th of that month, where the London, Jonas, and Lion, loaded for England, and sailed homewards bound on the 30th December. Before setting sail, news was brought of sinking three Portuguese carracks off the port of Masulipatam, by the English and Dutch in conjunction.

In

[11] Besides this letter, too long and uninteresting for insertion, there are several other letters and documents in the Pilgrims at this place, so much in the same predicament as to be here omitted.—E.

[12] This must be a gross error, as by the value of the toman formerly given, the sum in the text very little exceeds £400. Purchas mentions, in a side-note, that he had heard the English received £20,000 for this service from the Persians.—E.

In the Annals of the East India Company, [13] the English are said on this occasion to have received a proportion of the plunder acquired at Ormus, and a grant of the moiety of the customs at Gambroon, which place, in the sequel, became the principal station of their trade with Persia and other places in the Persian gulf. The treaty made in 1615 by Mr Connock was also renewed, and an additional phirmaund granted by the Sophi, allowing them to purchase whatever quantity of Persian silks they might think proper, in any part of his dominions, with the privilege of bringing their goods from Gambroon to Ispahan free of duties.

In consequence of the war of Ormus, a claim was set up in 1624 by the crown and the Duke of Buckingham, as lord high admiral of England, by which the Company was demanded to pay a proportion of the prize-money, which their ships were supposed to have obtained in the seas bordering on the countries within the limits of their exclusive charter. In order to substantiate these claims, Captains Weddell, Blithe, Clevenger, Beversham, and other officers of the Company's ships were examined, and particularly those who had been employed against Ormus. According to their statements, it appeared that the amount of this prize-money was calculated at £100,000 and 240,000 rials of eight, but without taking into view the charges and losses incurred by the Company on this occasion, and by their ships being called off from commercial engagements, to act as ships of war for the protection of their trade against the Portuguese, and in the assistance of the government of Persia, by which they had been compelled, either to engage in this war, or to relinquish a trade in which they had expended large sums, together with the loss of all their goods then in Persia. At last the Company was obliged to compound, by payment of £10,000 to the Duke of Buckingham in discharge of his claim, and received an order from the secretary of state, Sir Edward Conway, to pay a similar sum also to the crown.—E.

SECTION

[13] Vol. I. p. 236. The historiographer makes, however, a small mistake, naming Ruy Frere de Andrada as chief commander of the Portuguese at Ormus, who only commanded in a subordinate fortress at Kismis.—E.

SECTION XIV.

ACCOUNT OF THE MASSACRE OF AMBOINA, IN 1623.[1]

In the preceding sections of this chapter, the early commercial voyages of the English East India Company have been detailed; and it is now proposed to conclude this part of our arrangement, by a brief narrative of the unjustifiable conduct of the Dutch at Amboina, in cruelly torturing and executing several Englishmen and others on false pretences of a conspiracy, but the real purpose of which was to appropriate to themselves the entire trade of the spice islands, Amboina, Banda, and the Moluccas. They effectually succeeded in this nefarious attempt, and preserved that rich, but ill-got source of wealth, for almost two hundred years; till recently expelled from thence, and from every other commercial or colonial possession in Asia, Africa, and America. A just retribution for submitting to, or seconding rather, the revolutionary phrenzy of French democracy; for which they now deservedly suffer, under the iron sceptre of the modern Atilla.

In giving a short narrative of this infamous transaction, besides the original account of Purchas, abridged from a more extended relation published at the time by the East India Company, advantage has been taken of the account given by Harris of the same event, which is fuller and better connected than that of Purchas, who most negligently garbled this story, under pretence of abbreviation. Harris appears evidently to have used the authorised narrative published by the Company, in drawing up his account of the event. There are other documents, relative to this tragical event, both in the Pilgrims of Purchas and the Collection by Harris, particularly the Dutch justificatory memorial, in which they endeavour to vindicate their conduct, and to shew that the English merited the lingering tortures and capital punishments to which they were condemned; to which is added a reply or refutation, published by order of the English Company. But the abridged narrative contained in this section seems quite sufficient on so disgusting a subject, especially so long after the events which it records.—E.

After

[1] Purch. Pilgr. II. 1853. Harris, I. 877.

After the fruitless issue of two several treaties, for arranging the differences that had taken place in eastern India, between the English and Hollanders respecting the trade of the spice islands, the first at London in 1613, and the second at the Hague in 1616, a third negociation was entered into at London in 1619, by which a solemn compact was concluded upon for settling these disputes, and full and fair arrangement made for the future proceedings of the servants of both Companies in the Indies, as well in regard to their trade and commerce, as to other matters. Among other points, it was agreed, in consideration of the great losses the Dutch pretended to have sustained, both in men and expence, in conquering the trade of the isles, namely, the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboina, from the Spaniards and Portuguese, and in the erection of forts for securing the same, that the Hollanders were to enjoy two-third parts of that trade, and the English one-third; the expences of the forts and garrisons to be maintained by taxes and impositions, to be levied ratably on the merchandize. In consequence of this agreement, the English East India Company established certain factories, for managing their share of this trade, some at the Moluccas, some at Banda, and others at Amboina.

The island of Amboina, near Ceram, is about forty leagues in circuit, and gives its name also to some other small adjacent isles. This island produces cloves, for the purpose of procuring which valuable spice, the English had five several factories, the head and rendezvous of all being at the town of Amboina, in which at the first, Mr George Muschamp was chief factor, who was succeeded by Mr Gabriel Towerson; having authority over the subordinate factories of Hitto and Larica on the same island, and at Loho and Cambello on a point of the neighbouring island of Ceram. On the island of Amboina and the point of Ceram, the Hollanders have four forts, the chief of all being at the town of Amboina, which is very strong, having four bastions or bulwarks, on each of which there are six great cannons, most of them brass. One side of this castle is washed by the sea, and the other is protected on the land side by a very deep ditch, four or five fathoms broad, always filled by the sea. The garrison of this castle consists of about 200 Dutch soldiers, and one company of free burghers; besides which there are three or four hundred *mardykers*, by which name the free natives are known, who reside in the town, and are always ready to

serve

serve in the castle at an hour's warning. There are likewise, for the most part, several good Dutch ships in the roads, both for the protection of this place by sea, and for the purposes of trade, as this is the central rendezvous of trade for the Banda islands, as well as for Amboina. At this place, the English factory was established in the town, under the protection of the castle, in a house of their own, where they lived as they thought in security, both in consideration of the ancient league of amity between the two nations, and in virtue of the firm compact of union, made by the late treaty of 1619, already mentioned.

The English factory continued here for about two years, trading conjunctly with the Hollanders under the treaty. During this period there occurred several differences and debates between the servants of the two companies. The English complained that the Hollanders not only lavished much unnecessary charges, in buildings and other needless expences upon the forts and otherwise, but also paid the garrisons in victuals and Coromandel cloths, which they issued to the soldiers at three or four times the value which they cost, yet would not allow the English proportion of the charges to be advanced in like manner, but insisted always on their paying in ready money: Thus drawing from the English, who only were bound to contribute one-third part, more than two-thirds of the just and true charges. Upon this head there arose frequent disputes, and the complaints of the English were conveyed to Jacatra, now called Batavia, in Java, to the *council of defence* of both nations, there residing. The members of that council not being able to agree upon these points of difference, the complaints were transmitted to Europe, to be settled between the two companies; or, in default of their agreement, by the king and the states general, pursuant to one of the articles of the before-mentioned treaty, providing against such contingencies. In the meantime, these, and other differences and discontents between the English and Dutch, daily continued and increased, till at length this knot, which all the tedious controversies at Amboina and Jacatra were unable to untie, was cut asunder by the sword, in the following manner.

About the 11th February, 1622, *old style*, or 21st of that month, 1623, *new style*, a Japanese soldier belonging to the Dutch garrison of Amboina castle, walking one night upon the wall, fell into conversation with a centinel, in the course

of

of which he asked several questions respecting the strength of the fortifications and the number of its garrison. It is to be observed, that most of the Japanese in Amboina were actually soldiers in the Dutch service, yet not in these trusty bands which always lodged within the castle, but only occasionally called in from the town to assist in its defence. This Japanese, in consequence of his conference with the centinel, was soon after apprehended on suspicion of treason, and put to the torture by the Dutch, to extort confession. While suffering under the torture, he was induced to confess, that he and some others of his countrymen had plotted to take possession of the castle. Several other Japanese were consequently apprehended, and examined by torture; as also a Portuguese, who was guardian or superintendent of the slaves belonging to the Dutch. While these examinations were going on, which continued during three or four days, some of the English, then resident at Amboina, were several times in the castle on business, saw the prisoners, and heard of the tortures they had undergone, and of the crime laid to their charge; yet during all this time, never once suspected that this affair had any connection with themselves, being unconscious of any evil intentions, and having held no conversation with the prisoners.

At this time, one Abel Price, surgeon to the English factory at Amboina, was a prisoner in the castle, for having offered or attempted, in a fit of drunkenness, to set a Dutchman's house on fire. The Dutch shewed this man some of the Japanese whom they had tortured, telling him they had confessed that the English were in confederacy with them, in the plot for seizing the castle, and threatened him with similar or worse tortures, if he did not confess the same; and accordingly, on the 15th February, O. S. they gave him the torture, and soon made him confess whatever they were pleased to direct. That same morning, about nine o'clock, they sent for Captain Gabriel Towerson, and the other Englishmen belonging to the factory at Amboina, to come to speak with the governor of the castle; on which they all went, except one, who was left to take care of the house. On their arrival, the governor told Captain Towerson, that he and others of his nation were accused of a conspiracy to surprise the castle, and must therefore remain prisoners, until tried for the same. The Dutch, immediately after this, took into custody the person who had been left in charge of the English

lish factory, sequestrated all the merchandize belonging to the English Company, under an inventory, and seized all the chests, boxes, books, writings, and other things in the English house.

Captain Towerson was committed prisoner to his own chamber in the English house, under a guard of Dutch soldiers. Emanuel Thomson was imprisoned in the castle. All the rest, namely, John Beaumont, Edward Collins, William Webber, Ephraim Ramsay, Timothy Johnson, John Fardo, and Robert Brown, were distributed among the Dutch ships then in the harbour, and secured in irons. The same day, the governor sent to the two other factories in the same island, Hitto and Larica, to apprehend the rest of the English residents, who were all brought prisoners to Amboina on the 16th; Samuel Colson, John Clark, and George Sharrock, from the former, and Edward Collins,[2] William Webber,[2] and John Sadler, from the latter. On the same day, John Pocol, John Wetheral, and Thomas Ladbrook, were apprehended at Cambello, and John Beaumont,[2] William Griggs, and Ephraim Ramsay,[2] at Loho; and were all brought in irons to Amboina on the 20th of February.

On the 15th of February, the governor and fiscal began to examine the prisoners. John Beaumont and Timothy Johnson were first brought to the castle, John Beaumont being left in a hall under a guard, while Johnson was conducted into another room. Beaumont soon after heard him cry out very pitifully, then become quiet for a while, and afterwards cried out aloud. Abel Price, the surgeon, who was first questioned and put to the torture, was brought in to confront and accuse him; but as Johnson refused to confess any thing laid to his charge, Price was soon taken away, and Johnson again put to the question, when Beaumont heard him repeatedly roar under the torture. At the end of an hour, Johnson was brought out into the hall, weeping and lamenting, all cut and cruelly burnt in many parts of his body, and so laid aside in a corner of the hall, having a soldier to watch him, with strict injunctions not to allow him to speak to any one.

Emanuel Thomson was next brought in for examination, not in the same room where Johnson had been, but in one farther

[2] These four persons are already named, as apprehended at Amboina. —E.

farther from the hall; yet Beaumont, who still remained in the hall, heard him often roar out most lamentably. After half an hour spent in torturing him, he was led to another place, but not through the hall where Beaumont was. Beaumont was then called in for examination, and asked many questions concerning the alleged conspiracy, all knowledge of which he denied with the most solemn oaths. He was then made fast on purpose to be tortured, having a cloth fastened about his neck, while two men stood ready with jars of water to pour on his head: But the governor ordered him to be set loose again, saying he would spare him for a day or two, being an old man.

Next day, being the 16th, William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramsay, and Robert Brown, were brought on shore for examination; and at the same time Samuel Colson, William Griggs, John Clark, George Sharrock, and John Sadler, from Hitto and Larica, were brought into the hall. Robert Brown, a tailor, was first called in, and being subjected to torture by water, confessed all in order, as interrogated by the fiscal. Edward Collins was next called in, and told that those who were formerly examined had accused him as accessory to the conspiracy for taking the castle. Denying all knowledge of or participation in any such plot, with great oaths, his hands and feet were made fast to the rack, and a cloth bound about his throat, ready to administer the water torture, upon which he entreated to be let down, saying that he would confess all. On being loosed, he again protested his entire innocence and ignorance of every thing laid to his charge; yet, as he knew they would make him confess any thing they pleased by means of torture, however false, he said they would do him a great favour by informing him what they wished he should say, which he would speak as they desired, to avoid the torture. The fiscal said he mocked them, ordered him to be fastened up again, and to receive the water torture. After suffering this for some time, he desired to be let down again to make his confession, devising as well as he could what he should say. Accordingly, he said that he, with Thomson, Johnson, Brown, and Fardo, had plotted about ten weeks before, to surprise the castle with the aid of the Japanese.

While making this contrived confession, he was interrupted by the fiscal, who asked whether Captain Towerson were privy to this conspiracy. He protested that Towerson knew

knew nothing of the matter. "You lie," said the fiscal, "did not he call you all before him, telling you that the daily abuses of the Dutch had instigated him to devise a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your consent and secrecy?" Then a Dutch merchant who was present, named Jan Igost, asked him, if they had not all been sworn to secrecy on the Bible? Collins declared with great oaths, that he knew nothing of any such matter. He was again ordered to be seized up again to the torture, on which he said that all was true they had said. Then the fiscal asked, if the English in the other factories were consenting to this plot? To which he answered, no. The fiscal then next asked, if the English president at Jacatra, or Mr Weldon the agent at Banda, were engaged in this plot, or privy to its contrivance? He again answered, no. The fiscal next enquired by what means the Japanese were to have executed their purpose? And, when Collins stood amazed, and devising some probable fictions to satisfy them, the fiscal helped him out, saying, "Were not two Japanese to have gone to each bulwark, and two to the door of the governor's chamber, to have killed him on coming out to enquire into the disturbance you were to have raised without?" Upon this, a person who stood by, desired the fiscal not to put words into the mouth of the witness, but to allow him to speak for himself. After this reproof, without waiting any answer to his former question, the fiscal asked what reward was to have been given the Japanese for their services? Collins answered 1000 dollars each. He was then asked, when this plot was to have been carried into execution? But, although he made no answer to this question, not knowing on the sudden what to say, he was dismissed, glad to get away from the torture, yet certainly believing they would put him to death for his confession.

Samuel Colson was next brought in; and, for fear of the tortures that Collins had endured, whom he saw brought out in a pitiable condition, with his eyes almost starting out of their sockets, he chose rather to confess all they asked, and so was quickly dismissed, yet came out weeping and lamenting, and protesting his innocence. John Clark was then taken in, and tortured with fire and water for two hours, in the same manner as had been done with Johnson and Thomson.[3]

Finding

[3] The minute description of these tortures, in Purchas, and copied in Harris, are disgusting; insomuch, that Purchas exclaims at one place, *I have no heart to proceed.* They are here therefore omitted.—E.

Finding that all their cruelties could not force him to any consistent confession of himself, they helped him along to particular circumstances of their own contrivance, by leading questions. Thus wearied out and overpowered, by terror of the tortures being renewed, he answered, *yes*, to whatever they asked, by which means they trumped up a body of evidence to this effect:—"That Captain Towerson, on new-year's-day last, had sworn all the English at Amboina to be secret and aiding in a plot he had devised for surprising the castle, by the aid of the Japanese, putting the governor and all the Dutch to death."

On the 17th, William Griggs and John Fardo, with some Japanese, were brought to examination. The Japanese were first cruelly tortured to accuse Griggs, which at last they did; and Griggs, to avoid torture, confessed whatever the fiscal was pleased to demand. The same was next done with Fardo and other Japanese. Fardo endured the torture for some time, but at length confessed all they pleased to ask. That same day, John Beaumont was brought a second time to the fiscal's chamber, when one Captain Newport, the son of a Dutchman, but born and educated in England, acted as interpreter. Griggs was also brought in to accuse Beaumont of being present at the consultation for surprising the castle. Beaumont denied all, with great earnestness, and many oaths; but, on enduring the torture, was constrained to confess every thing laid to his charge.

George Sharrock was then brought in and examined. He fell on his knees, protesting his innocence, telling them he was at Hitto on new-year's-day, when the pretended consultation was held, and had not been at Amboina since the preceding November, as was well known to several Dutchmen who resided at Hitto along with him. Being ordered to the rack, he told them he had often heard John Clark say that the Dutch had done insufferable wrongs to the English, and was resolved to be revenged on them; for which purpose he had proposed to Captain Towerson to allow him to go to Macassar, to consult with the Spaniards about sending some gallies to plunder the small factories of Amboina and Ceram in the absence of the ships. Being asked what Captain Towerson had said to all this? he answered, that Towerson was very much offended with Clark for the proposal, and could never abide him since. The fiscal then called him a rogue and liar, saying, that he wandered idly from the matter,

ter, and must go to the torture. He craved favour again, and began another tale, saying, that John Clark had told him at Hitto of a plot to surprise the castle of Amboina, with the participation of Towerson. He was then asked, when this consultation was held? which he said was in November preceding. The fiscal said that could not be, for it was on new-year's-day. The prisoner urged, as before, that he had not been in Amboina since last November, till now that he was brought thither in custody. "Why, then," said the fiscal, "have you belied yourself?" To this he resolutely answered, that all he had confessed respecting a conspiracy was false, and merely feigned to avoid torment.

Sharrock was then remanded to prison, but was brought up again next day, when a formal confession, in writing, of his last-mentioned conference with Clark, respecting the plot for surprising the castle of Amboina, was read over to him, after which, the fiscal asked, if it were all true. To this he answered, that every word of it was false, and that he had confessed it solely to avoid torture. The fiscal and the rest then said, in rage, that he was a false liar, for it was all true, and had been spoken from his own mouth, and therefore he must sign it, which he did accordingly. Having done this, he broke out into a great passion, charging them as guilty of the innocent blood of himself and the rest, which they should have to answer for at the judgment-seat of God. He even grappled with the fiscal, and would have hindered him from carrying in the confession to the governor, but was instantly laid hold of, and carried away to prison.

William Webber was next examined; being told by the fiscal that Clarke accused him of having sworn to Towerson's plot on new-year's-day, with all the other circumstances already mentioned; Webber strenuously denied all this, declaring, that he was then at Larika, and could not possibly be present in Amboina on that day. But, being put to the torture, he was forced to confess having been present at the consultation, with all the other circumstances in regular order, as asked. He also told of having a letter from Clark, in which was a postscript excusing his brief writing at this time, as there was then a great business in hand. But a Dutch merchant, named Kinder, who was present, told the governor that Webber and he were together making merry at Larika, on new-year's-day, the time of this pretended consultation. The governor then went away, but the fiscal held

on with him respecting the letter and postscript, promising to save his life if he would produce these.

Captain Towerson was next brought in for examination, and was shewn what the others had confessed concerning him. He deeply professed his innocence, on which Colson was brought in to confront him, being assured he should be again tortured unless he made good his former confession against Towerson. On this he repeated what he had said before, and was then sent away. Griggs and Fardo were next brought in, and desired to justify to his face what they had before confessed. Captain Towerson seriously admonished them, as they should answer at the day of judgment, to speak nothing but the truth. They then fell upon their knees, beseeching him to forgive them for God's sake, and declared openly that all they had formerly said was utterly false, and spoken only to avoid the torture. The fiscal then commanded them to be led to the torture, which they were unable to endure, and again affirmed their former extorted confessions to be true. When Colson was required to subscribe this confession, he asked the fiscal, upon whose head he thought the sin would rest, whether on his who was constrained to confess falsely, or upon the constrainer? After a pause on this home-question, the fiscal went out to speak with the governor, and returned again shortly, commanding him to subscribe. Colson did so, yet with this remark,—"You force me to accuse myself and others of that which is as false as God is true; for I call God to witness that I and they are as innocent as the child unborn."

Having thus examined all the servants of the English company in the several factories of the island of Amboina, they began on the 21st of February to examine John Wetheral, factor at Cambello, in Ceram. He acknowledged being at Amboina on new-year's-day, but declared he knew of no other consultation but about certain cloth belonging to the company, which lay spoiling in the factory, which they considered how best to get sold. The governor said he was not questioned about cloth, but treason; and protesting his innocence, he was dismissed for that day. Next day he was again brought in, and Captain Towerson was produced to confront and accuse him, as he had formerly emitted something in his confessions against him. But Towerson only desired him to speak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as God should put into his heart. Mr Towerson was then removed, and

Mr

Mr Wetheral tortured by water, with threats of fire being applied if he did not confess. At length, they read over to him the confessions of the others, asking him leading questions from point to point, to all of which he answered affirmatively, to free himself from torture.

John Powel, assistant to Mr Wetheral, was next called; but he proved that he had not been at Amboina since November; and being likewise spoken for by Jan Joost, his old acquaintance, was dismissed without torture. Thomas Ladbrook, servant to Wetheral and Powel at Cambello, was then brought in; but he, too, was speedily dismissed. Ephraim Ramsay, proving that he was not in Amboina on new-year's-day, and being likewise spoken for by Joost, was also dismissed, after hanging up some time ready for being tortured. Lastly, John Sadler, servant to William Griggs at Larika, was brought in for examination; and as he was not in Amboina on new-year's-day, he too was dismissed.

On the 25th of February, all the prisoners, English, Portuguese, and Japanese, were brought into the great hall of the castle, and there solemnly condemned to die, except John Powel, Ephraim Ramsay, John Sadler, and Thomas Ladbrook. Next day, they were again brought into the hall, except Captain Towerson and Emanuel Thomson, to be prepared for death by the Dutch ministers. That same night, Colson and Collins were taken into the room where Emanuel Thomson lay, when they were told the governor was pleased to grant mercy to one of the three, and desired they might draw lots, when the free lot fell to Edward Collins, who was then carried to the chamber of the acquitted persons before-named. John Beaumont was soon after brought to the same place, and told that he owed his life to Peter Johnson, the Dutch merchant of Loho, and the secretary, who had begged his life. The condemned, who still remained in the hall, were afterwards joined by the Dutch ministers, and received the sacrament, protesting their innocence. Samuel Colson, on this occasion, said, in a loud voice, "O Lord, as I am innocent of this treason, do thou pardon all my other sins; and, if in the smallest degree guilty thereof, may I never be a partaker in the joys of thy heavenly kingdom." To these words all the rest exclaimed, *Amen! for me, Amen! for me, good Lord!*

After this, each, knowing whom he had accused, went one to another, craving forgiveness for their false accusations,

as

as wrung from them by the pains or dread of torture. They all freely forgave their comrades; for none had been so falsely accused, but that he also had accused others with equal falseness. In particular, George Sharrock, who survived to relate the scene exhibited at this time, knelt down to John Clark, whom he had accused, as before related, earnestly begging forgiveness. Clark freely forgave him, saying, "How shall I look to be forgiven of God, if I do not forgive you? as I have myself falsely accused Captain Towerson and others!" After this, they spent the rest of this doleful night in prayer and psalm-singing, comforting each other the best they could. The Dutch who guarded them offered them wine, of which they desired them to drink heartily, to drive away sorrow, as is the custom of their country in like situations, but this the English refused.

Next morning, the 27th February, William Webber was again called before the fiscal, and offered his life if he would produce the letter and postscript he confessed to have received from John Clark, which he could not do, as it never had existed: Yet, at last, they pardoned him, and sent him to the rest of those who were freed, and Sharrock with him, whom they also pardoned. That morning, Emanuel Thomson, learning that John Beaumont was pardoned, contrived to have him allowed to visit him, which was allowed with much difficulty. Beaumont found him in a most miserable condition, the wounds or sores occasioned by the torture bound up, but the blood and matter issuing through the bandages. Taking Mr Beaumont by the hand, he conjured him, when he came to England, to offer his duty to the Honourable Company, and others of his friends whom he named, and to assure them he died innocent, as was well known to Beaumont.

It is needless to dwell upon the minute circumstances of the catastrophe of this bloody tragedy: Suffice it to say, that ten Englishmen, one Portuguese, and eleven Japanese, were publicly executed; of whom the following is a list:—

English.

Capt. Gabriel Towerson, agent for the English at Amboina.
Samuel Colson, factor at Hitto.
Emanuel Thomson, assistant at Amboina.
Timothy Johnson, assistant at the same place.
John Wetheral, assistant at Cambello.
John Clark, assistant at Hitto.

William

William Griggs, factor at Larika.
John Fardo, steward of the factory at Amboina.
Abel Price, surgeon to that factory.
Robert Brown, tailor.

The only Portuguese was Augustine Perez, born in Bengal, who was superintendant of the slaves in the employment of the English at Amboina.

Japanese.

Hititso, Tsiosa, and Sinsa, natives of Firando.
Sidney Migial, Pedro Congie, Thomas Corea, from Nangasaki.
Quinandaya, a native of Coaets.
Tsabinda, a native of Tsoncketgo.
Zanchae, a native of Fisien.

Besides these, there were two other Japanese tortured, who both confessed a participation in the pretended plot, but were not executed, or even condemned, for reasons which the surviving English did not learn. The executions were all by cutting off the heads of the condemned with a scymitar; and the Dutch prepared a black velvet pall for Captain Towerson's body to fall upon, which they afterwards had the effrontery to charge in account against the English East India Company.

Section XV.

Observations during a Residence in the Island of Chusan, in 1701, by Doctor James Cunningham; with some early Notices respecting China.[1]

Among the early voyages of the English to the East Indies, none have been preserved that were made to China, nor have we been able to discover any satisfactory account of the commencement of the trade of our East India Company with that distant country, now said to be by far the most profitable branch of the exclusive commerce. In the *Annals of the Company*,[2] several references are made to the China trade, but

[1] Harris, I. 852. [2] Annals of the E. I. Co. vol. II. and III. *passim*.

but more in the nature of notices or memoranda for the purpose of after investigation, than as conveying any actual information on the subject. In this singular paucity of materials, we are reduced to the following short "Observations and Remarks, by Doctor James Cunningham, made during his Residence as Physician to the English Factory at the Island of Chusan, on the Coast of China." Doctor Cunningham is stated by Harris to have been a fellow of the Royal Society, distinguished by his natural talents and acquired accomplishments, well versed in ancient and modern learning, and to have diligently used these advantages in making judicious remarks on the places where he resided in the service of the Company. Yet all that has been recorded by Harris of these remarks, give only a very imperfect account of Chusan and of China. This short article consists of extracts from two letters written by Cunningham from Chusan, and a brief supplement by Harris respecting two unfortunate factories at Pulo Condore and Pulo Laut.—E.

§ 1. *Voyage to Chusan, and short Notices of that Island.*[1]

In my last letter, from the island of Borneo, I gave you an account of our arrival at that island on the 17th July. We only remained there two days, as the season of the year was already far advanced, and made the best of our way from thence through the Straits of Banda,[2] with favourable winds and weather. We got upon the coast of China on the 13th August, when we had variable winds, which carried us abreast of *Emoy*[3] by the 19th following. The wind then set in fresh at N.E. so that we were in great fear of losing our passage, and were now obliged to beat up all the way against both wind and current; yet the weather remained so favourable that we were never obliged to hand our top-sails, otherwise we must have lost more way in a single day than we could have recovered in eight. On the 31st August we came to anchor

[1] From a letter to a member of the Royal Society, dated in September, 1701.—*Harris.*

[2] This must have been the straits of Macasser, as Banda is far out of the way between Borneo and China.—E.

[3] Emoy, or Amoy, was on the coast of China, opposite to the island of Formosa, and appears, from the Annals, to have been the first port frequented by the ships of the India Company for the Chinese trade.—E.

anchor under the *Crocodile islands*,[4] both for shelter from the bad weather, usual on this coast at new and full-moon, which has been fatal to many ships, and also to procure fresh water, now scarce with us, as we had not recruited our store since leaving the Cape of Good Hope. These are three small islands in lat. 26° N. about six leagues from the river of *Hokien*, [Fo-kien] on two of which we found very good water, with a convenient landing-place on the S.W. side of the innermost island. By the assistance of some Chinese fishers, we procured also some fresh provisions from the main land, not thinking it safe to venture there ourselves, lest we may have been brought into trouble by the governor of that part of the country. While here, on the 5th September, we had a sudden short shift of the monsoon from the S. W. blowing with great fury; which was also experienced by other vessels then coming on the coast of China. We again put to sea on the 18th September, turning to windward night and day on the outside of all the islands, which are very numerous all along this coast, but with which we were unacquainted after passing beyond *Emoy*. Besides, the hydrography of this coast is hitherto so very imperfect, that we could not trust in any degree to our draughts, owing to which our navigation was both difficult and dangerous.

On the 1st October, we got into the latitude of 30° N. where we came to anchor near the land, and found our way by boat to *Chusan*,[5] about twelve leagues within the islands, whence we got a pilot, who brought our ship safely to that place on the 11th of the month. The Chinese government have granted us a settlement on that island, with the liberty of trade; but do not allow us to go up to Ning-po,[6] which is six or eight hours sail to the westwards, all the way among islands, of which this of Chusan is the largest, being eight or nine leagues from E. to W. and four or five from N. to S. About

[4] The islands of Pe-la-yang are, in the indicated latitude, off the estuary of the principal river of the province of Fo-kien.—E.

[5] Tcheou-chan, an island about twenty English miles in length from E. to W. in lat. 30° 28′N. long 121° 43′ E. off the estuary of Ning-po river, in the province of Che-kiang, is obviously the Chusan of the text.—E.

[6] The city of Ning-po stands at the head of a bay, stretching from the S. side of the estuary of the river of the same name, in lat. 30° 10′ N. long. 121° E. It appears, from the Annals, that the English had been excluded from trading at Canton, by the influence of the Portuguese in Macao.—E.

About three leagues from the point of land named *Liampo* by the Portuguese, and *Khi-tu* by the Chinese, there is a very safe and convenient harbour at the west end of this island, where the ships ride within call of the factory, which stands close to the shore in a low flat valley, having near two hundred houses built around for the benefit of trade. The town of Chusan, of which the houses are very mean, is about three quarters of a mile farther from the shore, and is surrounded by a fine stone wall, flanked at irregular distances by twenty-two square bastions or towers; and has four great gates, on which a few old iron guns are planted, seldom or never used. The *chumpeen*, or governor of the island, resides here, and the town contains about three or four thousand beggarly inhabitants, mostly soldiers and fishers; for, as the trade of this island has only been granted of late, it has not hitherto attracted any considerable merchants.

This island abounds in all sorts of provisions, as cows, buffaloes, deer, hogs, both wild and tame, geese, ducks, poultry, rice, wheat, calavances, cole-worts, turnips, carrots, potatoes, beets, spinach, and so forth. It has, however, no merchandise, except what comes from Ning-po, Stan-chew,[7] Nankin, and other inland towns and cities. Some of these I hope to see, when I have acquired a little of the Chinese language. Tea grows here in great plenty on the tops of the hills, but is not so much esteemed as that which grows on more mountainous islands. Although tolerably populous, this island is far from being what it was in the time of Father Martini, who describes it under the name of *Cheu-xan*. The superstitious pilgrimages mentioned by him, must refer to the island of Pou-to,[8] which is nine leagues from this place, and to another island three miles to the eastwards, to which the emperor proposes coming to worship at a pagoda greatly renowned for its sanctity, in the ensuing month of May, being his birth-day, and the fortieth year of his age. One of his bonzes is already come there, to get all things in order.

§ 2.

[7] Probably Hang-tcheou, a city about forty miles W. from Ning-po.—E.

[8] Pou-teou, is directly E. from the eastern end of Tcheou-chan.—E.

§ 2. *Ancient and modern State of the Country, and of the coming of the English to reside there.*[1]

In my former letter, I informed you that the emperor designed to have come to worship at Pou-to in May last, being the fortieth year of his age, but I ought to have said of his reign. After every thing was prepared for his reception, he was dissuaded from his purpose by some of his mandarins, who made him believe that the thunder at that place was very dangerous. This Pou-to is a small island, only about five leagues round, and at the east end of Chusan. It has been famous for the space of eleven hundred years, for the superstitious pilgrimages made to it, and is only inhabited by bonzes to the number of three thousand, all of the sect of *Heshang*, or unmarried bonzes, who live a Pythagorean life. They have built four hundred pagodas, two of which are considerable for their size and splendour, and were lately covered with green and yellow tiles, brought from the emperor's palace at Nankin. They are adorned within by stately idols, finely carved and gilded, the chief of these being an idol named *Quonem*. To these two pagodas there are two chief priests, who govern all the rest. They have many walks and avenues cut in different directions through the island, some of which are paved with flag-stones, and overshaded by trees planted on both sides. The dwellings of the bonzes are the best I have seen in these parts, all of which are maintained by charitable donations. All the Chinese junks which sail from Ning-po and Chusan touch at Pou-to, both outwards and homewards-bound, making offerings for the safety of their voyages. There is another island named *Kim-Tong*,[2] five leagues from hence, on the way towards Ning-po, where a great many mandarins are said to live in retirement, after having given up their employments. On that island there are said to be silver mines, but prohibited from being opened. The rest of the circumjacent islands are either desert, or very meanly inhabited, but all of them abound in deer.

It is not long since this island of Chusan began to be inhabited.

[1] The sequel of these observations is said by Harris to have been taken from another letter to the same correspondent with the former, and dated in November, 1701; but, from circumstances in the text, it would appear to have been written in 1702.—E.

[2] Probably that named Silver-island in modern maps.—E.

habited. Yet in the days of Father Martini, about fifty years ago, it was very populous for three or four years; at which time, in the fury of the Tartar conquest, it was laid entirely desolate, not even sparing the mulberry trees, which were then numerous, as they made a great deal of raw silk here. It continued in this desolate condition till about eighteen years ago, when the walls of the present town were built by the governor of *Ting-hai*, as a strong-hold for a garrison, in order to expel some pirates who had taken shelter on the island. As the island began to grow populous, a *chumpeen* was sent to govern it for three years, to whom the late chumpeen succeeded, who continued till last April, and procured licence to open this port to strangers. On the last chumpeen being promoted to the government of *Tien-ching-wei*,[3] near Pekin, he was succeeded by the present governor, who is son to the old chumpeen of Emoy. They have no arts or manufactures in this island, except lacquered ware, the particulars of which I cannot as yet send you. They have begun to plant mulberry-trees, in order to breed up silk-worms for the production of raw silk; and they gather and cure some tea, but chiefly for their own use.

§ 3. *Of the Manner of cultivating Tea in Chusan.*

The three sorts of tea usually carried to England are all from the same plant, their difference being occasioned by the soils in which they grow, and the season of the year at which they are gathered. The *bohea*, or *vo-u-i*, so called from certain mountains in the province of *Token*,[1] where it is chiefly made, is the very bud, gathered in the beginning of March, and dried in the shade. The tea named *bing* is the second growth, gathered in April, and *singlo* is the last growth, gathered in May and June; both of these being gently dried over the fire in *taches* or pans. The tea shrub is an evergreen, being in flower from October to January, and the seed ripens in the September or October following, so that both flower and seed may be gathered at the same time; but for one fully ripened seed, an hundred are abortive. There are the two sorts of seeds mentioned by Father Le Compte, in his

[3] Probably that called Tien-sing in modern maps, on the river Pay, between Pekin and the sea.—E.

[1] Fo-kien is almost certainly here meant.—E.

his description of tea; and what he describes as a third sort, under the name of *slymie* pease, consists merely of the young flower-buds, not yet open. The seed vessels of the tea tree are three-capsular, each capsule containing one nut or seed; and though often two or one of these only come to perfection, yet the vestiges of the rest may easily be discerned. It grows naturally in a dry gravelly soil on the sides of hills, without any cultivation, in several places of this island.

Le Compte is mistaken in saying that the Chinese are ignorant of the art of grafting; for I have seen many of his paradoxical tallow-trees ingrafted here, besides trees of other sorts. When they ingraft, they do not slit the stock as we do, but slice off the outside of the stock, to which they apply the graft, which is cut sloping on one side, to correspond with the slice on the stock, bringing the bark of the slice up on the outside of the graft, after which the whole is covered up with mud and straw, exactly as we do. The commentator on Magalhen seems doubtful as to the length of the Chinese *che* or cubit. At this island they have two sorts, one measuring thirteen inches and seven-tenths English, which is commonly used by merchants; the other is only eleven inches, being used by carpenters, and also in geographical measures. Though Father Martini is censured by Magalhen for spelling a great many Chinese words with *ng*, which the Portuguese and others express with *in*, yet his way is more agreeable to our English pronunciation and orthography; only the *g* may be left out in Pekin, Nankin, and some others.

Having made enquiry about what is mentioned by Father Martini of sowing their *fields* at *Van-cheu* with oyster-shells, to make new ones grow, I was told, that after they have taken out the oysters, they sprinkle the empty shells with urine, and throw them into the water, by which means there grow new oysters on the old shells.[2] Martini says he could never find a Latin name for the *Tula Mogorin* of the Portuguese; but I am sure it is the same with the *Syringa arabica, flore pleno albo,* of Parkinson. Martini also says that the *kieu-yeu*, or tallow-tree, bears a white flower, like that of the cherry-tree: But

[2] This strange story may possibly be thus explained. At certain seasons, numerous minute oysters may be seen sticking to the shells of the old ones; and the Chinese may have thrown the emptied shells into the sea, in the highly probable expectation of these minute oysters continuing to live and grow. The circumstances in the text are absurd additions, either from ignorance or imposition.—E.

But all that I have seen here bear spikes of small yellow flowers, like the *julus* of the *Salix*. The bean-broth, or mandarin-broth, so frequently mentioned in the Dutch embassy, and by other authors, is only an emulsion made of the seeds of *sesamum* with hot water.

The chief employments of the people here are fishing and agriculture. In fishing, they use several sorts of nets and lines as we do; but, as there are great banks of mud in some places, the fishermen have contrived a small frame, three or four feet long, not much larger than a hen-trough, and a little elevated at each end, to enable them to go more easily on these mud banks. Resting with one knee on the middle of one of these frames, and leaning his arms on a cross stick raised breast high, he uses the other foot on the mud to push the frame and himself forwards.

In their agricultural operations, all their fields on which any thing is to be cultivated, whether high or low, are formed into such plots or beds as may admit of retaining water over them when the cultivator thinks proper. The lands are tilled by ploughs drawn by one cow or buffalo; and when it is intended to sow rice, the soil is remarkably well prepared and cleared from all weeds, after which it is moistened into the state of a pulp, and smoothed by a frame drawn across, when the rice is sown very thick, and covered over with water, only to the height of two or three inches. When the seedling plants are six or eight inches long, they are all pulled up, and transplanted in straight lines into other fields, which are overflowed with water; and, when weeds grow up, they destroy them by covering them up in the interstices between the rows of rice, turning the mud over them with their hands. When they are to sow wheat, barley, pulse, or other grain, they grub up the surface of the ground superficially, earth, grass, and roots, and mixing this with some straw, burn all together. This earth, being sifted fine, they mix with the seed, which they sow in holes made in straight lines, so that it grows in tufts or rows like the rice. The field is divided into regular beds, well harrowed both before and after the seed is sown, which makes them resemble gardens. The rice grounds are meliorated merely by letting water into them; but for the other grains, where the soil requires it, they use dung, night-soil, ashes, and the like. For watering their fields, they use the machine mentioned by Martini in the preface

preface to his Atlas, being entirely constructed of wood, and the same in principle with the chain-pump.

In order to procure salt, as all the shores are of mud instead of sand, they pare off in summer the superficial part of this mud, which has been overflowed by the sea-water, and lay it up in heaps, to be used in the following manner: Having first dried it in the sun, and rubbed it into a fine powder, they dig a pit, the bottom of which is covered with straw, and from the bottom a hollow cane leads through the side of the pit to a jar standing below the level of the bottom. They then fill the pit almost full of the dried salt mud, and pour on sea-water till it stands two or three inches above the top of the mud. This sea-water drains through the mud, carrying the salt along with it from the mud as well as its own, and runs out into the jar much saturated with salt, which is afterwards procured by boiling.

§ 5. *Of the famous Medicinal Root, called Hu-tchu-u.*

Having last year seen, in a newspaper, some account of a singular root, brought from China by Father Fontaney, I shall inform you that I have seen this root since my arrival at Chusan. It is called *Hu-tchu-u*[1] by the Chinese, and they ascribe to it most wonderful virtues, such as prolonging life, and changing grey hair to black, by using its infusion by way of tea. It is held in such high estimation as to be sold at a great price, as I have been told, from ten tael up to a thousand, or even two thousand tael for a single root; for the larger it is, so much the greater is its fancied value and efficacy: But the price is too high to allow me to try the experiment. You will find it mentioned in the *Medecina Sinica* of Cleyer, No. 84, under the name of *He-xeu-u*, according to the Portuguese orthography. It is also figured in the 27th table of the plants which Mr *Petiver* had from me. The following is the story of its discovery, which I will not warrant for gospel.

Once upon a time, a certain person went to gather simples among the mountains, and fell by some accident into a vale of which the sides were so steep that he was unable to get out again. In this situation, he had to look about for some means to support life, and discovered this root, of which he made

[1] This is probably the ginseng, so famed for its fancied virtues.—E.

made trial, and found that it served him both as food and cloathing; for it preserved his body in such a temperature, that the injuries of the weather had no evil influence upon him during a residence of several hundred years. At length, by means of an earthquake, the mountains were rent, and he found a passage from the vale to his house, whence he had been so long absent. But so many alterations had taken place during his long absence, that nobody would believe his story; till, on consulting the annals of his family, they found that one of them had been lost at the time he mentioned, which confirmed the truth of his relation.—This is a fable, not even credited among the Chinese, invented merely to blazon forth the virtues of this wonderful root.

§ 6. *Removal of Dr Cunningham to Pulo Condore, with an Account of the Rise, Progress, and Ruin of that Factory.*[1]

The English factory at Chusan was broken up in the year 1702, so that Dr Cunningham had very little time allowed him for making his proposed observations respecting China. From this place he removed to another new settlement at *Pulo Condore*, in a small cluster of four or five islands, about fifteen leagues south of the west channel of the river of Camboja, usually called the Japanese river.[2] I am unable to say what were the advantages proposed from this factory; but, from the memoirs I have seen on the subject, this place seems to have been very ill chosen, and much worse managed. The person who had at this time the management and direction of the affairs belonging to the East India Company in this distant part of the world, was one Mr Katchpole; who, according to the usual custom of the Europeans in eastern India at this period, took into the service a certain number of Macassers or native soldiers, by whose assistance he soon constructed a small fort for the protection of the factory. So far as I can learn, the most indispensable necessaries of life, water,

[1] This and the subsequent subdivision of the section are related historically by Harris.—E.

[2] Pulo Condore is in lat. 8° 45′ N. long. 106° 5′ E. and the object of a factory at this place was evidently to endeavour to secure a portion of the trade of China, from which the English at this time were excluded by the arts of the Portuguese at Macao, as we learn from the Annals; as also to combine some trade with Siam, Camboja, Tsiompa, Cochin-China, and Tonquin.—E.

water, wood, and fish, were all that these islands ever afforded.

The Macassers are a brave, industrious, and faithful people, to such as deal fairly with them; and on this account are highly esteemed in the Eastern Indies, more especially by the Dutch. They are, however, daring, cruel, and revengeful, if once provoked. Mr Katchpole had contracted with these men to serve for three years, at the end of which period, if they pleased, they were to receive their wages and to depart: But he, though they strictly performed their part of the agreement, broke faith with them, keeping them beyond their time against their will. In addition to this great breach in morality, he added as notorious an error in politics; for, after provoking these men so egregiously by refusing to fulfil his engagement, he still confided to them the guard of his own person and the custody of the factory. This gave them ample opportunity of revenging the ill usage they had met with, and with that ferocity which is so natural to untutored barbarians. They rose in mutiny one night, and murdered Mr Katchpole, and all who were at the time along with him in the factory. A few, who happened to lodge on the outside of the fort, hearing the cries of their friends within during the massacre, fled from their beds to the sea-shore; where, by a singular interposition of Providence, they found a bark completely ready for sea, in which they embarked half naked, and put immediately to sea, just in time to escape the rage of the Macassers, who came in search of them to the shore, precisely when they had weighed anchor and pushed off to sea.

Dr Cunningham was one of the number who escaped on this occasion. Their navigation was attended with excessive difficulty, being exposed at the same time to incredible fatigue, and to the utmost extremity of hunger and thirst: But at length, after a tedious and difficult course of an hundred leagues, in the most wretched condition, they reached a small creek in the dominions of the king of Johor, where they were received with kindness.

§ 7.

§ 7. *Some Account of the Factory at Pulo Laut, with the Overthrow of that Factory, and of the English Trade to Borneo.*

A year or two after the ruin of the factory at Pulo Condore, the Company thought fit to order the establishment of a new factory on the coast of the great island of Borneo. On the south of that vast island, there is a small isle called Pulo Laut, having an excellent harbour. The country here is but thinly peopled, and yields nothing except rice; but, as it lies near the mouth of the great rivers which come from the pepper countries in the interior, it is extremely well situated for trade. Between this island and the great island of Borneo, there is a channel about two miles wide in most places, narrower in some and broader in others, and having from seven to five fathoms water the whole way through. On the coast of this channel there are several rising grounds fit for building on, and which were therefore extremely proper for the situation of a factory, which, it may be presumed, induced those who had the direction of the Company's affairs, to make choice of this place.

One Captain Barry, who is said to have been a very ingenious gentleman, had the charge of establishing this new factory, in which he is reported to have acted with much skill and prudence. But he died before the works were completed; and the direction of the factory devolved upon Doctor Cunningham, who came to this place after the ruin of the factory at Pulo Condore. He is said to have given himself so entirely up to his studies, that he left the care of the Company's concerns too much to the people who were under him, who were unequal to the trust, and proved the ruin of the factory. Before the fort was half finished, these people began to insult the natives of the country; and, among other wanton acts of folly, they very imprudently chose to search one of the boats belonging to the king, which was carrying a female of rank down the river. This so provoked the Bornean sovereign that he determined upon the utter destruction of the English; for which purpose he collected his forces together, amounting to about three thousand resolute men, which he embarked in above an hundred proas, and sent them down to attack the factory and unfinished fort.

The

There happened at this time to be two ships belonging to the Company in the river, besides two merchant vessels of inconsiderable force; and as Cunningham and his people had received advice of the preparations making against them, they left their factory, taking refuge aboard the ships, thinking themselves in greater security there than ashore. When all things were in readiness for the intended assault, the native armament came down the river in the night; and, while some landed and destroyed the factory and fortifications, others attacked the ships, which were fortunately prepared for their reception, the English having made fast nettings along both sides of their ships, about two fathoms high above the gunnels, to prevent the enemy from boarding, and were in readiness to use their blunderbusses and pikes, to prevent them from forcing their way to the decks.

On seeing the approach of the proas towards the ships, the English plied their great guns, loaded with double, round, and partridge shot, and made great carnage among the Borneans, yet this did not deter them from pushing forwards and using their utmost endeavours to board. But, having got up to the gunnels, they were unable to get over the netting, and so were slaughtered with great ease by the English from the decks. Some of the assailants got in at the *head doors* of one of the ships, and killed a few of the English on the forecastle, but were soon overpowered and slain. Thus, after a long and sanguinary contest, the two large ships beat off the enemy with small loss; but the two little vessels were both burnt with most of their men, among whom was one Mynheer Hoogh Camber, a Dutch gentleman who had been ambassador of the king of Persia, and had fled from Batavia in one of these small vessels. Some say that the English killed above fifteen hundred of the assailants in two hours, for the heat of the assault continued during that space, besides many others wounded and maimed. But the English were under the necessity of abandoning the settlement at Pulo Laut.

The Bornean king or rajah thought his revenge had gone far enough in driving the English from their factory: And, finding his revenue considerably diminished by the loss of trade with the English, he sent notice to such of them as traded to Johor, and other places in the neighbourhood of Borneo, that he would still admit them to trade in his dominions on the old footing, but would never allow them or

 any

any other nation to erect forts in his territories. Several English vessels have been there since to load pepper, and were civilly treated. The Dutch also sent a ship there from Batavia in the year 1712; but the natives refused to have any dealings with them.

END OF THE NINTH VOLUME.

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